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**7665 Wenda Way,
El Paso, TX 79915.**

Tel: (915) 775-2464

Fax: (915) 775-8588.

Email:

103121.2610@CompuServe.com

Editor

Hans M. Weerstra

Associate Editors

Greg Parsons

Copy Editor

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Publisher

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Mother and child of the unreached Central Shilha people group located in Morocco, Africa. Used with permission from John Fries of ProclaMedia, YWAM.

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Comprehensive Missions to Tribal Peoples

Tribal missions is a complex and challenging task that requires a comprehensive strategy and ministry approach. This issue of the *IJFM* is again dedicated to reaching tribal peoples with the Gospel and all it entails (see Volume 14:4, 1997 for the the first issue on tribal peoples). Writers, from missionaries to professors, cover a host of topics pertinent to the challenges and strategies of reaching the tribal peoples of the world and planting the Church among them.

The basis for any effective ministry to tribal peoples is to deeply understand the cultures and worldview. Even within one's own culture we cannot minister the Gospel effectively to people we do not know. This is doubly true when ministering cross-culturally, especially to people who have a radically different culture and worldview.

In this issue several articles are devoted to helping us understand the culture of tribal peoples—in particular their worldview. Dean Halverson starts us out by helping us understand the religion of tribal peoples: *animism*. One thing is sure: animism, as a perspective of life (worldview), is totally different from the Western view of life. Halverson list key ingredients which missionaries must understand in order to reach tribal peoples in an effective manner so as to plant the Church of the Supreme God among them. There can be little doubt that nothing is more challenging *and needed*—also nothing is more rewarding!

David Sitton, a missionary practitioner with more than 20 years

experience working among tribal peoples, writes the second article focused on the basics of animism. Sitton also lists basic characteristics which help to identify the worldview of tribal peoples. All of this leads to the challenge of doing effective spiritual warfare among animist tribal peoples without which they cannot be reached nor can a viable Church be planted in their midst.

In the next article, Gary Burlington presents a translated narrative of the ancestry, birth, life, and death of Chilufya Chilondola, an early twentieth century Zambian queen mother of the African Independent Mutima Church. The Mutima repeat the Chilufya narrative each year in an annual celebration of her role in salvation history. Burlington shows how and why the Chilufya story effectively grounds Mutima believers in their physical and ideational storyland. He argues that culture is more than publicly recognized collective representations. It consists of cultural models (schema) that organize the diverse systems of knowledge and belief into a single culture.

Missionaries often assume that the Western practices of medicine is superior to all other approaches. Gailyn Van Rheezen challenges this assumption. His article reveals keys to understanding the deficiencies of our Western worldview which if not corrected can have devastating consequences on the mission field.

The kind of missionary selected for tribal church planting plays a tremendous role in the type of tribal churches that finally result. Bob

Strauss walks us through the process that New Tribes Mission (NTM) used to develop a tribal church planter profile, and presents the conclusion of their efforts. This process, when contextualized, should help expatriates and nationals be more intentional in the selection and training of candidates wishing to reach tribal peoples.

Stephen Barber's article on literacy challenges long held assumptions about literacy and mission work among tribal people. His insights into how the different types of tribal societies related to literacy should help tribal workers anticipate possible perceptions and reactions.

I (Steffen) discuss the outside world's impact on the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao of the Philippines in relation to Western education. After discussing the educational philosophies of the two major outside educational systems, I consider its impact on present day Ifugao values. The powerful and enduring influences of these two educational systems has helped change and shape Ifugao culture.

Last but not least, David Sitton concludes this Special Edition with a glossary of animistic (tribal) terms and also lists valuable resources to reach them. You might want to start there first.

*Dr. Tom Steffen, guest editor,
mission professor at Biola University.
Dr. Hans Weerstra, IJFM editor.
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USA*

Animism:

The Religion of the Tribal World

Animism is the religious faith and life system of the tribal peoples of the world. The author explains the basic characteristics of animism—a perspective of life totally different from the Western non-religious view of life. He also lists the key ingredients which missionaries must understand in order to reach tribal peoples in an effective manner with the Gospel so as to plant the Church of the Supreme God among them. Nothing is more challenging—nothing is more rewarding!

by Dean C. Halverson

The term “animism” comes from the Latin word *anima*, which means “soul” or “breath.” As such, it refers to that which empowers or gives life to something. It follows, then, that animism is the religion that sees the physical world as interpenetrated by spiritual forces—both personal and impersonal—to the extent that objects carry spiritual significance and events have spiritual causes.

Thus, if there is an accident, or if someone is sick, there are spiritual reasons behind such things that must be taken into consideration. Otherwise, the cause behind the accident or the sickness cannot be fully understood or remedied.

The animistic form of religion is called “folk religion,” such as “folk Hinduism” or “folk Islam.” The tendency for people to gravitate toward a form of their religion explains why many people who come from a country with a Hindu or a Buddhist heritage do not believe the way the “text-book” description of their religion says they should believe.

Understanding Animism

Why should we seek to understand animistic religions? After all, aren't

those the kinds of religions that are practiced by primitive tribal groups wearing weird masks and dancing around fires? How relevant can such a primitive religious system be to us today? Are these the people with whom we “rub shoulders” who are both modernized and well-educated?

It is important for us to understand animism because it is both pervasive and attractive to people everywhere.

The Pervasiveness of Animism

Most world religions have a concept of God that makes Him out to be distant, abstract, and unknowable. For example, Hindus say that Brahman, their term for ultimate reality, or God, is *nirvana*, which means “without attributes.” A God without attributes is obviously abstract to the extreme. The result of Brahman being so distant and abstract is that people are left with a spiritual void that calls out to be filled. Hindus have filled that void with 30 million intermediate gods.

We in the U.S. have witnessed this tendency to move toward animism in the phenomenon of the New Age movement. When that movement

began 20-30 years ago, meditation, in which the meditator sought to experience unity with the divine oneness, was central to the movement. But now channeling contacting one's personal spirit-guide rivals meditation as being at the center of the movement. Again, this is an example of humanity's tendency to move from an abstract concept of God—the divine oneness—to filling the void with the more personal spirit-beings.

This tendency also explains why many in our secularized culture, in which God has been replaced by the theory of evolution, have become so enamored with angels and with SETI (the Search for Extra-Terrestrial Intelligence) during the past couple of years.

So, animism needs to be understood because it is the form of religion to which people gravitate. Although precise figures are hard to come by, the estimates concerning the percentages of animists in the world are significantly large. For example, Gailyn Van Rheenen, an expert on animistic religions, estimates that “at least 40 percent of the world's population” is animistic (Van Rheenen, 1996:30). An article entitled “What's going on.” points to the growth of animism as

being a trend of the future.

Religious pluralism reigns; any god will do. Neo-paganism is emerging with disturbing force. There are more registered witches in France than there are Catholic priests (Myers, 4).

The International Bulletin of Missionary Research lists "Tribal Religionists" as making up around 17% of the world's population (Barrett, 25). This percentage is lower than Van Rhee-*nen's* probably because it counts only those who are strictly tribal religionists and does not take into consideration those who are numbered as, say, Buddhists, but who adhere to more of a folk form of Buddhism (animism mixed with Buddhism) than to the original teachings of Buddha.

Attractions of Animism

A main reason animism should be studied is because it holds a tremendous attraction for people. First, it is popular for some because it infuses the sacred into a reality that has been emptied of anything spiritual by the scientific/evolutionary perspective. Animism puts the mystery back into the secularized matter-only world.

Second, animism holds an attraction because it offers people a way to cope with one's everyday needs and problems, such as the need

- to be healed of an illness,
- to be successful in business,
- to find a job,
- to excel in school,
- to restore a soured relationship,
- to find a mate,
- to gain guidance for the future.

Religion Watch reported, for example that "the new religions making the most impact in Japan today are those stressing individual spiritual powers and techniques....today's young recruits are little interested in religious doctrine. The focus on the cur-

rent wave has turned from belief to techniques (Cimino, 6-7).

We have all experienced those times when God seemed silent and distant and when His apparent lack of action leaves us feeling helpless. The feeling that God is distant and, that He does not care might overtake us after hearing the news that one has cancer, or after experiencing the death of a child, or being laid off from a job. At such times we become desperate, and we are tempted to grab for something that works—anything that will give us the power to get us out of our suffering or to fix what is wrong.

Animism promises such power. Philip John Neimar, an American-born Jewish businessman who is also a priest of the animistic "Ifa" religion says, "Religion is a marketplace. You have to deliver. And Ifa works" (Ifa, 4) To the extent that we seek to manipulate spiritual powers—including seeking God for the "quick fix" or for our personal benefit—we are coming from an animistic rather than a biblical perspective. In that sense, we all have animistic tendencies.

Only when we serve and worship God solely for who He is—and not for what He can do for us—is our worship pure and free of animistic inclinations (see Steyne, 46-47).

Animistic Beliefs and Practices

1. One God and the Many Spirits

Most animistic religions teach that there is one Supreme Being who exists beyond the intermediate ancestors, spirits, and gods. This God is either by nature monistic (an impersonal oneness) or monotheistic (a personal being). For animists, this Supreme Being is either too far removed from His creation or too abstract to be known. It might be that the Supreme Being uses the inter-

mediate spirits to do His will and to serve as His representatives. However, He still cannot be approached or known directly.

2. The Ultimate/Immediate Division

The animist views the "formal" religions of Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, etc. as being relevant with respect to the *ultimate* issues, such as who is God, what is humanity's problem, and what happens after death. However, they see those religions as being irrelevant when it comes to addressing the *immediate* issues of everyday life. This division between the ultimate and the immediate realms is the reason why an animist can be a practicing Catholic, but also consult a shaman (an animistic priest who communicates with the spirits) in order to be healed.

3. The Spiritual Realm

According to animism, the spiritual realm with which we must deal consists of personal spirit-beings and an impersonal spiritual energy.

a. Personal Spirit-Beings. Animists believe there are two different kinds of spirit-beings. Those that have been embodied (such as deceased ancestors) and those that have not (such as spirits and gods) (Van Rhee-*nen*, 259). The spirits are often seen as being mediators between us and God, able to intercede on our behalf. But to mediate on our behalf they must first be given homage (Henry, 8).

Spirit-beings possess specific powers and are localized geographically. Some spirits exert their powers over human endeavors (such as a business venture, a marriage, community relations, or war), while others exert their powers over aspects of nature (such as storms, the seas, or fields).

b. Impersonal Spiritual Force. Besides the personal spirit-beings, animistic religions also teach that there is an impersonal spiritual

energy that infuses special objects, words, and rituals. Such energy gives these objects the power that people need to accomplish their desires.

Animists will often attribute magical powers to an object. For example, the following is a description of a technique for those in folk Islam who make a fetish out of the words of the Qur'an, their sacred scriptures.

One aspect of fetish-making involves writing a verse from the Koran that is relevant to the problem or concern of the person on a piece of paper in water-soluble ink. Before the paper is put inside the fetish, the *marabout* (a Muslim leader) dips it in water so the ink dissolves. Then the person who will wear the fetish drinks the water, thinking that by doing so the message will be internalized (Quicksall, 10-11).

4. Concept of Sin

Animists are not concerned so much about offending the supreme God as their concerns of a more immediate nature—afraid of offending the local spirits. They realize that an offended spirit will inevitably exact retribution in the form of injury sickness, failure, or interpersonal strife.

For example, Migene Gonzalez-Wippler, a follower of the animistic religion called Santeria, knew that Elegua—the name of her god—required his followers to perform a simple offering to him every Monday

morning. One Monday, however, Gonzalez-Wippler forgot to perform the ritual offering because she had just returned from a tiring trip and was busy unpacking. As she was walking

amid her apartment putting things away, she cut her leg on the sharp edge of the handle to the cabinet in which she kept her god. "When I pulled back my leg," writes Gonzalez-Wippler, "the door of the cabinet swung open, and there, looking up at me with aggrieved eyes, was Elegua's image" (Gonzalez-Wippler, 236). Gonzalez-Wippler understood the cut to be the price that her god had inflicted on her for having neglected him. Van Rheenen writes, "Animists live in continual fear of these spiritual powers" (Van Rheenen, 20).

5. Contacting the Spirits
Animists are more inclined than

Westerners to attribute spiritual causes to their sickness or bad fortune. Divination, which is the practice of giving information... which is not available by natural means" (Henry, 71), is the means by which a person discovers either how he or she has offended some spirit or which person has cast a curse on him or her. Divination is also the means by which one discovers how to resolve the problem either what the spirit requires or how to throw a counter-curse.

Methods of divination are numerous and varied; they include tarot cards, palm reading, the *I Ching*, tea-leaf reading, observing how feathers fall, the throwing of cowry shells, astrology, omens, dowsing (see Weldon), rituals, necromancy (contacting the dead), and interpreting dreams and visions. Divination can also be used to discover when it is the most fortuitous time to do such things as asking for someone in marriage, begin constructing a building, sign a contract, or make an investment.

6. The Afterlife

There is no universal and consistent doctrine throughout the many animistic religions as to what happens to a person after death. Many see the person's spirit as continuing to exist after death either by being reincarnated into another life on earth or by "graduating" to a higher spiritual level. The belief is also common that

Differences Between the Personal Spirit-Beings of Animism and the God of the Bible	
Personal Spirit-Beings of Animism	The God of the Bible
Limited to one geographic location	Not limited geographically; God of all the earth and the universe (Acts 17:24)
Has power over various aspects of nature	Has power over all things, the seen and unseen (Acts 17:24)
Depends on our sacrifices.	Does not depend on our sacrifices because He has created all things (Acts 17:25), and because He has provided on our behalf the "once and for all" sacrifice (Hebrews 9:24-10:14)

Differences Between the Impersonal Spirit-Beings of Animism and the God of the Bible	
Impersonal Spiritual Forces	The God of the Bible
The spiritual forces can be manipulated according to the person's will.	God is not moved or manipulated by charms or by rituals. That which moves God is a repentant and humble heart before Him. (Ps. 51:16-17; Proverbs 21:3)
The spiritual forces can be used for either good or evil purposes.	God is holy and hates that which is evil (Psalm 5:4). The Bible says that the "sacrifice of the wicked is detestable—how much more so when brought with evil

the person who dies becomes an ancestral spirit. The family must then continue to give offerings to that ancestor because it has the power either to protect or to plague the family.

Suggestions for Missions

1. Be Sensitive to the Animists' Perspective.

In his book *Filipino Spirit World*, Rodney Henry talks about how an "informal conspiracy of silence" developed among the laity toward the clergy in the Philippines. By the phrase "conspiracy of silence," Henry is referring to the lay people's reluctance to talk to the clergy about their problems with the spirits because the clergy do not take such things seriously. For example, Henry described a situation in which a layperson was asked to deal with someone who was being "troubled by demons." This layperson said.

I stopped to ask our American missionary to pray for me and for the situation with the student. When I explained the situation to him, he simply laughed at me and changed the subject. That was the last time I ever talked to an American about the spirit-world (Henry, 33).

The first principle, then, in dealing with someone who comes from an animistic perspective, is to refrain from scoffing at their view of the world. Such skepticism will only cause them to refrain from discussing that part of their lives with you, but it will not turn them from it.

2. Be Aware of the Influence of Secularistic Thinking in our Lives

The Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization has stated that "the influence of the enlightenment in our education, which traces everything to natural causes, has further dulled our consciousness of the pow-

mists believe in the existence and the influence of the supernatural. Both Christianity and animism would stand together in their opposition to naturalistic thinking that says only matter exists. Animists, like Christians, believe that, while we might plant the seeds and culti-

vate the soil, there is a supernatural element that causes the growth. While the doctor is the one who dresses the wound and sets the broken arm, there is, again, a supernatural element that causes the healing.

Second, offending the supernatural carries consequences. With the animist, those consequences include things such as sickness, doing poorly in an exam, interpersonal strife, or financial ruin. With the Christian, the consequences of our offending or sinning against God is that it causes our relationship with Him to be broken.

Third, both Christians and animists have the hope that there is a way by which to escape the consequences of our transgressions.

Fourth, often the animist believes in some form of a Supreme Being who stands above the spirits and spiritual powers.

Asking the animist to talk about his or her concept of the Supreme Being, and about his or her cultural traditions, legends, and practices often bears unexpected fruit. That fruit could be a redemptive analogy, a theological similarity

Animistic and Biblical Worldviews		
	ANIMISM	CHRISTIANITY
GOD	God exists, but He is beyond our abilities to know Him or to communicate with Him.	God exists, and although He is beyond our comprehension, since He is infinite, He is nevertheless knowable; and He has made himself known to us through Jesus Christ and through the Bible (Hebrews 1:1-2).
ULTIMATE/IMMEDIATE ISSUES	Formal religions are concerned only with the ultimate issues of sin and salvation; but animism offers the power to cope with the immediate and everyday needs.	The God of Christianity is concerned both with the ultimate and the immediate issues of life. God desires to provide not only for our eternal needs but also for our daily needs (1 Peter 5:7).
THE SPIRITS	The spirits are seen as being either intermediaries between us and God or as representatives of God.	The spirits are deceptive; they seek to take the place of God in our lives.
POWER OF THE SPIRITS	The spirits and the instruments of magic have the power either to do harm to others or to bring benefit to them.	The spirits do have power but our utilizing such power leads to bondage. God has demonstrated through Jesus Christ that He is greater than the spirits and magic power, for "the one who is in you is greater than the one who is in the world" (1 John 4:4; see also Exodus 8:18), and He has "disarmed the powers and authorities" (Colossians 2:15). Submitting to God brings freedom (John 8:32-36) not bondage.

ers of darkness" (Lausanne, 2). We, as Western Christians, need to be aware of how naturalistic empirical thinking has influenced our worldview to the extent that we have dismissed the influence of the spirit world altogether. Such a worldview, moreover, is not biblical.

3. Find Common Ground

Animism and Christianity share several concepts in common (see Tippet, 134-139), and the Christian can use them for building common ground.

First, both Christians and ani-

with Christianity in picture or story form—that could be used to illustrate the Gospel. Ask questions such as:

- What is the supreme God like?
- Was there a time when God was close to humanity? What caused the original separation between humanity and God? Why does God seem so distant now?
- How do we offend the gods, spirits, or ancestors?
- What are the consequences of such offenses?
- Is there a way by which to divert those consequences?
- Does God care about us now? If so, how?

4. *Highlighting the Differences*

The key differences between animism and Christianity are very significant. First, in Christianity God has not remained distant and silent, but He has broken through to our world through Jesus Christ, through whom He has made himself known to us (John 1:1,14,18; Hebrews 1:1-2; 1 John 4:9-10).

Second, through the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ, God has paid for—removed, covered, taken care of—the consequences that we have incurred as a result of our offenses against Him. The gods, spirits, and ancestors of animism offer no such answers.

The “once and for all” nature of Christ’s sacrifice, more over, means that the matter of our sin is settled with God (see Hebrews 9:25-26; Isaiah 53:6;2 Corinthians 5:21), and the path is cleared for us to have a personal relationship with God (Hebrews 4:16).

5. *Trusting in God Alone*

The animist is coming from the

perspective that God is distant and that He does not care about our everyday concerns or, if He does care, He can act only through the spirits. As a result, the animist takes his or her problems and concerns to a spirit to solve, or relies on the power of a ritual or an amulet to meet his or her needs.

For example, the following was

Only when we serve and worship God solely for who He is—and not for what He can do for us—is our worship pure and free of animistic inclinations.

written about a Catholic woman who placed her faith in a locket that had an image of St. Vincent De Paul on one side and a likeness of the Virgin Mary on the other:

Many times I was as in danger of losing my life,” said 74-year-old Barbara Trzos aid “Maybe because of the locket I was spared.

She clutched it in Krakow, where she was taken to a prison and sentenced to death aid She clutched it in Auschwitz, where she performed slave labor. She clutched it in Dresden, where the bombs exploded around her. She clutched it in Bergen-Belsen, where disease and starvation almost finished her.

I do believe,” she said, “the locket was protecting me” (McCaffrey, B1).

Placing one’s faith in such a thing as a locket is animism. Animists might interpret their clutching on to something, such as a locket, as clutching on to that which God has provided for them. In reality, however, that object has become a replacement for God; they are trusting in the supposed magical powers of the creation rather than in the Creator Himself.

First of all, trusting in God means that we need to encourage the animist to let go of whatever he or she is clutching for protection or prosperity and to cling instead to the only true and secure Source of our protection and prosperity.

The way to get the animist to question his or her object of trust is first to discuss how dependence on an animistic powers is an addiction that leads to bondage. The more power we experience the more we crave that power. Such powers eventually begin to “own” us.

Second, we need to demonstrate through our lives that God is intensely interested in every aspect of our lives. We can rest, therefore, in His power to provide for our needs. Peter exhorts, “Cast all your anxiety- on him because he cares for you” (1 Peter 5:7). It is in the sense of casting all our anxieties on God that we are to be a “better animist than the animist,” for we should take every concern to God. When a child gets sick, our first reaction should be to pray for him or her and to seek God’s grace concerning his or her care. If we’re worried about our jobs, our primary response should be to take our concern to God.

Third, we must point the animist to Scripture. We need to lead them to Matthew 10:29-30, for example, and point out what Jesus said “God is not only aware of each sparrow that falls to the ground but that He is even aware of the number of hairs on our heads. If God is concerned about such insignificant matters as sparrows and hairs then how much more is He concerned about us, For we “are worth more than many sparrows” (Matthew 10:31).

Make it clear that approaching God through prayer is the answer to our problems, not depending on the power of some spirit or amulet. We should also pray for things with the

animist. Ask the animist what concerns he or she has, and then pray for those concerns with him or her. Then stand back and be prepared to see God work in ways that might be beyond our previous experience or limited expectations.

6. God Works in Mighty Ways

Jesus made a connection between the demonstration of God's power over Satan's kingdom and the invasion of the kingdom of God into Satan's realm when He said, "If I drive out demons by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God has come upon you" (Matthew 12:28). Significantly He made a similar connection between the conquering of demons and the invasion of His kingdom when He gave His pattern for prayer; "Our Father in heaven... your kingdom come, your will be done on earth as it is in heaven...*but deliver us from the evil one*" (Matthew 6:10, 13, italics mine).

Because the Lord's Prayer is clearly still relevant for us today, God is demonstrating His power over Satan and his demons so as to confirm that the presence of His kingdom is also still active today. This is significant for us as we consider working with animists.

Because the power to cope with everyday issues is such an important matter, the animist will probably not be inclined to switch allegiance from the spirits to Jesus unless the power of Jesus is visibly demonstrated to be greater than that of the spirits. Moreover, God does not seem to be shy about showing His power to animists who are seeking after Him (Shetler). So be ready to be amazed by the way in which God will work.

At the same time, though, we as Christians must walk a fine line between *expectant faith* that believes God wishes to demonstrate His power to the animist and a *presumptuous*

faith, whereby we make demands on how God is to demonstrate His power. God knows best what is important to a person in animism and which demonstration of His power will have the most effect in the animists' lives.

One Wycliffe missionary, for example, said that God did not work healing among the tribe with whom he was working. Instead, God validated His message by giving the people dreams. Such dreams worked better than healings because dreams were an important source of information for this particular people.

The point is that we need to seek the Holy Spirit's guidance in knowing how we should pray for the animist.

While, initially, God might demonstrate His power in amazing ways in order to get the attention of the animist, the issue will quickly change from that of power to that of trusting God and of becoming conformed to His character (see Shetler, 78-79). Malcolm Hartnell, a missionary too the animistic Digo people in Kenya, Africa, stated it well when he wrote,

If Christianity, in the person of God, simply offered a better genie than the demonic powers, Digo-land would have converted a long time ago. But, of course, God does no such thing. At the heart of the Christian faith is a personal relationship with God, akin to that of a child to its parent. God does promise to meet our needs, he does promise to guide us, he does promise to give us victory over sin and Satan. But the primary goal of our relationship with God is not to get everything we want but to make us more like God himself and he answers our requests according to that purpose (excerpt from Hartnell's personal prayer letter).

We need to turn the animist's heart so he or she can see his or her need for such a relationship with God.

7. In Relationship with God

Animists need to understand that God can meet both their immediate

and their ultimate needs. The most urgent issue, though, is *their need to break their addiction to power*—and to the "powers"—*and to be in a relationship with God*.

Jesus addressed the issue of how the believer is to meet his or her needs:

And why do you worry about clothes? See how the lilies of the field grow. They do not labor or spin. Yet I tell you that not even Solomon in all his splendor was dressed like one of these. If that is how God clothes the grass of the field, which is here today and tomorrow is thrown into the fire, will he not much more clothe you, O you of little faith? So do not worry, saying, "What shall we eat?" or "what shall we drink?" or "What shall we wear?" For the pagans run after all these things, and your heavenly Father knows that you need them. But seek first his kingdom and his righteousness and all these things shall be given to you as well (Matthew-6:28-33).

There are three things to note in the passage above that are extremely-relevant to reaching animistic peoples.

1) Creation Reveals God's Glory.

God is the One who is active within nature, not the spirits, for "God clothes the grass of the field." The creation reveals God's handiwork and display's His glory (Psalm 19:1), not that of the spirits. The spirits are unworthy usurpers of His glory. We should give our worship and allegiance to God alone, not to some created spirit-being.

2) God Truly Cares

Jesus is talking in the above passage about people's everyday needs, and He is saying that God cares about meeting such needs. When we trust things like spirit-beings, rituals, or charms, we are actually bringing into question the goodness of God's character, for we are doubting that He cares. Jesus is saying in the above passage that God cares (see 1 Peter 5:7); and because He cares, He will

provide (see Acts 14:15-17). To believe anything else is to disparage God's character and to place our trust in the creation rather than the in the Creator which is a serious offense to God.

Animists are, in effect, saying that these things that are created are better able to handle our concerns than is the God who has created all things (see Acts 17:29-30), thereby placing the creation above the Creator. That is idolatry! The animist must understand that God is a jealous God and that He will not tolerate such idolatry (Exodus 34:14; Deuteronomy 4:23-24:6:13- 14), for He alone is worthy of our trust and worship. God cares for us more than any spirit or god, and He alone can accomplish all that He wills (Job 23:13:42:2).

3) Seeking God First.

Our lives are not to be consumed with temporal matters. Instead, our desires are to be for God's "kingdom and His righteousness." This is where almost everyone's thinking is upside down and backwards, for most of us believe that after we take care of the everyday matters, then we can concern ourselves with God.

Jesus is saying, however, that our desire to know the eternal One is to be our first priority; God will then take care of the temporal matters. The phrase "seek first His kingdom and His righteousness" denotes being in a right relationship with God; and it is at this point that the two realms—the ultimate and the immediate—meet. How? Because as our ultimate needs are met by being brought into a relationship with God through faith in Jesus Christ, then God will also provide for our immediate needs. God is not moved by charms, rituals, or fetishes. He is moved by a heart that believes and is humbled before Him

{Proverbs 21:3; Psalm 51:16-17; Isaiah 66:1-2; Hebrews 10:19-22).

8. Address their Fears

Animists live in a state of constant fear. They are afraid of the retribution of the spirits because of an offense, or they fear the harm an enemy can inflict on them through some form of spiritual power. But God is greater

If we are able to see through the deception of the spirits, then we should not bother following them. . . However, if we are unable to see through their deception, then we should be well advised to stay away from them.

than the spirits and the powers, and He will protect us (Colossians 2:15; 1 John 4:4).

The good news is that as believers in Jesus Christ we no longer need to relate to God on the spiritual realm out of fear of judgment or punishment, for through Jesus Christ God has removed the reason to fear Him (Romans 8:1). The Bible says, "Perfect love drives out fear, because fear has to do with punishment" (1 John 4:18). God demonstrated His perfect love in that "while we were still sinners, Christ died for us" (Romans 5:8). Based on our faith in Christ, we can now "approach the throne of grace with confidence, in that we may receive mercy and find grace to help us in our time of need" (Hebrews 4:16—a very relevant verse for the animist).

9. Who is Christ and Who We are in Him

Jesus Christ is the Creator of all things (John 1:1; 1 Corinthians 8:6;

Colossians 1:16-17; Hebrew's 1:2, 10). As such, He is infinitely greater and more powerful than Satan and his demons, for they are created beings.

The power of Jesus Christ over the demons is most clearly seen in the Gospel of Mark, for there are more cases of Jesus demonstrating His power over demons (1:24-27; 1:34, 39:3:11-12:5:1-13: 7:25-30; 9:17-29) in the Gospel of Mark than in any other Gospel. Mark, moreover, gives examples of Jesus demonstrating His power not only over the demons but also over disease (1:30-34, 4:0-42; 5:25-34; 6:56), physical handicaps and deformities (2:1-12; 3:1-5; 7:33-35; 8:22-25: 10:46-52), death (5:41-42), and nature (4:35-41 :6:30-44; 6:48: 8:1-8; 11:13-14, 20-21), all of which are issues of great concern for animist people.

When you have the chance, invite your animist friend to read through the Gospel of Mark with you so you can discuss with him or her the many instances of Jesus' power. Also, consider together the passages in which are described the victory that Jesus has won over Satan (Mark 3:27; Colossians 1:13-14:2:15; Hebrews 2:14-15; 1 John 3:8).

Moreover, when a person places his or her trust in Jesus, then the following becomes true: "We know that anyone born of God [the believer does not continue to sin: the one who was born of God (Jesus Christ) keeps him safe, and the evil one cannot harm him" (1 John 5:18). This verse points out two things that are true of the believer.

First, having believed in Christ, we are secure in Him, knowing that "the evil one cannot harm him." What this means, as Paul explains in a similar passage, is that nothing, including

“demons,” can “separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord” (Romans 8:39). Through faith in Jesus Christ, we are now,

- “children of God” (John 1:12; Galatians 3:26; Ephesians 1:5),
- “justified freely by his grace” (Romans 3:24),
- freed from condemnation (Romans 8:1),
- secure in the “love of God” (Romans 8:39),
- “holy and blameless” (Ephesians 1:4),
- freed from slavery to sin (Ephesians 1:7),
- sealed by the Holy Spirit for eternal life (Ephesians 1:14).

Satan cannot touch such truths nor the spiritual power inherent in them!

The second truth about the believer is that since we are “born of God,” meaning the Holy Spirit has given us new life, we now have the power to overcome sin.” Because we live in a fallen world, we are still subject to the attacks and the temptations of the evil one (Ephesians 6:16). But through the power of the indwelling Holy Spirit we have the power to resist Satan (Ephesians 6:13; James 4:7; I Peter 5:9).

10. *The Deceptive Nature of the Spirits*

Satan, the “prince of this world” (John 12:31) and the “god of this age” (2 Corinthians 4:4), is a natural-born liar. However, his evil nature is not obvious. Instead, his deception is cloaked in apparent beauty as well as in the promise of power.

Satan’s act of deceiving humanity with the lure of power began in the Garden of Eden when the serpent promised that “you will be like God” (Genesis 3:5). The deception continues through today. Notice, for example, the message of the human and “angelic” authors in *Ask Your Angels*:

Slowly, surely, we are collectively emerging from this illusion of evil. To do this means to hold firmly to the understanding of God as One Power, as One Ultimate Life Principle, from which all else emanates (Daniel, 29).

Such a message is appealing in its optimism, but it is fundamentally opposed to the Christian Gospel. The message of these “angels” is that evil is an illusion (thus dismissing the necessity of Christ’s atoning death) and that we are emanations from the “One Power” (thus denying that our sin has separated us from God).

Satan’s plans, moreover, are not for our good, but for our destruction (John 8:44:10:10; Hebrews 2:14), and he will use the appearance of beauty and the promise of power to lure us into that destruction (Genesis 3:6; 2 Corinthians 11:14). If we think we can see through the deception of Satan and his spirits through our own natural abilities, then one of two things will happen:

First, if we are able to see through the deception of the spirits, then we should not bother following them. Because since we can see through their schemes, they would be lesser beings than us.

Second, if we are unable to see through their deception, then we should be well advised to stay away from them.

In Conclusion

Satan will not let go of those in his kingdom without a struggle. So, be prepared in your own life to do spiritual battle when witnessing to animists. Have others pray for you and with you.

Also be encouraged that many animists are ripe for accepting the Gospel. Diligently seek the guidance and the power of the Holy Spirit as you share the love of Christ with your ani-

mist friends—with the tribal peoples of the world.

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Photo here of Halverson

Dean Halverson works for International Students, Inc. (ISI). He is their World Religions Specialist and Ministry Resource Development Team Leader. Besides being Editor for The Compact Guide to World Religions, he has also written a book on the New Age Movement called Crystal Clear: Understanding and Reaching New Agers (NavPress, 1990)

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The Basics of Animism

Spiritual Warfare in Tribal Contexts

Animism is a growing concern in all parts of the world and forms the basis for new religious movements. Sitton lists basic characteristics which help to identify the worldview of tribal peoples. All of this leads to the challenge of doing effective spiritual warfare among animist peoples in order to reach them with the Good News and plant the Church in their midst.

by David Sitton

The existence of spiritual beings and vigorous activity in the spirit world is a constant reality in both the Scriptures and the animistic worldview. The spiritualistic worldview affirms that ultimate reality is spiritual, not physical or material. The vast majority of the world's 5.9 billion inhabitants hold to some form of a spiritualistic world view.¹

Generalizations can be made about the animistic practices of tribals, but it must be remembered that animism takes many forms and how it is applied to a particular culture will vary widely from tribe to tribe. Even tribal clans living in close proximity along a shared mountain range may exhibit remarkable differences in how their spiritualistic view of the world affects their daily existence.

Animism Defined

Defining tribals is like describing the proverbial elephant... Your perspective all depends upon which piece you've got hold of at the moment. But here are some basic definitions of animism.

Animism is the belief that non-living objects have souls (life) and that natural phenomena possess supernatural or magical power. Gailyn Van

Rheenen gives a more comprehensive definition:

Animism is the belief that personal spiritual beings and impersonal spiritual forces have power over human affairs and that human beings must discover what forces are influencing them in order to determine future action and, frequently, to manipulate their power.²

Is animism a religion or a culture? In reality it is both. Religion, relationships and culture are inseparable in the tribal world. Their spiritualistic religion is an integral part of the culture and the tribal way of life. Following the rituals of their religion is a totally taken-for-granted requirement of living in the tribe. Animism is an all-of-life daily experience based upon spiritualistic beliefs. In contrast, the Christian religion (not Biblical Christianity), as commonly understood in the Western world, is merely a set of dogmas to be believed. These dogmas are easily labeled as spiritual and can be separated from the rest of life which is considered secular.

Animistic Beliefs in the United States

Otto Friedrich made the insightful observation that "a strange mix of spirituality and superstition is sweeping across the country."³ Here are a few examples:

1. An estimated 50 million Americans believe in astrology and regularly consult their horoscopes.
2. The annual Halloween or All Hallow's Eve Festival is nothing more than a celebration of North American folk beliefs in the reality of ghosts and goblins. More than just innocent fun, Halloween is satanism's most powerful night of the year.
3. Lucky rabbits foot, horseshoes, and lucky numbers.
4. The toast of glasses originated as a ritual to ward off evil spirits.
4. Sneezing is traditionally unlucky because it is an involuntary expulsion of breath. Breath is equated with the soul to the Hebrews, Greeks, Indians and Chinese. Expelling breath was believed to make room for demons to rush in and possess the sneezer. The common "God bless you" that follows a sneeze originated as a way to protect the sneezer from evil influences.
5. Good luck superstitions abound among sports stars and politicians alike. Some famous ones are:
—Jim Palmer was nicknamed "Cakes" because he ate pancakes before every game.
—Frank Lucchesi, manager of the Texas Rangers from 1975 to 1977 was called "Hippity-Hop" because of his extreme observance of the long-

standing notion that bad luck will follow the player who steps on a baseline. He frequently jumped over foul lines.

—Donald Regan, former White House Chief of Staff for President Reagan, disclosed in his book, *For the Record*, how astrology greatly influenced the schedules and plans of the former President and First Lady. The former president also put a gold charm in his pocket every morning. Although Mr. Reagan appeared to have a deep Christian faith, he seemed untroubled by the contradictions of depending on the mystical powers of astrology even while professing faith in Christ and the gospel.⁴

How does all of this relate to a study of animistic tribal peoples? The above serves as documentation that there are a large number of Americans who believe that their lives are being influenced by “cosmic forces” or evil spirits, which is a basic belief of animism.

From the reading of horoscopes, to Nancy Reagan’s consulting of a medium while in the White House, to Shirley MacLaine’s obsession with the occult, to Coach Pender’s refusal to cross baseball bats in a bat rack, animistic customs and New Age thinking are being promoted and is a growing concern in American society.

Animistic Assumptions about Life

Animistic cultures have many underlying assumptions about what is true and real in life. The following statements are common assumptions about life that most animistic societies consider to be unchallenged truths. Many examples will be used to illustrate these vital assumptions in the following pages.

All of life is spiritual. The spirit world controls everything in life. Spiritual beings are everywhere and they

shape all that happens. Ancestral spirits control the living. The material world is subservient to the spiritual. Spiritual power is gained through secret knowledge and magic. Spirits are able to cause sickness. These assumptions about what is true and real in the world of the animist fall under one large category, usually called *mana*.

Animistic Concepts of Spiritual Power

Three wood carvings lie undisturbed beneath generations of dust and cobwebs deep within the belly of a large slit-gong garamut drum in the manhouse of a Sepik River village in Papua New Guinea. An old tribal leader carefully removes one of the crumbling pieces and explains that no one in the village knows who carved it or the legend it represents. Yet it is a serious taboo to tamper with these sacred objects. Handling one wrongly will rile the spirits of the dead who would then cause terrible catastrophe. Not only would the local villagers be destroyed, but, it is strongly emphasized, people worldwide would be severely punished. The manhouse itself seems to tremble at the thought of anything happening to these old soggy pieces of ancestral wood.

The animistic concept of indwelling spiritual power within certain objects or people is almost universally referred to as *mana*. Among the first to comprehensively study and document this phenomena was R.H. Codrington back in 1891.

Codrington described *mana* as “a supernatural force which operates behind all human activity in the world. *Mana* is a force altogether distinct from physical power which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil and which is of the greatest advantage to possess and control.”⁵

Mana is considered the power behind success or failure.⁶ Insufficient

mana is thought to be the cause of failure; great *mana* the cause of success. A man is successful at fighting not merely because of powerful arms, quickness of eye, and innovative weapons; he is successful because of *mana*. The *mana* may have been received from an ancestor, from a warrior killed in battle; from an amulet that once was in contact with a *mana*-filled person or spirit; or from a distinctive tooth or rock that when worn, placed in one’s house, or planted in one’s field has power to bring success. Likewise, the speed of a well-made canoe does not depend upon its design but on the *mana* it possesses. Without *mana*, an arrow cannot inflict a mortal wound nor can a net catch many fish (Codrington 1891, p. 118-120).

Theodore Ahrens, in describing present-day Melanesia, comments, “The main religious question in Melanesia is how to gain access to power and control it in order to make life successful.” *Mana* provides the animist with power to be successful; the absence of such power explains failure.

Influential people hold their positions due to *mana*. Ancient Hawaiian kings were thought to be so charged with *mana* that the common man would die if he came into contact with what the king had touched. His touch automatically made things taboo to the commoner. Codrington writes that a son in northern Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides) does not necessarily inherit his father’s chieftainship since such a position is due to powerful *mana*. However, the father will attempt to pass on to his son the *mana* that has made him chief by the use of charms, magical songs, *mana*-laden stones, and secret knowledge (Codrington 1891:56).

Objects are assumed to possess *mana* because of their distinctiveness. For example, a man may find a stone

resembling some fruit of his garden. He says to himself, "This stone is so unusual that it must possess power to make my garden productive. Let me put it to the test." He lays it at the foot of a tree or plant whose fruit it resembles. An abundant harvest proves that the stone possesses *mana*.

Cannibalistic tribes in New Guinea believed that eating enemy warriors was the way to gain their power (*mana*). The very personality of the person was thought to be contained within the bodily parts. Hair, fingernails, flesh, blood and sex organs are all considered to be rich in *mana*. It is still common to visit villages in Papua New Guinea where human bones and skulls are coveted for their *mana*.⁷

This impassioned belief in the power of *mana* posed a problem for the government of Papua New Guinea when they tried to establish a blood bank. No one would give blood! The people feared that once their blood was collected and stored away that the government would have spiritual power over them. Even after extensive teaching only a few volunteered blood.

The scientific and secular mind set of the West may scoff at such beliefs and practices. Yet it is interesting to parallel the concept of *mana* with our ideas about coincidence and luck. A businessman may consider his promotion to chairman as a result of his hard work and intellectual abilities, but he may also recognize that he was "lucky" to be at the right place at the right time. A person who has just won a lottery will reckon himself to be lucky. Similarly, a person who is successful in growing plants may happily say that he has a "green thumb." And touching or "knocking on wood" for luck remains part of English folk magic.⁸

R.H. Codrington rightly recognized that without a thorough understanding of *mana* "the outsider could not understand the religious beliefs and practices of the Melanesians" (*The Melanesians*, p. 191).

"The FORCE is with you" was the advertising slogan for the Hollywood movie "Star Wars" in the 1980s. This modern twist expresses well the animistic concept of *mana*.

Tribal peoples are physically tough, but spiritually tormented. They routinely display superb courage in tribal warfare and endure incredible pain... Spiritually, though, these same warriors tremble at the thought of witches, ghosts and spirits.

This concept of spiritual power, or enablement, is prevalent throughout the world and is dominant within animistic societies. It may be called *Toh* in parts of Indonesia, *Baraka* in the Muslim world or the *Universal Life Energy* among New Age followers. However, whatever the label the concept is much the same.

The Controlling Emotion of Animistic Peoples

Tribal peoples are physically tough, but spiritually tormented. I have seen Papua New Guineans perform almost superhuman feats, carrying monstrous loads up perpendicular mountains, and chasing wild pigs and cassowaries all day long through some of the world's thickest jungles with hardly a drop to drink. They routinely display superb courage in tribal warfare and endure incredible pain from every imaginable disease and mishap.⁹

Spiritually, though, these same warriors tremble at the thought of

witches, ghosts and spirits. They may refuse to walk through a forest alone or sleep in a room unless there is someone to keep them company. I have had guides lead me hours out of the way over rough terrain simply to avoid walking through an ancestral burial ground or through areas known to be inhabited by spirits.

Animistic peoples believe that their troubles in life are generally due to their inability to keep the spirits satisfied. They live their lives fearfully looking back over their shoulders wondering if every ritual was performed adequately enough to keep the spirits happy. Constant fear everywhere dominates tribal people.

Where did fear originate? The early chapters of Genesis document the entrance of sin into the world. Fear was the immediate consequence of that sin. Fear is the result of the break in man's relationship with God because of rebellion. We are alienated from God; we are not at peace; there is unrest, uneasiness and dread.

Fears and phobias of every kind abound. Animists fear the power of an ancestor to take revenge upon them for some past grievance; they are terrified of the power of the evil eye to kill a newborn or even ruin a harvest; they tremble when confronted with the power of spirits who possess mediums; they dread the power of magic that controls human events; and on and on it goes...

It is worthy of note that many creation myths among tribal peoples describe a time when there was no separation between mankind and God when humans were immortal.¹⁴ But the time came when there was a separation between God and man. Some tribal legends say that the separation came as a result of man breaking a taboo; in others it is explained as an accident beyond human control. The

gruesome result is that humans have become mortal and die. Tragically, no real solution for reconciliation with God is found within tribal mythologies.

Controlling the Spirits

One tribal assumption about life is that spirits are evil and unpredictable and they must be approached with extreme caution. From the breast, children are taught about the power, presence and danger of the spirits. Their existence is one of constant fear and never-ending submission (worship) to a variety of spirits. Great energy is expended in their pitiful attempts to satisfy the spirits through magic and sacrifices. These demonic entities aggressively participate in all of the affairs of village life and the people are endlessly seeking to settle accounts with them.

Much of life is an attempt to discover which spirits are dominating them at the moment and then finding the right magic rituals to temporarily satisfy them. The whole emphasis is upon gaining power (over spirits) in order to live a successful life. A few examples of how animists attempt to manipulate spiritual powers are:

1. By seeking secret knowledge through mediums.
2. By approaching their ancestors for help through elaborate dances and festivals.
3. By employing the power of sorcerers to take care of a specific problem.

Spiritual Warfare in Tribal Contexts

It is unfortunate that many people in our 20th century humanistic and secular oriented society deny the existence of anything beyond the reach of their five natural senses. Evangelicals are often ridiculed because they believe in a literal living devil, who has demons under his control, and who is actively devising

detailed strategies to destroy Christians and to keep unreached peoples in bondage. To our detriment, the post-Enlightenment Western worldview in which most of us live, has filtered out much of what the Bible reveals about the spirit world.

Most amazing is that many Christians are also incredibly unaware of this warfare in the spirit world. Since they cannot see demons, and since they cannot hear the shrieks of the rulers of darkness, and since they cannot physically feel the fiery darts of wicked spirits, they convince themselves that none of this really exists. If one adheres to secular worldview assumptions that deny spiritual realities, then it follows that the demonic dimension will be virtually ignored.

This warfare is called *spiritual* because it is normally unseen. It is a conflict that takes place in an unseen realm with hostile, wicked, and invisible forces. Whether Westerners believe it or not, this spiritual war is as near to us as the air we breathe.

In fact, the entire biblical record of God's redemptive activity (of salvation history) is set in the context of warfare between the two kingdoms.¹⁰ The story of Elisha and his troops in 2 Kings 6:8-17 is a great illustration of the spiritual war that is constantly being fought "behind the scenes." Though invisible, this encounter in the spirit realm is more important than the conflicts we see with our natural eyes. Therefore, whether facing a jungle witch doctor or a big city bureaucrat, theologians and missiologists agree that we are up against far more than merely a flesh and blood foe.

The Reality and Nature of the Devil and his Legions

The Bible begins (Gen. 3) and ends (Rev. 20) with clear testimony to the existence of Satan and evil spirit

beings. They are powerful and, with God's sovereign permission, they are sometimes able to accomplish their evil intentions. Both the Old and the New Testament are replete with references to a variety of spirits and demonic activity. It is not my intent to develop a study on demonology for this article. Whole books are available on this subject.

For our purposes, however, let me quickly note some of the characteristics of Satan and his demons as described in Scripture:

- Satan claims authority over the world (Luke 4:6).
- He is a murderer and the father of lies (John 8:44).
- He blinds the minds of unbelievers (2 Cor. 4:4).
- He opposes the growth of God's kingdom (Mark 4:15).
- He persecutes the church (Rev. 2:10).
- Evil spirits assist Satan in his deception and destruction of men (1 Peter 5:89; Eph. 6:12)
- They are spirits without bodies (Eph. 6:12).
- * They were originally in fellowship with God (Jude 6).
- * They are numerous (Mark 5:8-9).
- They have supernatural power (Rev. 16:14)
- They are knowledgeable about God (Matthew 8:29).
- They are allowed to roam the earth tormenting people (Matthew 12:43-5).
- They can inflict sickness (Matthew 9:32-33)
- They can possess or control animals and human beings (Mark 5:13; Luke 8:2).
- They can cause mental disorders (Mark 5:2,3,5)
- They know that Jesus Christ is God (Mark 1:23-24).
- They tremble before God (James 2:19).
- They teach and lead people into

false doctrine (1 Tim. 4:1).

- They oppose God's people (Eph. 6:12).
- They attempt to destroy God's kingdom (1 Peter 5:8).
- They can exert authority over an entire region (Dan. 10:13).
- God takes advantage of the actions of demons to accomplish His divine purposes (Judges 9:23).
- God is going to judge demons in the last judgment (2 Pet. 2:4)

Though defeated by Christ in his death and resurrection, the devil and the angels that fell with him are permitted to be aggressively active in the affairs of man, primarily because most people, consciously or unconsciously, are duped by his trickery.

Although the devil's role in spiritual warfare is most often associated with supernatural power, his most effective strategy is deception and trickery. Various points to ponder:

- Satan and his angels were created by Jesus (Col. 1:16).
- Christ is head over them (Col. 2:9-10).
- He defeated them on the cross (Col. 2:15).
- Their end is hell (Matt. 25:41; Rev. 20:10). When Satan reminds you of your past, remind him of his future.

Satan's Power

There are no rules in this warfare. Satan is not limited to a single plan of attack, but will take every advantage to bring people under his control. We often speak of strongholds, demonic oppression, depression and possession. What does all this mean?

1. A satanic *stronghold* is any fortified place Satan establishes to exalt himself against the knowledge and plans of God. A "fort" is a strengthened dwelling built as a means of protec-

tion against an enemy bent on penetrating their camp.

"A studied observation of demonic strongholds reveals two universal characteristics—they repel light and they export darkness." (George Otis Jr.)

"A stronghold is a mind set impregnated with hopelessness that causes us to accept as unchangeable something we know is contrary to the will of God. A demonically induced pattern of thinking". (Ed Silvosa)

Spiritual warfare is what happens when believers aggressively take the Gospel into a situation where Satan has a stronghold.

Demonic strongholds seek to hold a person, system, organization or territory under its grip. Church planting is essentially God establishing His sovereignty (stronghold) and dominion over a group of people once held in Satan's grip. God becomes their stronghold and fortress.

2. *Demonic oppression* is Satan's powerful influence from outside of the body. Oppression occurs when evil spirits tempt our minds, tamper with our emotions, soften our wills, and assaults our physical bodies.

3. *Demonic depression* is an unshakable bout of depression that occurs for no observable reason.

4. *Demonic possession* is to be inhabited by evil spirits.

5. *Demonic obsession* is an uncontrollable preoccupation with demonic phenomena.

6. *Demonize* is a word used of believers who have given place to the devil and have, in some way, come under the influence of evil spirits. Perhaps this is what happened to Peter (Matthew 16:23) and Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:3), and king Saul (1 Sam. 18:10).

Jesus Himself acknowledged that Satan was powerful by calling him a

strong man (Matthew 12:29), and until he is bound, no amount of effort, strategy or clever techniques will accomplish much. Having said that, however, it must also be remembered that there is One who is stronger than the strong man. The stronger one is Jesus (Luke 11:21-22). He crushed Satan's head and "having disarmed the powers and authorities, he made a public spectacle of them, triumphing over them by the cross" (Col. 2:15).

Though defeated at the cross, Satan remains an extremely powerful foe. He still "prowls around like a roaring lion looking for someone to devour" (1 Peter 5:8). He still has the ability to destroy people, just as a rattlesnake with a crushed head can still be dangerous.

Spiritual Counter-Attack

Spiritual warfare is what happens when believers aggressively take the Gospel into a situation where Satan has a stronghold. There is an inevitable spiritual confrontation between God and the forces of evil that hold the people in bondage. God always wins. And through the process of spiritual warfare captives are set free.

Deliverance is the demolishing of Satanic strongholds (2 Cor. 10:3-4). This is done through the proclamation of the Gospel, accompanied by a "demonstration of the Spirit's power" (1 Cor. 2:3-5). Deliverance occurs when God breaks the demonic power over a person's life and enables him to establish a relationship with Christ.

In Conclusion

There has never been a time of easy advance for the kingdom of God. We cannot expect to come against a powerful enemy and quickly drive him out of his heavily fortified stronghold

where he has been entrenched for centuries. Satan will and must give them up, but there will be a fight, and there will be casualties as we come under the fire of Satan's attack. The following word of the Lord is imperative in the mission context to tribals:

"On this mountain the Lord will destroy the shroud that enfolds all peoples, the sheet that covers all nations; he will swallow up death forever. The Sovereign Lord will wipe away the tears from all faces; he will remove the disgrace of his people from all the earth. The Lord has spoke." (Isaiah 25:7-8)

Throughout Scripture the devil's domination over the nations is represented as darkness. Isaiah describes it as a shroud that enfolds all peoples, as a sheet that covers all nations. Spiritual darkness is not merely a passive absence of light, as on a peaceful summer's evening. Instead, spiritual darkness is an aggressive, attacking, oppressive stronghold that is duty-bound to strangle all those within its grasp.

Satan is incredibly powerful. As a frail human being, I sometimes marvel at the enemy's ability to keep tribal peoples in the grip of fear and unbelief. "On earth is not his equal" is how Martin Luther put it. But I disagree with those who perceive the conflict between God and the devil as a toss-up and that we're waiting in limbo to see who wins the final round. We must be clear about one thing. It is a truth that will come in handy when you are slugging it out in the trenches of evangelism and missions:

The devils every breath is inhaled only by the permission of God. Satan cannot exist in the brilliance of God's glory any more than an ameba can survive on the surface of the sun. Our God reigns—and He reigns right now. He will reign in every tribal people group in all the earth!

End Notes

1. Edward F. Murphy, *Worldview Clash, A Handbook for Spiritual Warfare*. International Journal of Frontier Missions, Vol 10:4, Oct. 1993, P 163.
2. Gailyn Van Rheenen *Communicating Christ in Animistic Contexts* (Baker Book house, 1991), p. 20.
3. Otto Friedrich. *Time Magazine* (1987).
4. Dr. Richard J Gehman, *African Traditional Religion in Biblical Perspective* (Kesho Publications, Kijabe, Kenya, 1989) p. 98.
5. R. H. Codrington. *The Melanesians*. 1891, p. 119.
6. The following three paragraphs are borrowed from Gailyn Van Rheenen's excellent book, *Communicating Christ in Animistic Contexts*, pp. 208-210.
7. New converts in the Solomon Islands came to perceive communion as a Christian ritual which gave them power (*mana*), in much the same way as eating the flesh and drinking the blood of their deposed enemies had once done. The symbolic significance of communion is not the primary meaning these Melanesians derived from this form of worship. Darrell Whiteman, *Point* (Series No. 5, 1984), *An Introduction to Melanesian Cultures*.
8. David Burnett. *Unearthly Powers* (Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1988), p. 26-27.
9. I have personally witnessed men pulling arrows out of their thighs with hardly a whimper. The most gruesome thing was a young man who accidentally pierced completely through his own foot with a steel axe as he was chopping down a tree. He maintained complete composure through what must have been excruciating pain. He

endured this without pain killing medications of any kind.

- 10 Excerpts of *A Creation Myth from the Abaluyia people of Kenya*.
11. Dr. Ed Murphy. *Worldview Clash, The Handbook for Spiritual Warfare* (Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1992), p. vi.
- 12 The following two definitions from George Otis Jr. and Ed Silvoza are from the *MARC Newsletter*.

Photo here
of
Sitton

David and
Tommi Anne
Sitton have been
involved in
church planting
and
leadership
training
ministries in

Papua New Guinea for the past 20 years. The Lord has used David in making the first Gospel contact with several cannibalistic and headhunting tribes in the interior of New Guinea. Altogether, 34 churches have been established with more than 2,100 disciples through this ministry. Presently, David is doing tribal research, conducts tribal seminars, and leads short-term missions to New Guinea and Mexico. He also continues church planting in New Guinea on annual Summer trips. David and Tommi (with their three children) are now basing their work TO EVERY TRIBE MINISTRIES, located in Los Fresnos, Texas.

[Editor's Note: This article is a reprint from Sitton's excellent manual entitled *To Every Tribe With Jesus: A Tribal Awareness Seminar*. Permission to reprint this article has been granted.]

Topography of a Zambian Storyland

Looking for cultural support patterns in the indigenous stories can help bolster the impartation of the Gospel in ways which aid believers in their own "journey" toward becoming better equipped disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.

by Gary Burlington

Narrative as a method for general Bible teaching (Boomershine 1988) and cross-cultural evangelism (Steffen 1996) is a recent phenomenon. However, before we can tell the gospel story in any particular culture, it is helpful to examine indigenous narrative in its own context. Tom Steffen refers to this context as the storyland, a conceptual space of ideational as well as physical landmarks (1996).

In this article I present a translated narrative of the ancestry, birth, life, and death of Chilufya Chilondola, an early twentieth century Zambian woman. She is celebrated as queen mother (Hinfelaar 1994) of the Mutima Church,¹ an African Independent Church founded and led by her son, Emilio Mulolani Chishimba. The Chilufya narrative is repeated each year in an annual celebration of her role in salvation history as understood by the Mutima. The Chilufya story is compelling for Mutima believers because it is grounded in their physical and ideational storyland.

The Mutima Church

The Mutima church arose in the late 1950s during Zambia's struggle for independence.² The church claims adherents in Zambia's Northern Province, the Copperbelt Province, and along the line of rail from the Copper-

belt to Lusaka, Zambia's Capital. The vast majority of Mutima adherents are Bemba whose homeland is located in the northeast of Zambia.

The founder, Emilio Mulolani Chishimba, broke away from the Roman Catholic Church when he realized that it would not honor his key teachings. Among these are his belief that Mary is the savior of Africa, he is her official representative on earth, and God is essentially androgynous in nature and five (rather than three) in person. Jesus embodies God's male nature and is the Savior for Europeans. Mary embodies God's feminine nature in her role as Africa's savior. At its high point in the mid 60s the Mutima Church claimed 15,000 followers, many of them from prominent Catholic families of Bemba ethnicity. Today the church has a core membership of about 5,000 Bemba people (Hinfelaar 1994).

Emilio calls all African peoples to repentance and salvation in Mary. When Africa has embraced its savior and renewed its spiritual life through the feminine nature of God fully realized in her, a millennium will be ushered in, and with it, a dramatic reversal of the fortunes of Africans and Europeans.

From a Mutima view point all of this is foreshadowed in the Old Testa-

ment story of Isaac, Rebekah, Jacob, and Esau (Genesis 25:19-34) and in Jesus' enigmatic statement that the first will be the last and the last will be first (Matthew 20:16; Mark 10:31; Luke 13:33). Mutima adherents believe that Emilio's mother, Chilufya Chilondola, is key to the fulfillment of these scriptures.

The Chilufya Chilondola Narrative

Beginning from the ancestors,³ the paramount chief [of the Bemba people], Chitimukulu Chinchinta, had a daughter, Chanda Fulobwendo, whose children went on to found entire lineages. This was a sign of the fecundity God gave her. She bore mostly sons, but they were numerous. Finally she give birth to a daughter who was her last born, Mwansa Mukulu.

Mwansa Mukulu bore Shi Chanda Mukala. Shi Chanda Mukala fathered Mwansa and Shi Masala. Shi Masala married Munnuga and fathered a daughter, Kabamba, and a son, Musonda, and then a daughter, Katongo. Kabamba was married to Chisala by whom she had a daughter, Chilufya, who was followed by five boys and one more girl.

Chilufya grew up possessing a fine body, a beautiful face, and large eyes.

At Kasama there was a Scot known as Stuart. In years past he had been a soldier and he received a pension which he invested in shops. He wore glasses and was therefore known as, "Mandala." Now this Mandala saw the young woman, Chilufya. He fell in love with her and gave her employment. When she grew up the white man made his intentions toward her known to her parents, Chisala and Kabamba, who were living at Mafula's village in Chief Mwamba's area. When Chilufya's parents heard this they rejected the idea, "How can you Europeans marry from among us Africans? This is impossible."

But the white man really loved the young woman, Chilufya. He took note of her work habits, her dependability, and the fact that shown something but once she could do it immediately. The white man insisted on marrying her. He explained the matter in such a way that Chilufya's parents understood and replied, "All right! We shall wed you."

After they were married Chilufya gave birth to a female child know as Chanda Mandala. And later, she produced a boy, Mwansa Mandala, or Stuart.

When war broke out in 1914, the white man was called to fight. He was long absent until, in 1920-21, she was married to a young man named Mulolani, for it was believed that after an absence of so many years the white man would not return. You know how people are! She was constantly pressured to marry. After a child was born to this union the white man returned to claim Chilufya and take her away from Mulolani.

Since Chilufya and the white man constantly fought over the child, Emilio Mulolani Chishimba, the white man suggested that, "We just throw it into the lake," for at the time the white man had already left Kasama

and, owing to a shortage of Europeans, entered into government service to work at the Boma near Lake Bangweulu. To resolve this issue, Chilufya called for her mother, Kabamba, to come and take the child. Chilufya remained and bore another son whom they called William. And again, the white man left. Chilufya lived with her parents, who, having left Kasama long ago, now resided at Ipusukilo. There Chilufya was married to a man named Anselm. This marriage did not last long as Anselm died and Chilufya was married to a man named Jim. They went to reside at Lubumbashi, taking along the white man's son, Stuart Mandala. Chanda Mandala remained at Chilubula for schooling.

At Lubumbashi Jim worked in a butchery. One day a sliver of bone lodged in his eye, but did not damage it severely—it was a surface wound which nonetheless affected his sight. Jim, Chilufya, and Mwansa the younger went to Kalula's village in Shimumbi Nsapaila's area in Lubumbu. Now Chilufya had not conceived so Jim left her saying, "You are barren." Chilufya remained unmarried. When visiting at Nsombo's village, where her maternal uncle, L. Shatamuka, was teaching she met a man named G. Chituna, a child of the former Mwansakombe. They agreed to marry although the white man, Stuart Mandala, now residing in Malawi, sent word that Chilufya and the children were to join him; for Chilufya refused to go. Chanda Mandala also refused. She said, "I will stay with my Grandmother." At the time she was at Chiluba.

It happened that her [Chilufya's] father, Chisala died and he was blessed with salvation. As for the Lufyala Mulondoshi, Chilufya Chilondola, when she fell and died, her father sent her back, saying, "Child, go back. The time for you to die has not yet come."

Well, she returned to the body and those who were mourning stopped and exclaimed, "She has revived, she has come back!"

She gave birth to two children, a boy, Bwinamusumba Chituna, and a girl, Bupambu Chituna, by the man G. Chituna. In the end Chilufya was living with her brother, Yumba, to the west of Ipusukilo at Lufubu. There she fell ill of body. They took her to the hospital at Ipusukilo and that's where she died and was buried in the cemetery at Ipusukilo.

Chilufya demonstrated hospitality in love. She was loving and a willing worker. She rose early and worked with such vigor that when others awoke there was nothing left to do. That's why she was also know as, "The one who is like a man in strength and vigor." She brought joy to visitors and to those who suffered. She loved to worship. She loved the Mutimas and called them her children. She provided them with hospitality, especially when they were journeying. When the [Catholic] priests upbraided her saying, "Your child has a demon and is destroying all who follow him," she would reply, "Had he been possessed [by evil spirits] I should have taken him to those with the insight to cast them out. But since what he says about the Mutima is exactly what you teach, and since you yourselves are priests, you pray for him and remove the demons." When they were convicted and silenced she went outside and said, "These people are not good, they don't know that my son is used by God."

Method of Analysis

The topography of any storyland includes both physical and ideational landmarks. Ideational markers are historical events, cosmology, cultural meanings, and social structures. In addition to these there are important

sub-conscious features of a peoples' storyland foundational schema (Shore 1996). In the analysis below I describe some of the features of the popular Zambian storyland which are either assumed or explicitly referred to in the Chilufya narrative. I will deal first with some of those features of the storyland of which people are consciously aware⁴, then with the foundational schema which help to organize the story.

Cosmology, Culture and Social Structure

The Bible was introduced into Zambia about a century ago. It plays a key role in shaping cosmology. For example, most Bemba are Christians and they accept that the Christian God rules the seen and unseen worlds (cf. Maxwell 1983) as well as the notion that history is moving toward a God-directed goal. The Bible is so foundational to popular belief that a majority of the "traditional" practitioners, mediums, midwives, herbalists, and witchfinders to name a few, who make use of it in their trade whether or not they are members of any Christian church. The Chilufya story is also grounded in the Bible.

The first two paragraphs of the story sound very much like Bible genealogical texts.⁵ In particular they stress Chilufya's royal ancestry. She is a descendant of a paramount chief, Chitimukulu Chinchinta, a historical figure (Roberts 1973) with whose story many Bemba are familiar.

Chilufya's genealogy is powerful and plausible not only because it sounds like the Bible and mentions specific people and places, but for three other reasons as well. First, it shows continuity between the way God worked in the Bible and the way

he is working to bring salvation to Africa. When this story is narrated one Bemba phrase is repeated again and again in explaining the significance of the story—"in accord with the principle of fairness (*mulinganya*) and good judgment (*bupingishi*

In Mutima thought, the Bible provides a framework for working out the seeming cultural and economic disparity between Europeans and Africans by relating it to God's administration of salvation history.

busuma)." The word "fairness" is particularly important here. It is rooted in the notion of equity in the distribution of resources among one's dependents and the avoidance of favorites. Since the salvation history of Europeans began in the distant past and involved a royal lineage, the redemption of Africans must follow the same path.

The same key phrase, from another perspective, suggests balance and symmetry in an aesthetic sense. Not only is God ethically bound to provide for African salvation just as he has for that of Europeans, but the scheme of redemption also has a pleasing symmetry. The story of Jesus' descent from a kingly line through Mary is to Europeans as Emilio's own descent from a kingly line through Chilufya is to Africans. Ethics, aesthetics, and history are in a state of satisfying symmetry which also lends power to the story.

There is a third direction from which the genealogy derives power, the Bemba notion of *ilyashi*, which

means narrative-history (cf. Cunnison 1959; Poewe 1981). Narrative-histories are associated with titled positions. When somebody does something of note the chief may reward him with a titled position. Chilufya is God's instrument for bringing Emilio into the world to reveal the hidden female aspect of his nature and Mary's role as Africa's savior. Chilufya receives the title *Lufyala Mulondoshi*, literally Bearer of the Guide (i.e. Emilio). The annual recital of this *ilyashi* on her holy day not only honors her, but also confirms Emilio as the *umwine* (owner/guardian) of this *ilyashi* and his absolute right to run the affairs of the Church as the heir of his mother and the representative of Mary.

Other Biblical characters and themes are echoed throughout the Chilufya narrative. For example, paragraph one says that Chanda Fulobwendo received the blessing of fecundity from God and gave birth to numerous sons who went on to found lineages. This sounds very much like the story of Abraham who was promised numerous offspring and through whose grandson, Jacob, the twelve tribes of Israel were founded.

The most important role the Bible plays in Mutima thought is not explicitly mentioned in the Chilufya narrative, but it is always in the mind of Mutima hearers. The Bible provides a framework for working out the seeming cultural and economic disparity between Europeans and Africans by relating it to God's administration of salvation history. This is accomplished by seeing Chilufya as the "New Rebekah" who fulfills the Old Testament story of Jacob and Esau.

Chilufya, like Rebekah, carried two nations in her womb. One is European (her children by Stuart), and the

other is African (Emilio, her child by Mulolani). Emilio's birth signals the beginning of an incredible reversal of fortunes by which the history of redemption will see Europeans, formerly blessed and favored, superseded by Africans whose ascendancy will also usher in the millennium. Mutima's believe that Jesus himself referred to this when he said that the first will be last and the last will be first.

In Mutima discourse Europeans are known as the Esaus (*BaEsau*). They are referred to as "our elder brothers" (*abakalamba besu*). They are associated with maleness, aggressiveness and greed—all of which they succumb to in colonizing Africa. This results in the forfeiture of their birthright, that is, the cultural and material advantages they currently enjoy over Africans. Africans, meanwhile, are referred to as the Jacobs (*BaYacobo*). Jacob received help from his mother and, in Mutima thinking, he is associated with docility, the feminine and the domestic.

In turn, this appropriation of the Jacob and Esau narrative is supported by the cultural complex surrounding a woman's last born child, the *kasuli*. The *kasuli* is thought of as a mother's pet. It is allowed to suck at the breast longer before weaning than other children. Even if it is a boy it may be allowed a closer connection with its mother and the domestic sphere than is generally thought appropriate for boys. In relation to Chilufya's European children, Emilio is the *kasuli*. In relation to Europeans, whom Mutima believe to have created earlier than Africans, Africans are the *kasuli*. Their savior is Mary, their salvation lies in embracing her feminine qualities as over against those of European masculinity and their just reward is to supplant their elder brothers in the coming utopia.

The Bible not only provides the framework for understanding European and African relationships in terms of God's administration of history, but it helps to make sense of Emilio himself. It is Emilio who is Mary's representative to lead Africa into the promised millennium. The story tells us that Emilio was the source of conflict between Chilufya and Stuart. One of the typical complaints in Bemba society is that children fathered by another man are not treated well by step-fathers. Stuart's behavior goes well beyond mistreatment. He wants to drown Emilio in Lake Bangweulu. We hear echoes of the Moses story in this account. Moses was saved by commitment to the waters of the Nile, but Emilio is saved from those of the lake when his mother fosters him to her mother to be cared for, like Moses, by his own people currently held hostage to European designs.

A number of non-Biblical features of the Zambian storyland also underwrite the power and plausibility of this narrative. Not the least are those dealing with occult powers. Consider what we are told about Stuart.

Stuart is a European shop owner in Kasama, the provincial capital. He is retired from the army. According to the local theory of maturation, an adult male who has successfully endured a competitive and hostile social environment such as the army has learned cleverness (*ubucenjeshi*) and magic (*ubwanga*). Many Bemba believe that Europeans stand outside of African magic, but that they nevertheless have a secret (*inkama*) which is just as magic and occult as its African counterpart. They frequently cite this as the reason Europeans discovered how to build automobiles and airplanes before Africans. Stuart is a man to be reckoned with.

One of the most persistent rumors

in the Kasama district is that foreign shop owners are successful because of the powerful medicine (*umuti*) they possess. They collude with local people who roam the district in search of the unwary whom they capture and slaughter for their hearts. Shop owners buy these organs and concoct a powerful attracting medicine from them so that local people will come into their stores and spend their money.

From a local point of view the relationship between Stuart, the powerful, materialistic and worldly-wise European man, and Chilufya, the beautiful, intelligent, and innocent African maiden, is metaphoric of African-European relations in Africa from slavery through colonialism (cf. Fabian 1979). Like Stuart, Europeans have brought all their physical and occult power to bear in order to corrupt and subjugate local people.

God, however, is able to deliver even from occult powers. This point is made explicit in the narration. After Chilufya is finally abandoned by Stuart she marries Anselm who suffers a premature death. This may well have exposed her to charges of witchcraft since a husband's death is thought to result from his wife's magic.

Her next husband, Jim, carries her off to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The DRC and especially Lubumbashi are thought of as places where powerful witches and magicians live. Jim is injured on the job and Chilufya remains childless. The Zambian theory of witchcraft suggest that people who have jobs may be vulnerable to envious magical attack by those with lesser positions. Jim probably believes himself the victim of such an attack and he removes himself and Chilufya to Zambia. Maybe he saw Chilufya's barrenness as related to such an attack. He points out her failure to conceive and abandons her.

But in the next episode Chilufya's special place in God's plan of salvation for Africa is confirmed by her return from the dead and her subsequent renewal of fertility.

According to Hinfelaar (1994), Chilufya's story is modeled after the Bemba queen mother, Bwalya Makasa, a magical woman who fell from the sky. While Chilufya did not fall from the sky, she nevertheless went into the realm of the dead and returned. Her father, who died earlier, sent her back. The word used for her return from the dead is *puputuka*, to be revived. But in Mutima discourse this word also means to receive special spiritual insight and power. Wyatt MacGaffey (1986) argues that many Central African peoples, including Zambian peoples, believe that the ultimate source of power to act in this world comes from the realm of the dead.

Chilufya is eulogized for her holiness. In the Bemba text the word used here is *ubutuntulu*. It refers to something which is whole, complete or intact. In Mutima thinking every individual human has both male and female natures since they are made in the image of an androgynous God. Each person is responsible to balance these influences in order to be whole. Chilufya's eulogy points out how she accomplished this.

She more than fulfilled all that is expected of a Bemba woman. That is, she provides for the nurture of her family and guests. Guests are usually a woman's own or her husband's kin. The ideal Bemba wife is the woman who, without grumbling, is equally glad to provide food and hospitality to the husband's kin as to her own.

In the Mutima church everyone is considered kin. One demonstrates the validity of one's faith by providing food

and shelter to any other Mutima who happens along, with or without notice. Chilufya's attitude was that all Mutima's are her children. And, indeed, she is the queen mother of the Mutima Church. She is the prototype for the role of all Mutima women.

However, true to Mutima thinking, she blends male and female qualities.

When people chose to join the Mutima Church they enter into a new set of social relations supported by unique set of cultural meanings.

She has the physical strength and mental wisdom generally associated with men. We are told that she worked so hard that by the time others awoke there was no further work to be done. We are also shown how she defeats the priests in argument by showing that her son, Emilio, is animated by the same spirit which empowers them. As her final reward she is received into the heavens as a person who is whole in that she has attained a perfect and final blending of male and female qualities.

In summary, I have shown that Biblical, cosmological, cultural, historical and social structural features of the contemporary Zambian storyland are woven throughout the Chilufya narrative. This is not a clever attempt to manipulate people, but an attempt to make sense out of life. It is rendered plausible because it thinks with and through the storyland.

Foundational Schema

Brad Shore (1996) suggests that culture is more than publicly recognized collective representations. It is

carried about in peoples' heads as sets of abstract schema he calls "foundational schema." They are cultural models which organize the diverse systems of knowledge and belief that comprise a single culture. From the actor's point of view foundational schema give the culture its feeling of sameness and continuity.

I see two foundational schema at work in the Chilufya narrative: balance/symmetry and journeying. I spelled out above how the Bemba concepts of fairness and good judgment are applied by the Mutima to salvation, history, ethics, and aesthetics. In other words, the discourse on fairness and good judgment is a concrete and public representation of the abstract foundational schema, balance and symmetry.

This same schema appears in Bemba thinking in terms of male-female relations. For the Bemba the entire cosmos is divided into male and female influences which must be kept in balance if order is to be kept in the social world. The Chilufya narrative implicitly invokes this foundational schema of balance and symmetry in male-female relations. For the Mutima, God himself is a perfect blending of male and female influences. The word Mutima means heart. Hinfelaar (1994) points out that for Emilio, the church founder, the heart is a perfect blend of male-female influences. In terms of history and salvation, it is an over emphasis on maleness which leads Europeans to colonize and exploit Africans. This is answered with a reassertion of female influences in Africans which will eventually reestablish balance and symmetry and usher in the millennium.

Another important foundational schema in the Chilufya narrative is journeying. Sister Mary Frost (1977) points out that in many Bemba sto-

ries the hero resolves problems in the context of a journey into the hostile environment of the forest, returning home only after resolution is achieved.

The journey schema is built into the structure of Chilufya's story as well. For example, she begins safely within the confines of her kin group under the care of her parents. In keeping with her times, however, the hostile environment into which she journeys is primarily urban, capitalistic and European dominated. Chilufya moves out of the realm of kinship transactions and into the realm of a capitalist economy, that is, from an economy predicated on group interests and generalized reciprocity to one predicated on individual interests and negative reciprocity. Abandoned, reclaimed, and abandoned again by Stuart in this context of danger, she is taken by Jim into yet another dangerous and witch infested environment outside of Zambia where she suffers infertility. Returning to Zambia, she is now abandoned by Jim.

Eventually her son, Emilio, discovers his true calling in the world. Through his discovery the meaning and significance of Chilufya's life is revealed. She returns to her own family (who are by now all Mutimas) and to renewed fecundity. She is received in the realm of the dead, sent back to live out her days, and eventually enters into salvation because of her good deeds. Finally, she is eulogized as the queen mother of the Mutima Church.

Conclusion

When people chose to join the Mutima Church they enter into a new set of social relations supported by unique set of cultural meanings. The Chilufya narrative plays a significant role in creating and maintaining these new relations and meanings. But its

power to do so has nothing to do with a discursive and rational argument for becoming a Mutima. Instead, it helps to bring about these transformations by making use of the familiar. The physical and ideational topography of the contemporary Zambian storyland provide the structures on to which new relations and meanings are connected. Key foundational schema such as the balance and symmetry and journeying help to give the story a sense of sameness with other domains of experience. The power and plausibility of Chilufya's story arise from the nearly seamless joining of the new and old.

End Notes

1. The official name of the church is Mutima Uwaloa Wa Makumbi, or the Sweet Heart of the Clouds. Members call themselves BaMutima, the Mutimas which is sometimes translated into English as "the Sacred Heart." Hinfelaar (1994) points out that the church founder, Emilio Mulolani Chishimba, was inspired by a picture of Jesus commonly displayed in Catholic homes. It depicts him revealing his heart.
2. There are two published accounts of the Mutima in the scholarly literature (Garvey 1995; Hinfelaar 1994). For a period of about 12 months spanning 1994 and 1995 I interviewed Mutima believers, participated in Mutima worship and other events, and interviewed Emilio. Much of the information in this article is drawn from Mutima literature, Hinfelaar, and my own experiences with the Mutima.
3. The Chilufya narrative presented here is my translation of the text which is used at the annual celebration of Chilufya's role in African salvation.
4. There are many more explicit and implicit references to the storyland in this narrative than can be discussed in this article. I have chosen some of the more important ones.
5. Many Christians who are members of the historical churches might feel that this story involves either the "imitation" of the Bible and/or "twisting" of Scripture. What needs to be kept in mind is that the Bible structures peoples' thinking. Mutima believers do not set out to imitate or twist. Instead, they use biblical themes and events to try and make sense of their own times and places.

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of
Burlington

Gary Burlington earned a B.A. in preaching from Johnson Bible College in 1976, an MA in African Studies from the University of Illinois in 1993. He is

presently pursuing his doctorate from the School of Intercultural Studies, Biola University. Gary served as a resident missionary in Zambia from 1976 to 1995 with a primary responsibility of church planting and leadership training.

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Animistic and Western Perspectives of Illness and Healing

Missionaries often assume that Western practices of medicine is superior to all other approaches. This article reveals keys to understanding the deficiencies of our own worldview which can have devastating consequences on the mission field.

by Gailyn Van Rheen

This article was first presented at a medical missions conference attended by doctors and nurses involved in short-term medical missions. The purpose of the presentation was to help doctors and nurses differentiate Western, animistic, and Christian worldview presuppositions concerning illnesses and suffering and, based upon these understandings, to guide them to develop a biblical theology of healing. Hopefully, this presentation will help to heighten the realization that the greatest need in medical missions is the creation of a biblical understanding that God is the ultimate source of all healing. This article was designed to be a preliminary probe into the worldview issues involved in cross-cultural medical missions.

Ways of Interpreting Reality

Worldview presuppositions form the basis of how cultures understand illness and healing. Doctors and diviners, nurses and shamans, clergy and laity all bring their worldview beliefs to the variety of assumptions about illness and suffering. They each claim special insight arrived at by scientific observation, revelatory authority, intuitional understanding, or logical deduction or some mix of these epistemological sources. It soon becomes apparent that understanding world-

view will help medical missionaries to perceive how illness is viewed in animistic cultures, where most medical missionaries minister, as well as how illness is viewed in their own culture.

Worldviews form the basic assumptions about reality which lie behind cultural beliefs and behavior. They are mental models of reality which shape cultural allegiances and provide interpretations of the world. These worldviews are so natural to insiders that they feel that all others should perceive reality their way. Like an iceberg only partially visible on the surface, many parts of the worldview lie below the surface of personal awareness. To those of a Western viewpoint, animistic worldviews sound preposterous until they understand the presuppositions which lie behind the animistic beliefs and behavior.

Western Perception

It is time for Western doctors and nurses to admit that they have basic worldview assumptions about illness although they are seldom brought to the surface and overtly discussed and evaluated. What are some of these Western presuppositions about sickness and healing?

First, Westerners believe that they live in a closed universe. Illness is seen as a result of cause and effect within the physical world. In other

words, people become ill because they come into contact with germs. The animist's belief that spiritual beings and forces (gods, spirits, ancestors, witchcraft, sorcery, and magic) are the cause for illness. This view by and large is relegated to the arena of fiction or classified as superstition by Westerners.

Second, Westerners assume that the world is orderly. They expect consistency in the way things work, a normalcy which can be predicted and tested. In their orderly, predictable paradigm, Westerners have jettisoned the belief that the world can be disrupted by personal spiritual beings (such as ancestors or ghosts, both of whom, in the animistic world, have passed into the spiritual realm beyond death) or impersonal spiritual forces (like witchcraft or magic). This perception that the world is orderly and predictable is the basis of all modern science and experimentation. Western medical science is based upon a rational, empirical worldview.

Third, Westerners make a sharp distinction between the natural and the supernatural. This is a result of post-enlightenment dualism which sharply differentiates between the body and the spirit. This "Cartesian dualism" eventually drove a wedge between the natural and the supernatural. Illness is considered part of the natural realm; religion part of the

supernatural. They are two distinct realms which do not impinge upon each another. How unnatural it would be for a doctor (even one who believes in the supernatural) to prescribe medicine for a patient and then say, "Let's pray that God will use this medicine to facilitate your healing." The doctor's office is not considered the appropriate arena for speaking of religion or petitioning God for help.

The Christian physician/minister must guard against being so influenced by this type of Western thinking that he falls prey to Western secularism. This secularism holds to many Christian doctrines and uses appropriate Christian terminology yet, in reality, excludes God from healing. Thus God is gradually and imperceptibly fenced out of His creation and at best is relegated to the status of an observer. According to this perspective, the Divine tends strictly to spiritual concerns. God has created and ordered the physical world, which operates on its own, according to established "natural laws."

Four, Westerners believe that the forces of the world are impersonal. They ask "what" caused the illness (which is always something impersonal, like bacteria) rather than "who" caused it or "why" someone is sick. These impersonal forces then are defined in terms of specific "laws of nature," which are rational and can be demonstrated by experimentation.

The belief that personal spiritual forces cause illness is generally considered superstition; the scientific community scoffs at even the hint that such powers might influence illness. Because this world operates by impersonal cause and effect relationships, prayer and healing are seen to be divorced as if God has little to do with illness and healing. God then is virtually relegated to the otherworldly realm of the supernatural. The Great

Physician is not petitioned for physical healing. Science and religion are thus disconnected. This can lead to the belief that humanity, with its scientific understanding, is self-sufficient, able to handle all obstacles in life, and does not really need God. Jeremiah's words call the Westerner back to dependence on their Creator God: "I know, O Lord, that a man's life is not his own; it is not for man to direct his steps" (Jer. 10:23).

Animistic Perception of Illness

Animistic worldviews are based upon radically different assumptions. Animists believe that personal spiritual beings (e.g. ancestors and ghosts, spirits and gods) and impersonal spiritual forces (e.g. karma, magic, witchcraft, curses) have power over human affairs. Humans, consequently, must discover what beings and forces are impacting them in order to determine future action and to manipulate these powers (Van Rheenen 1996:20). Contrary to what many Westerners think, animism in itself is a comprehensive belief system which is "logical" if one accepts its presuppositions. It usually makes little sense to Westerners who interpret animistic assumptions from their own worldview perspective.

What then are the basic worldview assumptions which underlie the animistic perspectives of illness? First, animists assume that the seen world is *related* to the unseen world—an interaction exists between the divine and the human. Personal spiritual beings and impersonal forces everywhere are thought to be shaping what happens in the animists' world. Illness is assumed to be caused by these powers. Neglected ancestors punish those of their lineage; angered gods and spirits send catastrophe; jealous neighbors maliciously use sorcery and witchcraft. Animists believe

that nothing is due to chance; spiritual powers of various types cause illness and other human catastrophes.

Second, animists believe that they live in an interconnected world. They are intimately connected to their families, some of whom are living and some of whom have already passed on to the spiritual realm. They are also connected to the spiritual world: the ambivalent yearning of gods, spirits, ancestors, and ghosts impact the living. Animists feel a connection with nature. The stars, planets, and moon are thought to affect earthly events. The natural realm is so related to the human realm that practitioners divine current and future events by analyzing what animals are doing or by sacrificing animals and analyzing their livers, entrails, or stomachs. Animists also believe that they are connected with other human beings. They access the thoughts of other human beings through ESP or other types of thought transfer. The cosmos is like the interconnected, interpenetrating strands of a spider's web. It is not surprising, given the interconnectedness of the animist's universe, that illness is frequently understood as the result of the breaking of this interconnectedness—the result of disharmony in one's life.

Third, animists seek power to control human affairs, especially during times of illness and death. The essence of *animism is power*. This power can be used malevolently to harm one's enemy or benevolently to divine why one has become ill. There are many types of animistic powers: power of an ancestor to control those of his lineage, power of an evil eye to kill a newborn or ruin a harvest, power of planets to affect earthly destiny, power of the demonic to possess a spiritist, power of magic to control human events, power of impersonal forces to heal a child or make one wealthy.

Fourth, animists seek to determine by divination what powers and forces are causing illness. Divination consists of a twofold process: The animist first seeks to determine the source of the immediate everyday problems and then seeks to determine an appropriate response based on this knowledge. There are many methodologies of divination. Animistic practitioners divine while possessed by spirits in Brazilian Spiritism, Haitian Voodoo, and Puerto Rican Santeria. Astrology is the most frequently employed methodology in highly literate cultures. Ritual techniques are variously employed throughout the world. Diviners in Western contexts frequently use tarot cards, while practitioners in Africa frequently analyze how cowry shells fall when thrown on a mat. Other methodologies include interpretation of natural omens, reliance on the dead, and interpretation of dreams and visions.

Fifth, animists believe that illnesses frequently have personal causes. Animists ask, "Who caused the illness?" The sick person may have caused his own illness by breaking a taboo or by sinning against an ancestor, spirit, or god. In other cases, the jealousy of a neighbor, friend, or workmate might have led to the use of witchcraft or sorcery that has caused the illness.

In addition to the causes of illness, animists seek personal motivations, asking, "Why did he do it?" If the sin is against ancestors, the living will seek to understand their wishes and appease them in order to *reestablish harmony*. If witchcraft or sorcery is the cause, the power will in some way be directed back to those invoking it.

Because missionaries from a

Western context seek the natural cause of disease, it is difficult for them to understand divination. They ask, "What caused the illness?" instead of "Who caused it?" and "Why did he do it?" Western missionaries naturalize what animists spiritualize. Animists would not object to these

Medical missionaries must realize that all of healing is based upon the graciousness of God. . . He is the Great Physician who listens to the prayers of his people and frequently heals when his people pray.

naturalistic explanations. They would merely assume that there is some spiritual power behind the secular explanation. For example, Burnett (Burnett 1988, 109) records a discussion between an African tribesman and a missionary:

Tribesman: "This man is sick because someone worked sorcery against him."

Western Doctor: "This man is sick from malaria because he was bitten by an infected mosquito."

Tribesman: "Yes, he was bitten by a mosquito, but who sent the mosquito?"

Theistic Understanding of Healing

How, then, should a medical missionary from the West effectively incarnate the mission of God in animistic contexts?

First, medical missionaries must make sure that they have accepted a Christian biblical worldview and can differentiate this worldview from other ways of perceiving reality. A Christian worldview presupposes an active God who rules over his world. He reigns

over this world by right of being its Creator. The Psalmist says, "The earth is the Lord's, and everything in it, the world, and all who live in it; for he founded it upon the seas and established it upon the waters" (Ps. 24:1-2). He created the physical body—breathing the breath of life into clay:

"The Lord God formed the man from the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living being". Humans, therefore, are not mere flesh but living souls created by God (Gen. 2:7).

God is sovereign over life and hears the prayers of his people. God opens

the womb of a barren woman like Hannah (1 Sam. 1), adds fifteen years to the life of a dying king like Hezekiah (2 Kings 20:1-6), and turns back evil which is about to come upon a disobedient people (Amos 7:1-6). Life and death, sickness and health are ultimately in the hands of God! The medical missionary must, therefore, determine the relationship between the divine and the material, between prayer and healing. He must determine what the relationship is between earthly physicians and the Great Physician. Without such integration, based on the Bible, the medical missionary operates as if God has no role in healing and virtually excludes him from the crises that inevitably come along in life.

A Christian worldview acknowledges that God both loves the people he created and expects them to live in a holy relationship with him. God's core quality (attribute) is steadfast love. He is "compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, abounding in love and faithfulness" (Exod. 34:6-7, cf. Num. 14:18; Neh. 9:17; Ps. 86:15; 103:8; 145:8; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2). This quality is clearest demonstrated

when God sent Jesus to become flesh and to die for sinful humankind (John 3:16).

God, who is love, is also holy. A Christian worldview poses a moral God in charge of his universe. Isaiah called him "the Holy One of Israel" (43:8). God speaks through Isaiah to say, "I am the Lord, your Holy One, Israel's Creator, your King" (Isa. 43:15). The heavenly hosts reflect this quality of holiness by proclaiming "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Almighty" (Isa. 6:3; Rev. 4:8). The sacrificial system described in Leviticus is based on a holy God desiring to unite sinful people with himself. Therefore, God identifies himself as "the Lord, who makes you holy" (Lev. 20:8). These two attributes define both why and how God relates to humankind. God did not merely create humans and then leave them. He loves them and desires to live in relationship with them. Nor does God desire just to heal them (physically) and leave them unholy (spiritually).

As the above discussion illustrates, a Christian worldview is radically different from both secularism and animism. Christians acclaim a personal loving and holy God. Westerners either deny God or believe that he is not actively involved in the world. Animists, on the other hand, look at God in one of three ways depending on their specific type of animism. He is either 1) a distant, unapproachable Creator, 2) the Supreme Being whose nature is refracted in lower spiritual beings to whom prayers and sacrifices are made, or 3) the impersonal power that permeates all of nature (Van Rhee- nen 1996:243-246, 298). Each of these perspectives stand in contrast to the true nature of the Creator God.

A Christian worldview, based on scripture, acknowledges that there are a number of causes for illnesses. Sometimes God uses illness to disci-

pline those who have sinned. God disciplines out of love as a father corrects "the son he delights in" (Prov. 3:11-12; Heb. 12:4-11). Frequently Satan causes illness to tempt people to fall away from God. Paul's thorn in the flesh was described as "a messenger of Satan to torment him" (2 Cor. 12:8). During Satan's second meeting with God in the book of Job, Satan asked that God allow him to touch Job physically, believing that he would then reject God (Job 2:4-6).

Understanding illness from a Christian biblical vantage point is difficult because Christians are called to stand before God by faith without understanding all spiritual reasons for earthly causations. When God appeared to Job after his period of suffering, he did not explain to Job the cause of his illness. He merely asked Job question after question about his creative power. Under this barrage of divine questions Job was moved first to silence (Job 40:1-5) and then to repentance (42:1-6).

The book of Job thus teaches that God is in control. This is "our Father's world." There is purpose in what is going on although humans may not fully understand it. Christians, therefore, are called to stand before him in faith, worshipping God, even during illness and suffering.

Second, medical missionaries should practice a Christian worldview by praying and speaking the message of God within the healing context. While patients in the United States do not expect their doctors to pray, separating the physician's healing and prayer, this is not the case in most areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. People in these areas do not divide reality into the natural and the supernatural. Medical missionaries must, therefore, pray for their patients, believing in the presence and power of God to interact and heal.

Conclusion

Some years ago I underwent a hernia repair at Tenwek Mission Hospital in the Kipsigis area of Kenya. I will never forget how Dr. Ernie Steury held his scalpel between clasped hands and prayed with me before the surgery. I felt a confidence that God was working through the hands of this doctor and, since that time, have prayed for God's healing both before and after going to a doctor. Dr. Steury significantly influenced hundreds of Kipsigis to become Christians because he continually prayed with his patients and exhorted them to follow the way of God.

Medical missionaries must realize that all of healing is based upon the graciousness of God. He has provided humans with the ingenuity and guidance to develop medicine and medical practices. He is also the Great Physician who listens to the prayers of his people and frequently heals when his people pray.

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Van Rhee- nen

Dr. Gailyn Van Rhee- nen is professor of Missions at the Abilene Christian University in Abilene Texas. He served as a missionary in East Africa

for 14 years among the Kipsigis tribe of Kenya.. He is the author of the excellent book/resource on animism Communication Christ in Animist Contexts.

Tribal Church Planter Profile

New Tribes Mission surveyed over 100 tribal church planting veterans to design a tribal church planter profile with a top of the line training program which results in a missionary effort that would not only understand the “what “ and “why “ of church planting but the “how” as well. Excellent overview insights emerged from this conference, and the results follow in this article.

by Bob Strauss

Sensing the need to evaluate its three-phase, four-year training program, New Tribes Mission (NTM) formed the Training Evaluation Committee (TEC) late in 1994. TEC sought to answer two basic questions: 1) Is the 40-50 year old training program culturally relevant for missionary candidates today? 2) Does the training adequately equip missionary candidates for the foreign fields as they exist today? This article describes a tribal church planter profile that emerged from the research.

Early in 1997 NTM conducted two profiling workshops that addressed the tribal church planter. The intent of the workshops was to define the personal qualities (being) and capabilities (doing) needed for a missionary to plant a church in a tribal setting. This profile would become the foundation for the NTM training program, beginning in the fall of 1998. Training objectives would be based upon the tribal church planter profile. These

cal Seminary, and an associate with the WEF Missions Commission. Ferris' (1995) edited book entitled *Establishing Ministry Training: A Manual for Programme Developers* provided helpful insights in the profiling process.

From the NTM workshops, a skeleton outline emerged that defined what the tribal church planter should *be* and should be able to *do*. Over one hundred experienced tribal church planters participated in the workshops, providing the expertise that was needed. NTM started at the end and worked backwards in redesigning its training program. The skeleton outline identified six quality categories of “being” and fourteen capability categories of “doing.” The outlines were rough and not necessarily in any order of arrangement or priority.

These twenty categories of subjects were then dispersed to subcommittees that were asked to “flesh out” the outline. The subcommittees were created based on experience and

mittees into a four-year training program for NTM. Their goal: Upon the successful completion of the NTM training program, the candidate will be equipped to plant an indigenous New Testament church in a cross-cultural tribal setting, starting from within a pioneering context. He will understand not only the “what” and the “why” of church planting, but also the all important “how” (methodology). The candidate will be able to demonstrate a satisfactory working understanding of this gained knowledge, prior to his field assignment, through classroom discussions, reports and essays, practical ministry within the context of life in the training setting, ministry outside the training context within the local community, and his own developing spiritual walk and character.

Tables 1 (see following pages) is a summary of the tribal church planter profile. The twenty categories are listed down the left side column.

by-pass the Bible Institute phase of the NTM training. Other categories are included because of the specific people groups NTM targets. For example, NTM's training includes: linguistic analysis, Bible translation, culture acquisition, and the chronological teaching style (effective with "high-context" cultures).

For a detailed analysis (Version 1 [14 pages] or Version 2 [225 pages]) of the tribal church planter profile, contact the Training Coordinating Committee at <tcc@ntm.org> for further information. NTM is currently redesigning their training program, using the tribal church planter profile as the basis for training objectives. It is anticipated that the full redesign will take several years to complete.

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of
Strauss

*Bob Strauss
is the
Training
Evaluation
Committee
coordinator
for New Tribes
Mission. He
teaches at New*

Tribes Mission Bible Institute in

Table 1: Tribal Church Planter Profile
New Tribes Mission

QUALITIES: Each quality category is described as the church planter's **RELATIONSHIP** to . . .

Table 1: Tribal Church Planter Profile
New Tribes Mission

CAPABILITIES: Each capabilities category is described as the church planter's **RELATIONSHIP** to . . .

Literacy as a Mission Tool to Reach Tribal Peoples

Understanding the various uses of literacy in tribal cultures is essential to using it effectively as a mission resource tool. Herewith are some key concepts which reveal strategic openings to reaching tribal peoples with the Gospel message.

by Stephen J. Barber

In a Guatemalan village a young Indian mother writes a letter to her husband who is working on a distant plantation. Although a reasonably reliable postal service exists, she doesn't actually send the letter until she can find someone she knows who is traveling himself to the plantation. The letter, detailing a serious problem needing an immediate solution, is sent via a courier known to the author, even though this hand delivery adds weeks to the delivery time.

In another Central American tribe, a group of women gather for a Bible study. Each woman reads the same passage out loud, beginning with the younger and moving to the older. Finally the oldest woman, who can not read, quotes the passage from memory, and explains its meaning to the group.

Members of a tribal church in Papua New Guinea like to decorate their Bibles. They write their names and slogans like "Jesus Saves" or "Praise God!" on the closed edges of their Bibles. Brightly colored inks are used, and the names and slogans are elaborately designed. The expatriate missionary is a bit peeved by this, thinking it disrespectful of the Holy Book.

Believers belonging to another Papuan tribe never have private devo-

tions. People here never do anything entirely by themselves; everything is done in the company of others. Doing something by oneself is considered aberrant behavior. To do something so spiritually powerful as reading Scripture by oneself is unthinkable and could only have one interpretation: sorcery!

In an Amazonian village people constantly write notes to each other, usually delivered by hand via village children. Some of the notes request the loan of tools or food. Some notes are complaints about behavior. On occasion the notes are proposals of marriage...written by women to men.

Literacy in a Tribal Setting

Literacy is a communications technology, whereby words are encoded by an author as two dimensional symbols, transmitted over space and time, and then decoded by a reader. The technology itself is relatively simple, and any human being has the potential to learn to use it. Those of us who have been raised and educated in Western highly developed nations have been exposed to reading and writing almost from birth. We have received years of formal education, training us in the forms of literacy

used in our society. Reading and writing activities are deeply woven into our economic, political, social and religious life. These literacy forms so fill our lives that we seldom notice or consider them apart from their immediate use.

Literacy as used by tribal peoples is shaped differently from the literacy with which Westerners have grown up. The differences in economy, education, social structures and religious institutions all have an effect on the ways in which literacy is used. This is especially apparent among the wide variety of tribal peoples. Until recently, it seemed helpful to talk about the differences between "oral" and "literate" cultures. Today, this distinction is more obscuring than helpful. Fifty, perhaps even twenty-five years ago, there were groups of people who had no idea what reading and writing were. Today, I am unable to identify any ethnolinguistic group which at this time has absolutely no concept of reading and writing, either in their own language or a national language. Since all have a concept and use for literacy, it is misleading to label tribal groups as simply "oral." Every culture, our own included, is primarily oral. Oral language is learned first, used most, and always predominates. Some have even

labeled television and radio as examples of "secondary orality," a yet more confusing term. The more useful approach, in regard to tribal peoples (or ourselves) and literacy, is to identify how reading and writing are woven into the communication patterns of a people. This is especially important when we consider literacy as a tool for missions.

Affects of Tribal Literacy

I am currently involved in analyzing the results of a study of literacy as it is used by the tribal peoples with whom the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) works.¹ SIL field members doing linguistic, translation, and literacy work among 147 ethnolinguistic groups around the world, filled out a questionnaire where they described in detail how reading and writing is actually used in their communities. The questionnaire also elicited data on social, economic, and religious factors. As a companion to the questionnaire survey, I personally interviewed over thirty of the SIL respondents in four regional centers. The results of this study give a clear picture of literacy as it exists among tribal people.

Literacy use among tribal peoples is highly varied, and almost always distinct from what Westerners consider "normal" literacy. Among tribal groups, economy, education, and church structure are directly related to *how much* people use literacy: how thoroughly it is interwoven into the communication patterns of the group. On the other hand, community social structure seems related to both *how much* people use literacy and *how* people use literacy: what they consider the benefits of literacy. Note that both of these differences extend to religious uses of literacy, such as Scripture reading or the use of hymnals and chorus and song books.

Economy and Education

Economy and available education are the two most significant factors relating to how much literacy is used among tribal groups. As expected, communities which are more developed economically use literacy more than those which are less developed. Additionally, communities which have higher grade levels of education available to their children use literacy more than those with only lower grades of education available. These two factors parallel each other almost exactly: where one is high, the other is high, and where one is low, the other is low. Statistically speaking, economy and education account for about two-thirds of the variation in overall literacy use among tribal groups.

From the data generated by this study, it is impossible to say that a change in the economy causes a change in education and literacy, or vice versa. It is clear, however, that these factors are closely linked. Reasons for this are not hard to discover. Participation in a capitalistic economy demands strong literacy skills. Formal education is the most widespread means of gaining literacy skills. The development and maintenance of a formal education system, with its school buildings, teachers and curriculum, is costly, and requires a society to produce a significant surplus above bare survival needs. At the other extreme, a kinship economy² (hunter-gatherer and low level agriculture) has no intrinsic need for literacy. Everything a person needs, economically, socially and spiritually, is available by personal interaction with others in the group. Formal education, expensive and often irrelevant to daily life, is unlikely to exist unless an outside agency (national government or mission) develops and funds it.

Religious uses of literacy, such as Scripture reading or the use of hymnals and chorus books, also tend to track with economy and education. Where tribal people use literacy more overall, they tend to use literacy more for religious purposes as well. Notably, reading vernacular language Scripture translations is an exception to this tendency. Tribes functioning at a kinship economy level use vernacular Scripture the least. Those operating at the mercantile-tributary level use vernacular Scriptures and literacy more. However, tribes living in capitalistic economies, which use literacy the most, use vernacular Scriptures less than mercantile-tributary groups. Capitalistic tribal groups have a greater affinity for national language Scripture translations. This is probably due to their greater incorporation in the national economy and sociopolitical system. (The majority of tribal groups in this study were in the kinship or mercantile-tributary levels of economy.)

Church Structures

There has been a long standing connection between the church and literacy. In European history the church was often the keeper of literacy skills and traditions. While the government has taken over the task of literacy education in many nations, the church continues to play a significant role in literacy. Among the tribal groups examined in this study, the social structure of the local church has a significant relationship with the overall use of literacy (not just religious uses of literacy).

The tribal communities studied tended to be small, from less than one hundred people to two thousand. In such settings, a church tends to be not just a religious institution, but a significant social and political structure as well. The local church fre-

quently represents a point of contact with the national society, by virtue of its participation in a denomination or mission organization. Further, among the particular communities examined in the study, the church may have an even greater impact on literacy use: Often literacy, at least in the vernacular language, was introduced by the SIL member in connection with the local church.

It should be no surprise then that the local church has an impact on overall literacy use in the whole community. What is perhaps surprising is that it is the social structure of the church, not its theological stance, which is related to overall literacy use. The overall use of literacy is significantly higher among communities which have churches characterized by well developed social/religious hierarchies. Community churches with more egalitarian structures (minimal hierarchy) were related to lower overall use of literacy in the community.

There appears to be a three way connection in hierarchical church settings between literacy, holiness, and social status. Persons filling higher statuses in the church structure are regarded as being holier than others; they are seen as being closer to and more knowledgeable about God. They are also highly skilled in literacy, especially the specialized literacy skills needed in spiritual and religious tasks. People in the lower social ranks lack the religious literacy skills (at least) of the elite, and are also seen as less holy or farther from God. The desire for either higher social status or greater knowledge of God seems to support the development of literacy skills not just in the church itself, but within the community as a whole.

Community Structures

Community social structure not only relates to how much tribal people use literacy, it also makes a great difference in how they use literacy. Tribal communities, especially those not driven by a capitalistic economy, vary widely in what they regard as the benefits of literacy. Communities with different social structures use literacy differently.³

While it is a wonderful goal that every believer should be able to read the Scriptures for themselves, it is not a realistic expectation in every situation. For more than a thousand years from its inception Christianity grew and flourished in societies with minimal literacy.

Frequently tribal communities exhibit a strong sense of group identity, but are without a developed social hierarchy. People identify themselves in terms of the tribal or village group more than the individual, and the group boundary is very clear. People place a high value on their relationships with one another. No person is of much higher rank than another. Leadership within the group is either very weak and diffuse, or centered upon a single charismatic individual. In this type of community, letters and notes are common. Letters maintain relationships with community members living temporarily in other places. Notes are used in the community as "intermediaries" to facilitate potentially disruptive interactions. For instance, a person may send a note to a relative asking to borrow a tool or some food. Another person may send

a note to someone complaining of a certain behavior. Even marriage proposals may initially be handled by notes. Religious use of literacy is strongly group centered. Scriptures and hymnals are used in communal worship. Private use of Scriptures is limited, and may even be banned as sorcery.

Another common tribal social pattern is to have a strong sense of group identity along with a well developed hierarchy. The group is still very strong here and relationships are still important, but there is a clear sense of status and rank. People are able to define anyone's place in the social hierarchy. Leadership is highly structured within the social hierarchy. Literacy is used in these communities for maintaining interpersonal relationships (as in the social setting above), and for keeping the social hierarchy distinct. Letters and notes are

common. Religious use of literacy is group oriented, though private use is a bit more frequent than the case above. Literacy specialists develop to fulfill their social role. Literacy is also used to maintain social order: lists are used to record people participating in events (good and bad), identity documents and certificates verify status and achievements. Leaders are either more literate than followers, or have special literacy assistants to help them fulfill the literate requirements.

Both of these communities with a strong sense of group identity tend to have more use of literacy than communities with weak group identity. While the strong group communities can reject literacy altogether, the strong group dynamic seems to encourage participation in literacy use once the group has decided to incorporate literacy into their communications patterns. If the community

rejects literacy altogether, literacy will not be an option despite the best efforts of outside agencies. These strong group communities come to define their own concept of literacy through a process of internal dialogue and debate. This is a process that can take years, but can be very difficult to change once a pattern is accepted.

Not all tribal communities have a strong sense of group identity. Some are very individualistic. In this case, each person is out for his own good. "What's in it for me?" seems to be the underlying orientation. Community work is only done under duress, or when workers are certain they will get paid for it in some way. Literacy use here is based on the perceived payoff potential, either economically, socially, or spiritually. If I can see that I will gain something from using literacy, I'll do it. Otherwise, I'm not interested. Religious uses of literacy tend to be private, with private devotional reading of Scriptures or hymnals being the most common. Public reading of Scriptures is uncommon, sometimes even in the church itself.

A final type of tribal community finds itself at the bottom of a larger social hierarchy, outside the group without power, unable to do anything to change their fate in any way. These communities are typically dominated by some outside social or political entity. Typically, literacy seems to be used as a tool to keep them from achieving any power to change their lives. School systems do not seem to educate. Bureaucracies never work to their advantage. Licenses and other critical documents are impossible or ruinously expensive to obtain. While a few people use literacy skills to break out of the system, most are unable to even think of changing their lives. Among tribal peoples in this type of community, there is little use of literacy, religious or otherwise.

Literacy as a Mission Tool

As a tool for missions, the primary benefit of literacy is access to the Scriptures, either in vernacular or national language translations. The spiritual growth and maturity of any church or individual is always limited without some form of access to God's Word. Further, given the multiplicity of religious structures which call themselves Christian, the Scripture provides us with the only changeless measure by which to judge orthodoxy.

For thousands of years, God's Word has been preserved in written form. Ready access to the Scriptures has only been available to people who could read, and who had a translation of the Scriptures available in a language they read. Over the last several hundred years, the EuroAmerican Protestant expectation has been that every believer should be able to read the Scriptures for themselves. While this is a wonderful goal, it is not a realistic expectation in every situation. For more than a thousand years from its inception, Christianity grew and flourished in societies with minimal literacy. Its predecessor, Judaism, also developed and grew in a society of less than universal literacy. A careful reading of the Pentateuch reveals a number of devices used by the Israelites to remind non-literate members to contemplate their understanding of the Law, live by the Law, and teach their children the Law (see, for example, Deut. 11:18-21). Similar devices can still be used today.

Universal or near-universal literacy is a difficult and expensive achievement for any society (or church agency). For various reasons, it may not be a valued goal for specific tribal groups or their national governments. By now it should also be clear that literacy among tribal peoples is highly variable, depending on a num-

ber of social, economic, and religious factors. What then can be said about literacy as a tool for missions?

First, universal literacy, either in the society or the church, is not a necessity for spiritual growth. Given proper contextual support, a person or community church can have access to the Scripture by means other than universal literacy. Weekly public reading of the Scriptures at church gatherings, a norm in New Testament times (see Luke 4:16ff, Col. 4:16), allows people to hear and contemplate God's Word on a regular basis. In some social settings, one family or lineage member can read the Scripture for his or her kin. In other settings, a religious literacy specialist can read the Scriptures for tribal members. This can be followed by a time of discussion or instruction, where the stories and concepts are discussed and applied (again, a Scriptural model: see Neh. 8:8). Mission leaders need to seriously consider the nature of the group, the resources available, the languages used, and the probable functions of literacy before committing to massive literacy projects.

Second, different tribal groups may have different reasons for wanting to read God's Word. Missions personnel should be aware of these different motives. For example, people in competitive, individualistic tribal groups may want to read the Scriptures for their own personal benefit. Their question will be, "What's in it for me if I can read the Scriptures?" People in tribes with a strong sense of group may be motivated to read the Scripture because of group expectations ("This is what we do because this is who we are"). They tend to appreciate the Scriptures as God's letter to them. They may also be oriented to group Scripture reading or discussion. Tribes with hierarchical structures will expect and usually accept

specialists to read or interpret the Scriptures to them. They may even expect "Bible specialists" to have secret knowledge of "hidden" meanings in the Scriptures. While this expectation is contrary to American Protestant tradition, some hierarchical tribal peoples may view it positively, and may even support it from the Scripture itself (see Heb. 5:11-14). Failure to take motivations into account can doom a mission's literacy efforts.

Third, literacy forms that to European or American missions personnel may seem non-religious may be used by tribal peoples in spiritual ways. Group oriented tribal people frequently use letters to encourage each other spiritually. Some EuroAmerican missions personnel have expressed discomfort to me about receiving or writing these "epistles" ("It's like they expect me to write like Paul"), but they can be powerful in the lives of tribal believers. Hierarchical tribal believers may use church member lists, attendance records, and giving records to keep track of church life. These help ensure that everyone is fulfilling their proper roles. Group oriented tribal churches may also use lists, but to ensure that the burden for meeting needs is evenly distributed through the community.

Fourth, God's Word can be made very accessible when put in appropriate local forms. Gospel and Scripture choruses can be incredibly effective for making the Scripture available in an easily memorizable form. Once learned, the song makes that portion of Scripture instantly accessible. Such songs can often be quickly learned by aural means, then used as the basis for introducing the printed form of the language. More than one tribal person has learned to read a vernacular Scripture translation by repeated

exposure to the print version of a song he or she already knew.

Finally, it may be that in some tribal settings, vernacular language literacy may rightly be very limited. Today mission agencies are making increasing use of the Scriptures in non-print media, such as audio and video tapes. Where the appropriate level of technology exists to use these media, they can be very effective for making God's Word accessible.⁴ Keep in mind that the introduction of any new communications media brings problems as well as benefits. Plus, even with the most sophisticated of electronic media, someone must still learn to read to provide the initial sound track!

Conclusion

My father was a carpenter, and his basic tools included the hammer and saw. But Dad did not have just one hammer, nor one saw. He had a roofing hammer, a flooring hammer, a tack hammer, ball peen hammers of different weights. Each hammer was recognizable as a hammer, but designed to meet a specific need in carpentry. Likewise, he had a variety of saws, both hand powered and machine driven. Rip and crosscut, mitering and jig, sabre and circular, table and keyhole. Each one was designed for a specific situation.

Literacy likewise is a tool, useful, even necessary in missions. We have tended to limit ourselves, though, to just the "regular" tool. When working in literacy with tribal peoples, we need to remember that specialized tools, specialized forms of literacy are the norm, not the exception. Do not just reach for the same old tool. Consider the situation, and use the appropriate literacy tool to reach the tribal peoples with the Word of God.

End Notes:

- 1 A detailed account of the study is available in Barber, Stephen J., 1995 *Literacy Use and Incorporation in Culture: the "How" and "How Much" of Literacy*, Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms Incorporated.
- 2 The terms for economic levels, kinship, mercantile-tributary, and capitalistic, are taken from Wolf, Eric R., 1982 *Europe and the People Without History*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- 3 The descriptions of social patterns is taken from the grid-group model, developed by Mary Douglas and Sue Harris.
- 4 See Special Edition of the *International Journal of Frontier Missions*, "Reaching Non-Literate Peoples." Volume 12:2, April-June 1995.

Photo
here
of
Barber

Dr. Stephen Barber is a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He worked among the Slavy in

Canada for six years and presently teaches literacy and related courses at Biola University in the School of Intercultural Studies, La Mirada, California.

Global Implications of Western Education on the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao

One should resist the temptation to view tribal societies in isolation from the influences of Western culture. This article shows the tremendous influence Western society has had on tribal cultures to the degree that some have become peasant societies. What and how they are affected also influences the way tribal and peasant peoples perceive Christianity.

by Tom Steffen

In this paper I will consider some of the major implications western education had, and continues to have, upon the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao of the Philippines, and identify several avenues the Ifugao have taken to preserve their cultural identity in the midst of such powerful influences. To accomplish this I will first look at the educational philosophies of the two major international educational players in the history of the Philippines, the Spanish and the American. I will follow this by identifying how the two educational systems influence traditional Ifugao values.

Background

The Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao, numbering around 3,200, make their home in the Kiangnan municipality of Ifugao Province, Central Luzon, Philippines. They are located on the south western border of Ifugao. The Antipolo Ifugao speak the Keley-i Kallahan dialect while the Amduntug Ifugao speak Yattuka, both of which are included in Kallahan, a subfamily of Ifugao, a branch of the Malayopolynesian languages (McFarland 1980:76). These people, along with other groups of Ifugao, are known for creating the eighth wonder of the world—the Ifugao rice terraces. If stretched out in a line

these “stairsteps to the sky” would span approximately 20,000 miles. They also depict the race that developed centuries ago and maintains them currently today: industrious, ingenious, persistent, strong, and independent.

National Linkages

One should not view tribal societies in isolation from the influences of urban society (Steffen 1993). While geographical distances may exist between some tribal societies and urban societies, the latter often have plans for, and exert a powerful hold upon the former. For example, urbanites provide public education for tribals (often with teachers from outside the tribal dialect). The urbanites ask for land declarations so they can issue land titles, and in some cases, collect taxes. Tribals institute community councils to interact with the national government. They go to town to purchase necessities and to sell their goods. As for education, tribal families often find themselves sending their children to cities for higher education. In the religious realm, major religions, such as, Catholicism or Islam, etc., continue to have some success with tribals, if not directly in the geographical areas, then through

their children sent to them for education in the cities. Wise Christian workers do not minimize the preexisting linkages between the urban, peasant, and tribal societies.

International Linkages

Wolf (1982), who takes a Marxist diachronic view of history, argues that no society stands totally independent from any other society. He contends that the world is totally integrated with each specific part affected to some extent by the whole. The basic cause for these global linkages, argues Wolf, is economics, that is, the system of how goods are produced, consumed, dispersed, and so forth. As societies are inevitably brought together through economics and modes of production, conflict results, creating continual change to all societies involved. Wolf views the conflict induced changes as positive.

The Philippines has experienced the control of three foreign powers: the Spanish, the American twice, and the Japanese. The Spanish and Americans brought with them their educational systems which has had significant influence on all Filipinos, including the Ifugao highlanders. The Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao cannot be

understood adequately apart from an understanding of the educational influences brought to the Philippines from the distant shores of Spain and America. In this system education and economics are closely connected, Wolf's premise of international linkages becomes obvious. Just as there are national linkages that affect tribal peoples, so there are international linkages.

Spanish Influences

In 1565, the Spanish discovered the Philippines. With the sword in one hand and a Bible in the other they began to systematically conquer the islands. Along with the conquest came a great influx of Spanish citizens. As more and more Spanish moved to the conquered Philippines it became necessary for the Spanish government to set up schools to educate their own children, from primary to the university level. In that the Spanish did not separate church and state, education included vigorous instruction in the Catholic religion.

But the Spanish were not only interested in educating their own, so they instituted separate schools to educate the Filipinos. The purpose of the Catechism Schools was not to provide Filipinos an avenue of upward social mobility, but rather disseminate "colonial-Hispanic-Catholic" values.

Alzona (1932) divides the educational history of the Philippines under Spanish rule into three periods: 1) founding the schools (1565-1768), 2) progress of education (1768-1863), and 3) the educational decree and after (1863-1898). Schwartz (1971) believes this breakdown correctly emphasizes the educational policies and practices of Spanish colonialism but fails to take into consideration how the Filipinos used education for their own purposes.

Focusing on the Filipinos' response to Spanish education Schwartz also divides the educational history of the Philippines into three phases, but with different time frames: 1) Filipinos take teaching roles in mission schools and start their own private schools following the Spanish pattern (1590-1640), 2) education extended throughout the islands but Filipino mission schools and attendance remained virtually the same (1640-1840), and 3) Filipinos attended their own private and secondary school along with a number attending the University of Santa Thomas. Still others sought degrees in Europe (1841-1896).

Schwartz's insightful observation raises two contrasting characteristics of the Filipino: the ability to imitate and the love for independence. In Schwartz's first phase Filipinos began their own private schools patterned after the Spanish counterparts. Filipino priests who were not allowed to establish their own parishes because of the type of blood that flowed in their veins often pioneered these schools. Some may have joined the movement just to make a living. Whether their motives were religious or economic, the Spanish school served as a model for the Filipino schools.

By the time of Schwartz's third phase, the independence characteristic became evident. The Filipinos had their own primary and secondary schools called *Latinities* (still patterned after the Spanish model) which qualified their graduates for entry into the Spanish controlled universities. But the Filipino tired of Spanish racism. Alzona (1932:168) was convinced the objective of Spanish education was to make Filipinos "the passive, servile and blind servants of the friars." So was Jose Rizal, a renowned national hero, who authored two key books calling for the overthrow of the

Spanish—these would eventually cost him his life.

Other factors helped bring about a change of climate to Philippine education. One was the opening of the Suez Canal which brought many more visitors and trade to the Philippines. A middle-class eventually developed, seeking indigenous education. Another factor was the influence of European Liberalism on Spain which resulted in the legal foundation for primary education for every Filipino. Even so, schooling for Filipinos after the Educational Decree of 1863 remained rooted in the propagation of Spanish values. This is evident in one way through the teaching style that consisted basically of the memorization of religious materials in contrast to the development of analytical or language skills (Hunt and McHale 1965:64).

The first American census (1903) revealed that only around 20 percent of the adult population claimed any exposure to formal education or fluency in the Spanish language (Smith and Cheung 1981:29-30). Nevertheless, Spanish education helped a small but influential group of Filipinos, formerly controlled by fatalism, to see that the physical world could be changed. They learned that nature was not capricious; that people and God were all a part of a rational system; that answers to people's problems could be found in the West (Hunt and McHale 1965:65). This set the stage for the Filipinos' next colonial master.

American Influences

While the Spanish used the sword and the Bible to colonize their new subjects the Americans used Krag rifles and American textbooks. After the Americans defeated the Spanish and took control of the Philippines a call went out for American teachers.

According to the Philippine Islands Board this was "because of the absence of an educational system in the Islands from which teachers could be procured" (1925:17) to set up a nation-wide public school system in the Philippines patterned after that of the United States. By 1901, American teachers began arriving in the Philippines armed with western values. One of these teachers, Roy Barton (1969a; 1969b), taught and conducted significant anthropological fieldwork among the Kiangnan Ifugao. Before the teachers arrived, however, the American military staffed and organized the first elementary schools in 1898 (Gates 1973).

The Americans set out to pacify the Filipino by providing every Filipino child a free elementary education. The imported curriculum promised every Filipino child the opportunity to learn to read, prefer democracy, work hard (long fingernails had to go as factories needed workers), seek self-improvement, have a common language, grasp scientific thought, move up the social ladder, and, be prepared to eventually govern themselves.

The Philippine Island Board argued: "That every child should have an elementary schooling is the ideal of all modern public education" (1925:33). So vigorous were the American's activities that by 1918 "virtually all of the colony's 800 municipalities had at least an elementary school and, even more remarkably, one in four of the more than 16,000 barrios had some kind of school in operation" (Smith and Cheung 1981:30). Even the Catholic Church was influenced by the Protestant work ethic inherent within the American school system.

Unlike the Spanish, the Americans separated church and state (excluding the Protestant work ethic), focusing on the secular. The reason given for the de-emphasis of religious instruction in the schools by the Philippine Island Board (1925:99) was

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that around a hundred years of experimentation with this issue in the American public school system resulted only in "religious dissensions and antagonisms," therefore, religious instruction should fall under the function of the Church and family. Nevertheless, the Americans did allow religious instruction to be taught in the schools to meet the needs of a deeply religious society.

In that the Americans only knew English, and the textbooks were in English, English soon became the language medium in a nation of over a hundred languages. It was not uncommon for teachers to penalize students for using their own language at school. Filipinos found themselves again required to learn the language of their colonial masters if they wished to be involved in commerce or with the government. While the Americans included Spanish in the curriculum it was seldom taught.

As for language ability, the Philippine Islands Board (1925:45) felt the children were not learning English

sufficiently to carry over into their adult lives. They blamed this not on the teachers, but lack of time spent by the children in school. They also called for textbooks that would reflect Filipino culture rather than American culture.

One of the goals of the American administration was to develop a core of Filipino teachers to replace the American teachers. The training of these Filipinos, however, was all too often not that thorough. The Philippine Islands Board provided some statistics on the American/Filipino teacher ratio after twenty years of effort and the influence:

...the crux of the whole spoken English problem lies in the oral speech of the Filipino teachers. Of the 27,305 teachers in the teaching personnel 26,980 are Filipinos. The influence on the spoken English of the Islands of the 325 American teachers who are now in the schools is practically nil (1925:154).

Funding for the massive project of free elementary education for all Filipino children could not be raised entirely from the Insular Government. While the Philippine government favored the education plan, levying some education tax, the majority of the funds came from the United States.

The Americans took schooling farther down several roads the Spanish did not traverse. Believing that the "wealth of the Archipelago is agriculture," they instituted agricultural schools, e.g., the Central Luzon Agricultural School at Munoz. These schools took the emphasis on gardening in the elementary schools another step—farming. The agricultural schools were to be independent of other schools in the area, located in farming areas, and accept only stu-

dents who planned this type of occupation (which did not always happen).

Not only was the Philippines in need of agricultural schools, they were also in need of industrial schools that could train Filipinos to produce commercial goods from local products. Through these "hands-on" types of schools the Americans strived to make manual labor look attractive, an attitude they believed the Spanish had destroyed among the Filipino.

The Spanish emphasized education for males. The Americans included females in education, where today, male and female students are about equal in number (Smith and Cheung 1981). The Spanish pointed Filipinos toward the west for scientific answers. The Americans continued this thinking. Both colonial powers created the feeling of dissatisfaction within the Filipino and a lust for moving up the social ladder, which often meant a move to the big city.

Contemporary Filipino Education

The Filipinos have retained many of the values and institutes brought to their shores by past colonial powers. Positive features include: 1) a nationwide literacy program that provides a means of social mobility for a number of youth, 2) a nation-wide education system that provided the ground work for the Philippines to become one the world's highest student ratio for college education (Hunt and McHale 1965:70), 3) female students that balance the number of male students, 4) agricultural schools remain highly esteemed, 5) age-grading for classes remains in that it corresponds with the Filipino's own age-grouping (*bar-kada*), and 6) independence and individualism fostered through the school system has helped erase the "little brown brother" image. A negative feature includes the search for education

abroad, especially in the U.S.A. This desire creates a "brain drain" as many youth leave the Philippines in search of lucrative jobs.

Elementary education continued with six grades while secondary education was reduced to four years, resulting in a ten-year, pre-college schooling. School uniforms stressed solidarity. Occupation is often unrelated to college training, however, in that who one knows is often more important than what one knows (Hunt and McHale 1965:71). American pragmatism, Hunt and McHale also note, did not "lead to a stress on science laboratories nor has the lecture and memorization approach been displaced by discussion and experimentation" (1965:67).

While the Filipinos' bent for imitation remains, they have not lost their love for independence. English remained the national language until Filipino (Tagalog) replaced it in the early 1970's under a new rise of nationalism. Because of the Filipino's love for imitation and independence, a love-hate relationship remains with their former colonial powers.

Traditional Ifugao Themes

Every society has a shared set of values that serve as a guide to life for its members. Bock defines cultural values as: "shared conceptions of what is desirable, they are ideals which the members of some social group accept....and which therefore influence the behavior of group members" (1969:407). Lynch believes that values should be distinguished from themes when he states:

The extremely basic values, or themes, are....buried below two levels of less fundamental values; namely instrumental values, which are important only for what they can achieve or get, and intermediate values, which people appreciate both for what they are

and for what they accomplish (1970:55).

Following Lynch, I see themes encompassing the more important values of a society. Opler (1945:198) defines a theme as: "a postulate or position declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society." I will now investigate eight major themes found in traditional Ifugao society: family, children, reciprocity, land, rice, rice wine, animals, unity, sacrificial system, and education. (For a discussion on the opposing themes, see Chapter 13 of my book *Passing the Baton: Church Planting That Empowers*.)

The Ifugao family is based on the bilateral system, common in all of the Philippines, which includes relatives back to the third cousin on both sides of the mother and father. The ancestors and unborn comprise the invisible extended family. Within the nuclear family, says Barton (1969a:18), a husband and wife, "...are never united into one family. They are merely allies." Should a dispute arise between a husband and wife the families on either side will back their own.

According to Barton (p. 85): "An Ifugao's family is his nation." He states elsewhere: "The family is the only thing of the nature of an organization that the Ifugao has, and he cherishes it accordingly (p. 8). Anything that would attempt to break up the Ifugao family (*pamilyah*) will be met with resistance. For example, should the reputation of a family member be challenged by an outsider, the accused can most always count on his family to back him. Again Barton says, "A member of an Ifugao family assists in the punishment of offenders against any other member of his family, and resists the punishment of members of his family by

other families (p. 7). On the other hand, should two brothers, or any children of a family, fight for any reason the family is deeply shamed. The family should always stand together for therein, and only therein, is found true security. The bigger the family, the more security.

The child (*u-ungnga*) is the central figure in the Ifugao family. Says Barton: "The Ifugao family exists principally for the child members of it" (p. 30). Agreeing and adding the reason why, Hoebel (1967:104) contents: "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 a period of time.

From the time of birth an Ifugao child is never left alone. Should the baby cry, he/she will receive immediate attention. If the parents are not able to quiet the baby they become extremely upset.

As the children grow, they are never forced to do anything they do not want to do. For example, even if the child is extremely sick but does not wish to take the prescribed medicine, no medicine will be given. Parents give the children whatever they desire. Should the child desire an education the family will go into extreme debt to see the child's will fulfilled. The child is central to the Ifugao family.

Another major theme is that of reciprocity (*man-indawdawat*). From early childhood community members teach the young the importance of sharing. No matter what the child has he is to share it with those around him for no one wants to be called

stingy (*makinit*), one of the worst thing any Ifugao can be called. Just as an Ifugao is expected to share what they have, they can expect to receive from others those things they need.

The theme of reciprocity can be seen in the parent/child relationship.

Life is changing fast for the Ifugao. Desires from within and pressures from without are helping create a new Ifugao capable of coping with a fast changing world.

Ifugao law demands that parents take care of their children while they are young. But when the parents grow old, Ifugao law expects the children to reciprocate that care.

The theme of reciprocity is also evident in the work force. Groups (*ubbu*) work together in the fields. When a field owner calls a workday, other workers, usually the same participants, will join him. On another day, someone else will call a workday. He can expect to receive help from those he has helped. Should those summoned not be able to make it, they will send another representative from the family.

The sacrificial system demonstrates reciprocity. One example is found in a major sacrifice where many animals are killed. In that it is often impossible for the participants to consume all the meat, and there are no refrigerators, meat is sent home with the attendees and given out to the neighbors. The provider of this meat will not go unrewarded. On another occasion his family will receive meat from someone else's sacrifice.

Reciprocity also carries over in the spirit world where the ancestors

and spirits ask the spirits of certain things (animals, money, bolos, betel nut, skirts, loin clothes, blankets, rice wine, and so forth) in exchange for protection from sickness and misfortune, or to gain material wealth. Receiving gifts (tangible and intangible) is a two-way street.

Land (*puyek*) is another important theme among the Ifugao. Land provides the Ifugao access to many food sources, cash crops, materials, and therefore the opportunity to expand wealth. Parents have their children inherit the land early in life, with the oldest child usually receiving the largest and best share—if not all of it.

The Ifugao distinguish numerous types of land. In the village (*bebley*), families usually have a small piece of land for their home. Outside the village, most have ponds (*payew*) where they grow wet rice, the main food staple. Those families who own land with water sources are envied because their fields will receive ample water. Those having fields down the line will have to settle with whatever water is left over. Some will own grasslands (*patulan*) where animals can be pastured. Most will have forest land (*muyung*) where firewood, wood for the construction of a home and granary, vines for basket weaving, herbs, and so forth, can be found. Coffee trees will also be planted under the cool shade of taller trees providing the Ifugao the biggest cash crop. All will have land for swidden farming (*habal*) to grow crops for consumption and/or sale. The numerous civil cases dealing with land disputes argues the importance of this important commodity.

Rice (*pagey*) is the Ifugao's basic food staple. Without rice as a meal, the Ifugao will not feel full. Much of an Ifugao's life is spent in the rice ter-

racers securing the food he loves so dearly. Until the late 1970's, they planted and harvested only once a year because "that is what our ancestors told us to do" ("*tep humman inhel ni a-ammed mī*"). Some new believers decided to try for two crops in one year. In that the ancestors did not kill them, two crops per year are now common in the wider, easier to work, terraces.

After harvest, the Ifugao count the bundles of rice before storing them in the granary. That does not mean the rice cannot increase. Shamans (*mabeki*) conduct special sacrifices to increase the rice so that it will extend till the next harvest.

Not only do Ifugao store rice in the granary, in some cases they store it in the home. This provides those who own numerous rice fields the opportunity to display their wealth to visitors. The larger the pile of bundles of rice in a corner of the house, the wealthier the family (*baknang*).

The Ifugao plant a number of types of rice, one of which is *dayyak- ket*. From this rice wine (*bubud*) is made. While wine fermented for three days is quite mild, by the time ten or more days pass, it takes only a small amount to make someone drunk.

The Ifugao serve rice wine at all important occasions. Any sacrifice of any significance will include rice wine. The ritual priests sip wine for each set of ancestors and spirits they call to attend the sacrifice. They also use wine as a libation. Workers expect to receive rice wine at any work function, such as planting, harvesting, building a house, sawing lumber in the forest, and so forth. The Ifugao believe rice wine and work should always go together for wine strengthens the worker.

Another interesting use of rice wine is after the settlement of a civil case. When both parties reach an

agreement, the litigants drink rice wine, signifying a settlement. The Ifugao consider it unethical for people in disagreement to drink together.

After land, Ifugao rank animals as the second most important commodity. Of the animal world, they consider water buffaloes (*newang*) the most significant. They use water buffaloes to work the gently sloped terraces, saving hours of manual labor. Should logs from the forest be needed for firewood or construction, the water buffalo drag them in. But water buffalo not only meet the needs of the living, they also meet the needs of the ancestors and/or spirits through sacrifices called for in major rituals, such as weddings or death.

The Ifugao's second most sought after animal is the pig (*killum*) followed by the chickens (*manuk*). Like the water buffalo, they use pigs only in sacrifices of significance. Ifugao will go into great debt to secure these animals if the sacrifice demands them. Shamans use chickens in virtually every sacrifice. Before the late 1970's, the Ifugao killed water buffaloes, pigs and chickens for the express purpose of sacrifice. When Christianity took hold the new believers asked what they should do with the animals now that they no longer sacrificed. Other animals, such as goats (*gelding*), cattle (*baka*), ducks (*gawgawwa*) and dogs (*aso*) were introduced from the lowlands and not normally used in sacrifices.

Most Ifugao seek to preserve unity (*ulunus*). Few village meetings or civil cases go by without someone calling for unity between the two opposing parties. The Ifugao know that disunity will destroy their closely knit society. They believe they survive because they eat, drink, work, play and sacrifice together. Community members attack any form of independence through verbal confrontation, or in more serious cases, sorcery. The

believers manifest the concept of unity when they refer to unbelievers as those who have not yet believed (*eleg ni pay mangullug*).

Schools have long been a part of the Ifugao world. Those who remember the Japanese invasion often talk about the U.S. aircraft that went down in the school yard. The Americans set up and administered the Ifugao schools from grade one through six. Teachers instructed in English, used American textbooks and levied small fines on students caught using their own dialect. (Some Ifugao can still recite the capitols of all the states in the U.S.) Those who attended school initially tend to speak English without accent. Today, English often serves as the medium for Ifugao interacting with outsiders.

Today, Filipinos staff the grade schools in Antipolo and Amduntug, some of whom are Ifugao. Teachers from outside Ifugao will most likely speak Ilocano although will be quite fluent in English. In the late 1970's, under the rise of nationalism, English textbooks were translated into Tagalog at the primary level. The young Ifugao student became a victim of this policy in that teachers often spoke languages unknown to the student and used textbooks printed in English.

While studying a western curriculum the young Ifugao is exposed to values that sometimes contradicts traditional values (hidden curriculum). Teachers teach the students the beauty of flowers through raising them and learn to tend gardens. They learn to appreciate the delicate balance of nature in relation to farming, value cleanliness and personal hygiene (regarding brushing one's teeth and using the outhouse). Teachers also allow qualified religious advocates (Protestant or Catholic) to provide religious instruction.

Formerly, a student who wished to enter high school had two options. The first, go to Kiangan (a three hour hike away), board five days a week and attend St. Joseph's school, pioneered by Jerome Moerman in 1910. The second, the Ifugao Academy established by Miss Myrtle Metzger in 1925, presently under the United Christian Church of the Philippines (Dumia 1979:39,53). Students who attend either secondary schools will receive instruction in the respective religions. Today, a third option exists, a government school located in Amduntug.

Most Ifugao parents encourage their children to get as much formal education as possible. They proudly display pictures of graduates for all visitors to admire. Their children's homework decorates the walls. They willingly sacrifice to buy the necessary school uniforms and shoes. The parents know that should their children receive a salaried job someday in the city some of that salary will flow back to the family.

While the educational system challenges the Ifugao's values in some areas (time, individualism, understanding separated from activity, and so forth), it reinforces them in others: peer-groups, family and kinship ties, separation of sexes, discipline, and modesty for females (Steffen 1997b). Schooling also enables children to help their parents (some illiterate) in the ever increasing amount of unfamiliar government paper.

The last major theme, the sacrificial system (*baki*), is the central theme around which all other themes revolve. The Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao have two basic types of sacrifices that fall under the term, *henga*. The Ifugao use the first set of sacrifices, *keleng*, to acquire wealth. These sacri-

fices tend to follow the calendric agricultural cycle, peaking in October and November with weddings and other wealth-oriented sacrifices. The second class of sacrifices occur whenever needed, such as sickness or death. Whether the Ifugao sacrifices for wealth or hardship, Barton astutely observes:

The Ifugao worldview cannot be understood apart from understanding the global historical, socio-economic and political influences on the Philippines. The values promoted in the past by Spain and the United States continue to play a major role in influencing Ifugao society.

The constant demand for sacrifices has greatly stimulated economic activity, especially that of the male, and has led to a great deal of borrowing, which in some ways strengthens kinship solidarity. The demands of prestige feasts are particularly noteworthy in the extent to which they foster industry and accumulation (1969b:210).

The Ifugao sacrifice for three basic reasons: 1) health (*endi degeh*), 2) long life (*ketu-tuan*), and 3) wealth (*kedangyang*), which seems to include the first two. The Ifugao believe that long life and health are evidence of blessing from the ancestors and spirits. This is important because longevity and health provide more opportunity to acquire wealth.

Here is how the sacrificial system works. The Ifugao provide the ancestors and/or spirits whatever they desire, i.e., the spirits of animals, blankets, rice wine, and so forth. In

return, the ancestors and/or spirits will cause the offerer's animals to have numerous offspring, thus making them wealthy. The increase in fertility can also extend to the wife.

The words that surfaced most frequently in approximately 300 pages of random Ifugao text material were those pertaining to wealth (*pihhuh*, *baknang*, *kedangyang*). The traditional Ifugao spends his entire life advancing through the five major sacrifices pertaining to wealth (*balihung*, *leteb*, *balihung*, *baleg*, *hagebi*). Should an Ifugao be able to complete a *hagebi* (a large carved log that is placed under the home for all to admire) he will most likely have exhausted all wealth because of the numerous animals required for all the sacrifices. But while his animals may be depleted he has placed those who participated in his sacrifices in his debt. Reciprocity reigns.

Wealth is displayed in numerous ways among the traditional Ifugao. I previously noted two, rice bundles in the home and the *hagebi*. A third is the adorning of homes with water buffalo horns and pig skulls. These objects symbolize that the family who offered them was wealthy, they could afford the sacrifices, and will become wealthier because of continued sacrifice. Another display of wealth is the various types of loincloths and skirts woven by the women. As the Ifugao complete the various wealth related sacrifices, the husband and wife indicated their new rank by the type of loincloth or skirt worn.

Even in natural death the Ifugao emphasize wealth. Numerous sacrifices (*penanglian*, *panhengngaan*, *penengbuan*, *penengbuan*, *penglengan*, *dawdawat*) that may take a month to complete all relate to wealth.

They place dirt in the home of the dead but do not sweep it out until all the sacrifices are completed. To sweep the dirt out early would be to sweep out the possibility of gaining wealth. Should a husband die, the wife is not to bathe for a month. When she does bathe she is to do it in the family rice pond so that the wealth will remain there.

Until the late 1970's, the dead were transferred to the houses of his/her children. The wealthier the dead, the longer he/she remained unburied (twenty-one days is the longest I have heard). The person (usually someone of that village) who carries the body on his naked back (*pengbaan ni netey*) from one village to another hopes that some of the body fluids of the deceased will drip on him. Should this happen, upon returning home he will perform a sacrifice to gain the wealth of the deceased. Life for the traditional Ifugao revolved around the acquisition of wealth through the sacrificial system (*emin umlaw di baknangan*).

Contemporary Ifugao Themes

Life is changing fast for the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao. Desires from within the tribe and pressures from without are helping create a new Ifugao capable of coping with a fast changing world. Some of these outside factors that affect the major Ifugao themes include the following.

The family remains the Ifugao's nation that provides security. The centrality of the children still remains, but with a few distinctions. While the Ifugao still desire children, self-administered abortion is on the rise, as is sterilization after three children. Why this change of attitude towards children? One reason is often heard—it's expensive to raise children. For children to make it in today's world, reasons the Ifugao, they must have

education. That means shoes and uniforms for at least ten years. Should the children go on to college the price tag increases dramatically. Tuition, boarding, and books, soon deplete the family's resources. Should a number of siblings desire a college education at the same time the family finds itself strapped for cash.

As the population increases and the water sources decrease as water sheds are destroyed, land has become a premium. This has caused a number of reactions. Many young Ifugao head for the cities looking for work, and remain. Some establish small businesses selling fertilizers for rice, and so forth. Others establish supply lines to the cities to sell goods raised in the mountains. Still others, many of whom are females, use advanced schooling as a means to land salaried jobs. As the Philippines experiences "brain drain" to other nations, so the Ifugao community experiences "youth drain" to the cities. Those who remain in the villages take up gardening (learned at school) to produce cash crops to buy rice (never supplemented before) and other supplies from the cities.

While many Ifugao move out of the tribal area to find a way of making a living, money continues to flow back to the village. Children tend not to forget their debt of gratitude to their parents. The use of rice wine has diminished but the Ifugao's taste for alcoholic beverages has not. The world renown San Miquel beer and White Castle whiskey produced in the cities has replaced much of the home-made rice wine used on social occasions.

While the call for unity (*ulnus*) is still heard it has lost much of its former power. Competing religious systems now vie for converts, dividing villages and families. The western values of independence and individualism

promoted formally and informally through the local school system fires the Ifugao's latent desire for personal independence. As gardens increase, the need for large work groups has decreased. Group unity seems to have moved from cooperation on the larger level of agriculture territories to cooperation on the smaller levels, e.g., churches and business adventures.

The Ifugao still value animals highly, but no longer for the sole purpose of sacrifice. Rather than waiting for the ancestors and spirits to bless the family through the fertility of their animals, they can gain quick cash by selling the animals whenever a need arises. They can use some of the cash for their children's education.

While Christianity played a major role in changing the use of animals in Ifugao society, other influences included the need for cash to purchase rice and other necessities (internal pressures), along with the expense of education that promises future dividends (external pressure). Certificates and diplomas, therefore, begin to replace skulls and horns displayed on homes as status symbols. For many Ifugao, formal education replaced the sacrificial system as a means to obtain wealth. Education moved to the center of the theme chart, replacing the sacrificial system as a means to obtain health, wealth, and long life.

Preserving and Integrating

While the sacrificial system slowly becomes a part of Ifugao history, the desire for health, wealth, and long life continues. The Ifugao search for a substitute for the sacrificial system to acquire these felt needs. For many, education has become that substitute in that it provides the means to tap outside sources to increase the family's wealth. Many Ifugao believe economic development is premised on

educational attainment. The Ifugao's need for a religion that speaks to these same needs is found in Catholicism or Protestantism, with various modifications.

The micro-culture of Ifugao is slowly giving way to the macro-culture of the Philippines, yet retains the tribal identity in those areas of deepest concern to Ifugao society. And this is what most Ifugao prefer, tribal identity within the national system, including its global western influences.

Conclusion

The Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao worldview cannot be understood apart from understanding the global historical, socio-economic and political influences on the Philippines. The values promoted in the past by Spain and the United States continue to play a major role in influencing Ifugao society. The macro-levels influence the micro-levels.

Filipino schools, patterned off of Spanish and American schools, continue to serve as propagation tools for westernization. Hunt and McHale (1965:70) astutely observe: "By its very existence the school serves as a reminder of a world beyond the barrio." Foster would agree. Observing village improvements, such as health facilities and schools, whets the youth's appetite for the good life in the cities while at the same time better preparing villagers for competing in the city's work force (1973:52).

Schools promote values that recreate societies. Ifugao society, while retaining certain Ifugao distinctives considered important, is at the same time being recreated by the Filipino educational system brought to the archipelago by the Spanish and Americans. Wealth formerly sought through the sacrificial system is presently sought through education,

whether one claims to be Catholic or Protestant.

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Dr. Tom Steffen served 15 years as a missionary in the Philippines with New Tribes Mission. Currently he is associate

professor of Intercultural Studies at Biola University in La Mirada, California.

Basic Resources**Organizations**

1. Pioneers
P.O. Box 725500
Orlando, FL 32872
2. Adopt-A-People
P.O. Box 1795
Colorado Springs, Co 80901
(Ask for information regarding tribal people profiles)
3. Wycliffe Bible Translators
P.O. Box 2727
Huntington Beach, CA 92647
4. New Tribes Mission
1000 East First Street
Sangfroid, FL 32771
5. RBMU International
8102 Elberon Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19111

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William Carey Library, Pasadena. 1984

Zook, Mark *Church Planting Step by Step*, New Tribes Mission, Sanford, FL.

Videos

- "Peace Child"
Gospel Films, Inc.
Box 455
Muskegon, MI 49443
(Ask for missions video catalog)
- "Ee-Taow" and "Ee-Taow: The Next Chapter"
New Tribes Mission
1000 East First Street
Sanford, FL 32771
- "Now We See Clearly," the Story of the Puinave tribe of Colombia, South America. New Tribes Mission
1000 East First Street
Sanford, FL 32771

Photo here
of
Sitton

*David Sitton
directs
the Institute
of Tribal
Studies
located in
Los Fresnos,
Texas.
David and
his wife
Tommi Anne*

*are veteran missionaries of
over 20 years of service in
Papua New Guinea.
Altogether some 34 churches
have been planted with
more than 2,100 converts
through their ministry.
David's remarkable story is told
in a book called In the Heart
of Wildmen, written by Ernest
Herdon.*

[Editor's Note: This article is a reprint from Sitton's excellent manual entitled *To Every Tribe With Jesus: A Tribal Awareness Seminar*. Permission to reprint this article has been granted.]

Polygyny: Marriage to more than one wife at a single time.

Polynesian peoples: : The Polynesian race includes Hawaiians, Tahitians, Samoans, Tongans, Marquesans and the Maori, all of which are close cousins of one another (See *Perpetuated in Righteousness* by David L. Kikawa, page 28).

Posin: A Melanesian Pidgin word for black magic.

Power encounter: A confrontation between traditional powers and the power of God in some visible way, so that the supreme power is readily evident.

Redemptive analogy: A story or ritual in a society that provides an analogy with some aspect of the gospel message and so facilitates communication.

Rites of passage: Religious rituals performed at turning points in life, such as birth, graduation, marriage and death.

Ritual: A well established ceremonial procedure that has spiritual religious meaning.

Sacrifice: The propitiatory offering of plant, animal, or object to some supernatural being.

Sanguma: A Melanesian word for ritual murder performed by a sorcerer through black magic .

Seance: A gathering of people seeking to establish contact with the dead by means of a medium.

Seer : A person who practices divination (foresees future events) by concentration techniques.

Shaman: A healer who seeks to cure people by means of conjuring supernatural powers; a practitioner of white magic.

Sorcerer: A practitioner of divination and black magic who causes evil by manipulating objects and performing rituals with the aid of evil spirits.

Sorcery: The deliberate and malicious use of magic, through rituals and magical paraphernalia to premeditatedly manipulate spiritual powers with the intent of inflicting harm or death on other people;

harmful magic; black magic.

Spell: Special words that are regarded as having occult power; Usually spoken in a particular formula; a charm or incantation.

Spirit: A supernatural being who is lower in prestige than gods; it may be helpful, mischievous, or even evil in nature.

Sprite: A small or elusive supernatural being; an elf.

Succubus: An evil female spirit that molests men in their sleep.

Superstition: Beliefs and practices that are only partly believed in by the people but continue to be held.

Syncretism: A blending of two or more irreconcilable systems of belief and practice; the incompatible mixture of biblical truth with unbiblical beliefs and practices.

Taboo: The setting apart of something from human contact; a prohibition against touching, saying or doing something in fear of the supernatural powers associated with the prohibited person, place or thing.

Talisman: An object marked with magical signs and believed to confer on its bearer supernatural powers or protection.

Tambaran: A Melanesian Pidgin word for the low gods who are able to cause sickness to people.

Totem: A bird, animal, plant or natural phenomenon with which the members of a group (clan) have a religious or ritual relationship. Frequently, if the totem is edible the group members are forbidden to eat it. The group name can also be that of their totem.

Tribe: A group of people who share a common language, culture and territory and see themselves as an autonomous unit.

Unilineal descent: The tracing of one's descent through a single parent. Both matrilineal (through the mother) and patrilineal descents (father) are found in animistic societies.

Unreached tribe or people: An unreached people is a people group (tribe or language group) that has

no viable Christian church and has very few Christians, if any. For a discussion on this, see *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement* p. 587-589.

Voodoo: A mixture of various religions with pagan rituals such as sorcery, spiritualism and black magic; a form of black magic where a pin may be thrust into an effigy of a victim to produce the intended results; a person who professes to be a sorcerer; a system of religious belief and practices brought to Latin America by African slaves.

Warlock: A male witch, sorcerer, wizard or demon.

White magic: A calling on evil powers to cure illness or to protect from harm; helpful magic.

Witch: A person who is believed to be able to hurt others by means of evil spiritual power.

Wizard: A male witch; a sorcerer or magician.

Worldview: A set of presuppositions which we hold (consciously or unconsciously) about the basic make-up of our world; the central assumptions, beliefs, concepts, premises and values which are shared by a community. Because of the widespread acceptance of these assumptions within the society, the ideas are usually regarded as being nonnegotiable and beyond dispute. Worldview has been compared to glasses through which a community of people views reality. For example, if a people holds beliefs that a spiritual realm controls natural events (animism), they will draw different conclusions about an event from someone who does not believe in a supernatural realm.

Zombie: A supernatural power or spell that according to voodoo belief can enter into and reanimate a dead body.

ain, who appear in Welsh and Irish legends as sorcerers.

Elf: A kind of small magic-wielding people, regarded in early Germanic belief as powerful and terrifying, being sometimes beneficent and sometimes maleficent to man. In later medieval folklore elves were regarded as merely mischievous.

Ethnic groups: Culturally distinct people groups within a political state or region who retain their cultural identity.

Evil eye: A staring look that conveys a desire to cause harm.

Exorcism: The expelling of spirits from persons or places through incantations or ritual; many missionaries can testify that evil spirits are exorcised by the authority of Jesus Christ as we pray, fast, and speak out in His Name.

Fetish: An object that has supernatural power as a result of an association with evil spirits.

Fortune: A hypothetical, often personified force of power that favorably or unfavorably governs the events of one's life; the good or bad luck that is to befall someone i.e., fate.

Fortune teller: A person who, usually for a fee, will undertake to predict future events in a person's life.

Ghosts: Disembodied spirits of the deceased.

Gods: Spiritual beings of non-human origin who are regarded as being in command of a particular area of human life.

Hex: An evil spell; a curse; a bad influence on or dominating control over someone or something.

Idol: Something considered to be sacred or holy; an abode of a spirit.

Idolatry: The practice of elevating created things to the place of God; the worship of substitutes instead of the true God.

Image: A carving of wood, stone, or metal that is treated with respect because of its identification with or representation of an ancestor.

Incantation: Ritual recitation of ver-

bal charms or spells to produce a magical effect; the casting of spells.

Incubus: A malignant male spirit that ravishes women (sexually) in their sleep.

Indigenous people: Culturally distinct groups that have occupied a region longer than other immigrant or colonist groups.

Initiation rites: Religious rituals that mark the passage from youth to adulthood.

Jinx: Something or someone believed to bring bad luck.

Kahuna: A Hawaiian spirit priest.

Legend: An oral tradition (story) about historical people in the tribe which is passed down through the generations; the narratives may be partly imaginary.

Libation: The pouring of a liquid offering as a religious ritual.

Living dead: This refers to the belief that the soul of a newly dead person remains active for some time after death and has the ability to give assistance to those still alive.

Lycantrophy: The ability to change from a man into an animal (especially a wolf) by means of magic.

Magic: The manipulation of spiritual power through rituals which compel supernatural powers to act in certain ways.

Malediction: A curse.

Mana: A Polynesian term for the impersonal supernatural power thought to inhabit certain objects or people.

Mantra: A sacred formula (or chant) believed to embody the divinity invoked and to possess magical power.

Masalai: A Melanesian Pidgin word for creator spirits.

Medium: A person who claims to have the ability to communicate with the dead by occult means.

Monotheism: The belief in and worship of a single god.

Myth: A traditional story passed down through the generations that helps explain various customs and beliefs; a sacred (though fictional)

narrative which explains how things got to be the way they are.

Necromancy: The ability to conjure up the spirits and commune with them to predict the future.

Necrophilia: An abnormal, often erotic attraction to dead bodies.

Oath: A conditional curse directed toward oneself; the oath taker voluntarily calls upon a supernatural power and swears his commitment to keep secrets or to act in a prescribed way. To break the oath is to invoke a curse upon oneself.

Occult: Means "hidden" or "secret"; secret knowledge of the supernatural and magical rites.

Omens: A casual event believed to ominously foretell misfortune. In tribal cultures it is often believed that during sleep the spirit leaves the body and travels around seeing, hearing and doing things. This is why all dreams are important. Anything predicted in a dream becomes an omen and plans will be adjusted accordingly; American examples of bad omens are the beliefs by some that walking under a ladder, a black cat crossing one's path, and breaking a mirror is bad luck. All cultures have both good and bad omens.

Ordeal: A means of determining the guilt or innocence of a person by submitting the accused to dangerous or painful tests, which are believed to be under supernatural control.

Paw: A Melanesian Pidgin word for the use of magic, chants, fetishes, potions etc., for both good and evil purposes.

People or people group: A significantly large ethno-linguistic grouping of individuals who perceive themselves to have a common affinity for one another because of their shared language, religion, ethnicity, etc.

Poltergeist: A ghost that manifests itself by noises.

Polygamy: Marriage to more than one husband or wife simultaneously.

Glossary of Terms and Resources on Tribal Peoples

The following article defines some of the more important words commonly used in the study of animism and tribal peoples. The article also list important resources designed to help us reach tribal peoples with the Good News of Jesus Christ.

by David Sitton

Glossary

Amulet: A visual symbol that carries spiritual power for protective purposes; often fastened to the body or worn as a necklace, bracelet or charm.

Ancestor worship: Some tribes do in fact view their deceased relatives as gods who must be worshipped through sacrifice etc. More often, tribal rituals are not intended to be worshipful, but respectful; the animistic world view often thinks of ancestors, not as gods to be worshipped, but as living members of their community who have entered into another form of life through death; ancestral "recognition" or "veneration" may be more accurate in describing the actual attitude that is felt by tribals towards their dead ancestors.

Ancestral cult: Those activities involved in the communication with and the worship of dead relatives of a family or people.

Animism: A term coined by E.B. Tylor to describe belief in spirits and the supernatural; the attribution of spirit life to inanimate objects; the belief that all of creation is pervaded or inhabited by spirits or souls and that all of creation is in some sense animate.

Anthropology: The study of the culture and ways of life of the peoples of the world.

Apparition: The sudden appearance

of a ghostly figure.

Artifact Wood, clay or metal objects that are made by human work or art.

Astral travel: The ability to become invisible and travel long distances quickly.

Astrology: A belief that planets/stars exert a special influence over the lives of humans.

Black magic: A calling on evil powers to bring storms, destroy property, produce sickness or cause death; harmful magic; see sorcery.

Cargo cults: A movement that has specific leaders, beliefs and rituals designed to bring about a utopian existence based upon the accumulation of material goods, land and authority.

Cargoism: A term taken from the World War II random cargo air-drops into jungle positions throughout the Pacific region; for example, cases of canned meat were seen by villagers in the army supplies. A whole mythology developed about canned meat perpetrating the belief that the white man had stolen tribal wealth back in primeval times; cargoism is the theological outworking of world view assumptions brought about by the traumatic culture contact of the last 100 years; it is an attempt to figure out the mystery of the white man's wealth; it is the tribal

preoccupation with discovering the source of material objects thought to be necessary for "the good life".

Charms: See amulet.

Christopaganism: A mix of Christian and non-Christian beliefs; See syncretism.

Clan: Two or more lineages united by a founding ancestor; the ancestor is usually a superhuman figure or totem assumed to be the common ancestor of all clan members.

Clairvoyance: The psychic ability to discern past, present, or future events in the lives of people that are unknowable through the natural senses.

Culture: The learned and shared behavior, attitudes, feelings, values and beliefs of a people. It includes everything that a group of people thinks, says, does and makes. This cultural package is transmitted from generation to generation.

Curse: The use of the power of words to call upon spiritual forces to harm a person or a people.

Demonization: The ability of Satan, through his demons, to exercise direct, partial control over an area or areas of the life of a Christian or non-Christian.

Divination: The ability to discover secret or obscure things from the past, present or future, by the aid of spirits or through certain rituals.

Druid: A member of an order of priests in ancient Gaul and Brit-