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By Guest Editor Rev Wendy Snook.

This sixth edition of the **Australian Journal of Mission Studies** (AJMS) finalises our series of articles presented at the 2008 Australian Association of Mission Studies & Public and Contextual Theology Conference, entitled 'Christian Mission in the Public Square', kindly hosted by the Australian Centre for Christianity and Culture. Again, I give my profound thanks to those who shared their stories, thoughts, visions and challenges to the conference, and for their willingness to share them with a wider audience through this journal. This time we focus on the links between Australian and overseas mission, and missiological discussions deriving from overseas experiences and contexts. It also gave us an opportunity to print some articles which did not fit into the previous editions' themes, but which are most worthy of publication. As in the last edition, each article is preceded by an abstract, so there is no need for a full resume of each in the editorial. But perhaps a few links and themes may be mentioned.

First, there is the overseas mission theme. Using the lenses of 'belonging' to the state (Citizenship) and 'belonging' to the church (Discipleship), Prof James Haire asks important questions about the place and relevance of Western assumptions in much missiological and public theological discourse, in a world where the epicentre of the worldwide Church is no longer in the West. Using stories from his personal experience, Haire explores practical public theology in the context of violence and peace building in Asia.   Teresa Flaherty shares stories of some Australian Religious women in Papua New Guinea, providing a good descriptive account of what the Sisters of Mercy did there with faithfulness in times of hardship and loneliness. No doubt, there is more to be said about the work of these Catholic women, such as their struggles with local beliefs and the local social context, as raised in similar Australian contexts by Bill Edwards in his article in the last edition. I look forward to hearing more in future.

Then we have two articles exploring mission from within the Islamic context by an overseas mission worker who wished to remain under a pseudonym at this time, and from the Muslim diaspora situation in Australia from Frank Purcell. Both papers acknowledge that it is the commonalities between Islam and Christianity which cause most of the friction between these two major faiths' followers. Both are missionary religions. As Purcell says, "Christianity describes its mission as building the Kingdom of God. This refers to that ideal world of relationships built on God's outpouring of love. It begins with God's invitation to us to make a response in faith which involves a surrender to God through Jesus Christ and a commitment to a life of love, compassion and service of others here and now........ .... Muslims, like Christians, have a similar understanding of their mission or goal of personal and community transformation through submission to God and building a community which creates a culture of justice, peace and compassion. "

The overseas mission worker explores confrontational and relational approaches towards Islam used by 21st century Christians. Using four questions (which parallel the Wesleyan quadrilateral's sources of theology - Scripture, tradition, reason and experience), he assesses the value of both approaches, and suggests that the confrontational style may best be suited to situations where minority radical Muslims are in the West, whereas relational approaches can be used in all situations and contexts. Apologetics and Inter-faith dialogues are mentioned but not assessed fully in the paper.

Purcell, on the other hand, believes more inter-faith dialogues are essential in Australia today. Because of recent increased overseas migration to Australia, there are increasing numbers of Australian Muslims. Consequently the ability of Australian Muslims to follow the guidance of the Shari' a law within a secular democratic state like Australia has become an issue. How do we understand the separation of 'church' and 'state'? Today secularists use the phrase to imply that the separation is to protect the state from the interference of the church, whereas historically in the Western Christian world, it arose to protect the church from the interference of the state. However that separation of mosque (or religious authority) and state(civil authority) has never been as clear within Islamic history. Purcell presents an overview of the history of the development of the Shari' a law, and raises challenges for the place and role of Shari' a law in secular civil society.

Returning to a broader missiological perspective, Denise Austin, in her article 'The scroll thus far' describes the work of the 20th century historian Kenneth Scott Latourette (1884-1968), whom she describes as one of the most significant historiographers in recent times. As a foil for humanity's

proud assuming of responsibility for the advance of the gospel, Latourette's universalistic works on general church history and Christian missions highlighted his philosophy that all history existed in God's hands. Latourette's apologetic methodology was revealed through his relentless pursuit of objectivity and rigorous source criticism. As Austin says, Latourette .."explored the outworking of God's purposes in secular affairs, not through Christian rhetoric but through his own worldview, empathetic attitude and commitment to global dialogue."

Douglas Hynd, in 'Public Theology after Christ and Culture' rejects H R Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture* as an adequate framework for today's missiologists to describe relationships between Christ and culture. The key theological issues of the critique relate to Niebuhr's implicit commitment to a Christendom form of settlement and his assumptions about the relationship between church and the social order. Adapting the work of Craig Carter, Hynd distinguishes between those typologies which accept violent coercion, (Christendom types) and those which reject violent coercion, (Non-Christendom types), and holds up two different methodologies which he proposes may offer a more productive engagement by the Christian church with post-modern culture in the 21st century.

Moving back towards the practical world of overseas mission, Clarke & Loro , in their article 'Understanding the mission/ development Nexus' argue that while there are similarities between the works of secular non-government agencies and religiously based agencies like the missionaries of the Divine Word, what is distinctive is their motivation and the longer terms of their overseas placements.

Finally we have book reviews from Darren Cronshaw on Greene &Robinson's *Metavista: Bible, Church and Mission in an Age of imagination*, from Darren Cronshaw on Jim Reapsome & Jon Hirst's, *Innovation in mission : Insights into practical Innovations Creating Kingdom Impact*, from Larry Nemer, on Roger Schroeder's *What is the Mission of the Church? A Guide for Catholics, from* Ross Mackinnon on *Sacred Australia: Post-Secular Considerations, e*dited by Makarand Paranjape, and from Ross Mackinnon, on *Decolonizing God: The Bible in the Tides of Empire* by Mark G Brett. All of these make fascinating reading, and I thank the contributors.

As the Guest Editor again, I acknowledge with great gratitude the help and wisdom of the Editorial Board, particularly the Editor, Bruce Newnham, Ross Langmead and Heather Weedon, without whose help this task could not have been done. As 2009 draws to a close, and 2010 dawns, please sit back and enjoy your Christmas and January reading. Blessings upon you all in the name of God, our Creator, Jesus our Redeemer, and the Holy Spirit, our Sustainer.   WS.

"Missiology outside the Latin Captivity of the Church: Discipleship and Citizenship in the Public Theology of Asian Christianity." [1]

James Haire

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MISSIOLOGY OUTSIDE THE LATIN CAPTIVITY OF THE CHURCH: DISCIPLESHIP AND CITIZENSHIP IN THE PUBLIC THEOLOGY OF ASIAN CHRISTIANITY

This paper looks at central issues in missiology and public theology in Asia.   It addresses three questions which represent pressing factors for the agenda of Christianity, both in Asian and elsewhere.   First, it faces the question as to what extent the assumptions of missiology, and related public theology, are actually largely the assumptions of post-Enlightenment western theology?   Do these assumptions actually address the situation of Christianity in Asia, or only seek to address the internal *Angst* of western Christianity?   Is much missiology thus largely an expression of a "Latin Captivity" of the church, or not?   Second, the paper faces the issue of the implications of truly and thorough-going intercultural Christian theology for public theology in Asia.   Third, the question is raised: where Christianity is a minority (albeit, large minority) faith, what is the contribution of Christian missiology and related public theology to the issues of civil society as a whole?   This is pressing where aspects of a world religion other than Christianity (e.g., Islam in Indonesia) heavily influence the discourses of civil society.   This is examined through the concrete reality of violence in Asia, and the dynamics of Pauline theology in relation to this issue of violence.   From the rich and different struggles of Asian Christian theologies, the paper points, through these questions, to significant implications for Christian discipleship and engaged citizenship, in the contexts of both Asia and its western neighbours.

Introduction

This article looks at discipleship and citizenship in Asian Christianity.   In other words, it looks at one aspect of what has come to be known as "public theology".   Public theology has come to the forefront in the theological consciousness of churches and Christians in recent years.   We now have a Global Network in Public Theology (GNPT), involving over twenty theological institutions in all continents around the world, including the Public and Contextual Theology Research Centre (PACT) of Charles Sturt University.

So, what is public theology?   To this question there have been a variety of answers.   The most prominent has been that of David Tracy.   His answer has been that public theology is a theology which engages three audiences, that is, the academy, the church, and society.   More recent critiques of this perception have stressed the emphasis needed on Christian conclusions rather than on consensus (Kathryn Tanner), or the emphasis needed on the "*eschaton*" rather than the present (Richard Mouw).

However, why is there the interest in public theology?   Clearly the church in western societies has faced the marginalisation and privatisation of faith and theology.   Has that brought the reaction of promoting the public presence of theology?   There is, of course, no logical reason why Christianity should not play into the public domain, any more than, for example, the trade unions, employer groups, doctors, legal practitioners, the teaching profession, miners, or any other group of citizens.

This article, then, looks at the issues of discipleship and citizenship in the context of Asian Christianity.   It looks at them in terms of "belonging".   The concept of discipleship refers to the concept of belonging within the church, while the concept of citizenship refers to belonging within the nation-state.   Thus the issue of belonging within these two spheres is a sub-set of the questions relating to public theology within Asian Christianity.   So this article looks initially at public Christian theology in the Asian context.

Many scholars in Asia, both of Christian faith and of other religions, would argue that in this context all theology is public.   So the article looks at a number of questions.

The *first* issue that is considered is the question as to what extent the assumptions of public Christian theology actually are the assumptions of post-Enlightenment western Christian theology alone, and therefore have only very indirect links with Asian Christianity.   This is a pressing issue for the methodologies in public theology of Asian Christian theologians.   Does the agenda of much public Christian theology, for example, actually address the situation of Christianity in the Asian region, or does it in fact only seek to address the internal *Angst* of Western Christianity?   Is public theology thus an expression of a western need, or even a "Latin Captivity", in the church, or not?

The *second* issue that is considered is the intercultural nature of Christian theology, and its implications for public theology, including discipleship and citizenship.

The *third* issue that is considered is the reality of Asian society and Asian Christian theology, particularly public theology.   Where Christianity is a minority (albeit, large minority) faith, what is the contribution of a public Christian theology to the debates of civil society? Is the word "debate" indeed the correct word?   This is especially pressing where the cultural aspects of a world religion other than Christianity (e.g., Islam in Indonesia, Buddhism in Thailand, and Hinduism in India) heavily influence the discourses of civil society.   How do the concepts of discipleship and citizenship, and their interaction, fit into this situation?   In this third section, I look at the concrete reality of violence in Asia, and seek to analyse how the dynamics of Pauline theology frequently used in Asia engage with the fact of violence.

Fourth, and finally, the article seeks to answer the question as to what we can learn from Asian Christian contexts on the interaction of faith and culture in relation to Christian discipleship and engaged citizenship.

First: public theology – A western need of the church?

I need to begin by looking at the question of public theology as a need of western Christianity.   One might even go on to see it as a "Latin Captivity" of the church.   This term, the "Latin Captivity" of the church, is parallel to Martin Luther's famous phrase, the "Babylonish Captivity" of the church (in its sixteenth century English translation).   Luther, of course, was referring to the captivity of the church within its late medieval structure and form within western Christianity.   So I take this concept of Luther's, and apply it, in general, to western Christianity.   I am not thinking here of western Christianity as opposed to the eastern orthodox churches.   Rather, I am thinking of western Christianity as it has developed from the eleventh century in its variety of forms, including catholic and protestant.   These are the churches which factually have had the greatest impact on the growth of Christianity in Africa, the Americas and Asia, particularly from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century.   Thus the question arises as to the extent to which the primary international agenda in theology has been, and continues to be, set by western Christianity.   This, then, leads to the question as to the extent to which Christianity in Asia is dominated by this "Latin Captivity".   I use the word "Latin" not simply in the sense of language, although this may be involved too.   Nor do I use it as applying only to the Roman Catholic Church, although that church is involved too.   I use it in relation to the whole agenda of western Christianity, so heavily influenced as it is by Latin thought-forms, philosophies and agendas.   The literature on this in relation to Asia is significant. [2]

In addition, there is the issue of Erastianism (in the senses of both the political and the intellectual ascendency of the nation-state over the church in theological and ecclesiastical matters) and anti-Erastianism.   In Western Christianity there have been both very strong Erastian, and equally very strong anti-Erastian, tendencies.   These play heavily into the debates of public Christian theology.

Within the traditions of western Christianity of course came the European Enlightenment.   Here we see radical changes, but they developed within western Christianity.   Human beings, on the one hand, become more important than God.   On the other hand, however, they become fundamentally not different from animals and plants.   Both capitalism and Marxism derive from this Enlightenment vision of human beings as autonomous individuals without any reference to the Divine. It is a radical anthropocentrism.   What distinguishes the effects of the Enlightenment is that it is, in its public face or public philosophy, atheist.   The Christian faith is questioned, repudiated, or studiously ignored. Revelation, especially communal revelation, now has to prove its claim.   However, the European Enlightenment did not deny the Christian faith, or indeed any religion, its place. That place is fundamentally in the private sphere.   The Enlightenment relativised the Christian faith's exclusive claims, and thus placed it firmly in the area of the individual's personal rights.   It taught that every individual was free to pursue his or her own happiness, irrespective of what others thought or said. This has continued in western cultures to our times.   It means that in Western Christianity individual faith and ethics, and the communal faith and ethics of like-minded individuals, can be nurtured and developed.   Individual discipleship, and small communal or monastic groups, can flourish.   However, the public face of Christianity is denied or ignored.

Here is the *Angst* of contemporary western Christianity, in its inheritance of the Latin western tradition. It faces a world where it sees the effects of the Enlightenment in the public place.   What this tends to produce, in its eyes, is that people cannot take others seriously, and indeed do not need others.   The *Angst*, then, of western Christianity is that it follows from this that individuals can no longer take themselves seriously, and that, despite the fact that they now have liberty to believe as they wish, they can easily, following Nietzsche, live their lives in frenzied work and frenzied play, so as not to face the fact, that is, not to look into the abyss.   In reaction to this confronting situation for western Christianity, it thus might seem that public theology is purely western Christianity's way of addressing this *Angst*.

Second: intercultural nature of theology and praxis, including public theology, discipleship and citizenship

A vast literature has been produced on the issue of intercultural theology since the first discussions of the so-called *theologiae in locō* took place in the late 1950s.   I wish specifically to look at how the insights of the past half-century of theological debate in this area can inform the development of public theology.   However, before that can be done, it is necessary to draw out some of the insights of intercultural theology and see how they can be related to the development of public theologies, especially in societies as in Asia, where emerging indigenous theologies are conscious of their Latin captivity.

The authentic gospel or Christ-Event-for-us [3] is not pre-packaged by cultural particularity but is living. The church remains in a constant struggle between the acceptance of the Christ Event within its particular culture in each place, and yet in the wrestling with that which stands against its own particular acceptance in each place.   In this sense the church is always both indigenous and *reformata sed semper reformanda*.   In recent times the term *glocal* has been used in this respect.   It is perhaps because the Christ Event can never be exclusively identified with one culture or one type of culture that Paul employs the ambiguous term,
"*hē akoē*" – *the hearing*, to describe the action by which the Christ Event enters a person's or a community's life, that is, the crucial steps of grace and faith. [4]   Since Käsemann's pioneering work, this, of course, has been seen in the varied theologies in the New Testament. [5]

If the Christ-Event-for-us in each place lives in widely diverse cultures, then for the whole people of God there can only be a true fullness of that event or gospel if there is true inter-confessional, inter-traditional, international, interracial and inter-cultural fellowship.   The church of Jesus Christ is indeed a fellowship which transcends space and time.

This now needs to be applied to public theology.   It is not enough that indigenous theological reflection, oral and written and otherwise expressed, and related action, should take place in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, the Americas and the Pacific.   That this should happen is important, but it does not go far enough.   Public theology should not be seen as the appendix to theology, or even more the appendix to dogmatics, church history or practical theology.   Rather it should be at the heart of theological and dogmatic reflection, as its concerns were in the multi-cultural context of the

beginnings of Christianity.

Third: public theology in the praxis of the church in Asia

Asian Christian theologies, in the main, make little or no distinction between the public and the private. Thus, they are in a situation entirely different, on the whole, from that of post-European Enlightenment western Christianity. So the relationship between the concept of discipleship and that of citizenship is quite different from that in majority contemporary western Christianity. For this article, the main difference is in the conception of the public sphere within which these Asian theologies are articulated.

In much of Asia public discussion of religion forms the normal pattern of life, quite unlike the marginalised and privatised place of religion in the post-European Enlightenment western world. Equally, being a Christian, whether a church leader or church member, frequently necessarily involves the person in communal, public and sometimes political [6] activity. This involvement has to do with Christian presence, self-propagation and survival in a multi-religious context.

Indigenous Asian Christian theology has, of course, a very long history, as outlined so clearly by Samuel Moffett [7], and later developed by Gillman and Klimkeit.[8] However, if we look specifically at the development of self-conscious *theologiae in loco* or contextual theologies in Asia in recent times, that is, since the late 1960s, a number of significant factors occur. These factors overwhelming influence contextual Asian concepts of discipleship and citizenship, and the relationship between them.

So, in looking at the issues of discipleship and citizenship within public theology, let us look at one of the major realities of the Asian context, that is, the reality of *violence*. Let us look at how public theology, in terms of discipleship and citizenship, is carried out in the praxis of the church in Asia, against a specific, and at times overwhelming, background. This is because the issue of the prevalence of violence in Asia is dominant, and because there is a relationship between violence and theological debate.

The contemporary reality of Asia is one of deep violence[9]. The irony of the ending of the Cold War is that it has coincided with the unleashing of uncontrollable violence, especially in Asia. The combination of high technology and seemingly medieval tribal conflict has become the pattern of our times, and this, at times stimulated from the West, "legitimizes a culture of violence by invoking God arbitrarily to suit a particular agenda for aggression. As a result, insecurity, fear and anxiety characterize the lives of many people". [10]

This culture of violence manifests itself in many different ways. There is the negative impact of economic globalisation, which continues to widen the gap between the haves and the have nots. There is also the structural violence of domineering or negligent governments in relation to their populations. Corruption and the abuse of power often manifest themselves in violence. In addition in the Asian region, there are often structural forms of traditional violence, mainly based in patriarchal societies. These result in gender discrimination, forced labour migration, discrimination against young people and those with disabilities, and discrimination based on race, caste, and class. Surrounding human life itself is the violence against the environment.

Against this rather gloomy picture of the Asian region, positive signs must also be noted. There is a yearning among young people for true manifestations of peace and of peaceful communities. In the aftermath of the Tsunami there were remarkable efforts to create communities of peace in various places. Again, the speed of reconciliation after ethnic and communal violence often has been very rapid. Despite violence, there is evidence of a vast amount of resilience among populations who have been deeply wounded.

Between 2001 and 2005 I took part in the reconciliation process for the Molucca Islands. In 2001 and 2002, I visited Halmahera in the North Moluccas, where I had served for thirteen years in the 1970s and 1980s, and saw the results of the Christian – Muslim violence, which had been stimulated by the political situation in Indonesia at that time, and aggravated at times by elements within the Indonesian military. Events too terrible for words had occurred. Both Muslims and Christians were involved in violence. Let me just give one example. Six of my former students in the Molucca Islands, all ordained ministers, were killed. One of them was the Rev Albert Lahi. He was in the

vestry of his parish church when elements of the *Jihad*, aided and abetted by elements of the military, arrived.   He knew that his case was hopeless.   He asked to be allowed to pray.   His wish was granted.   He put on his preaching gown and knelt by the communion table.   He prayed for his church, for his nation, for his congregation and for those about to kill him.   The Sunday school children who observed the whole incident told me what happened.   Then he stretched his head forward and was beheaded.   His head was carried on a pole around the village.   His body was dragged by the feet for all to see.   Yet in this same village, and in this whole area, reconciliation has come about.   Christians too, were heavily engaged in violence.   However, since 2002 both the Muslim and the Christian populations have been slowly but surely slowly working their futures out together, in a quite remarkable display of overcoming violence and creating communities of peace.   At the end of the peace process in the Moluccas a remarkable communal act of reconciliation occurred.   A rebuilt central mosque and a rebuilt Christian church were both dedicated.   Both had been destroyed in the violence.   At the beginning of the dedication of the mosque, Christians brought the *tifa* (the equipment used to call Muslims to worship), which they had had made at their own expense, to the Muslim community, as their gift for the new mosque.   At the beginning of the dedication of the church, Muslims brought a large bell, which they had had made at their own expense in the Netherlands, as their gift for the new church.   Both promised never to engage in violence again with their neighbours.

As we see here, there are two emphases.   First, there is the emphasis on the *communal*.   Second, there is the emphasis on relating *personal faith to public responsibility, including political responsibility*.   This can be seen in the dynamics of Pauline ethics, so often used throughout Asia.   Let us look at one example, in relation to violence.

A microcosm of the New Testament understanding of overcoming violence and building peace for all can be seen in the ethical sections of Paul's writings, especially in the ethical sections in *Romans*, frequently used in Asian contexts.

In order to understand this ideal of overcoming violence and building peaceful communities, that is, living out its discipleship in public, we need to understand that early Christianity reacted against, and transformed, Greco-Roman cultures of the first century C E.

First, in the world of Early Christianity, social groupings were based on kinship, ethnic issues, power, and politics.   Individual consciousness was subordinate to social consciousness. [11]   *Second*, religion, like other social factors, was enmeshed in kinship and politics.   In the first century C E Christianity, which was a religion of voluntary members, resulted in a newly-created kinship group. [12]   Although it appeared to be similar to, or to look like, any other kinship group, it was in fact a created or fictive kinship grouping.   In early Christianity, language of the natural kinship group, for example "household (of faith)", was used for a created kinship group.   It was a created, or fictive, kinship group, but it struggled to have the closeness of a natural kinship group.   For God had created the church.   *Third*, there is considerable evidence in the First Century C E within Greco-Roman culture of intense expressions of emotion, through outbursts of anger, aggression, pugnacity, and indeed violence.   Moreover, these appear to have been socially acceptable. [13]   *Fourth*, in such an atmosphere, concern for honour and shame was significant.   A person's sense of self-worth was established by public reputation related to that person's associations rather than by a judgment of conscience. [14]

Over against these four factors, Paul summons Christians to new social roles.   They are based on mercy, peaceable conduct and reconciliation in a culture where expressions of violence seem to have been normative.   The call for transformation now means new expressions of group identity.   No longer based on kinship or ethnicity, group identity nevertheless seeks to retain the intense cohesion of former groups.   Paul's community members bind themselves together as one body in Christ.   This metaphor is poignantly suitable in a society where self-awareness arises from group association rather than from individual worth.   The ideals of honourable and shameless conduct are altered in that they are now for Christians not any more primarily derived from society outside.   Rather, enhanced honour for the community derives from its incorporation into its risen Lord.   Patterns of social co-operation are modified as a result.   A new communal identity as one body in Christ is thus reinforced.

The social groupings see their identity as coming from beyond themselves. Their self-understanding and their life together are defined by the kindness or mercy of God and by the truthful harmony (or peace) which God gives. The other factors in the transformation include cohesiveness within the group, based on an understanding of God's action from outside. For that reason, attitudes of overcoming violence and of peaceful harmony are central to the Christian community's identity. Moreover, no other identity marker (ethnicity, gender, class, or status) may be accepted as absolute. Honour derives from the faith-life of the community, originating from God. The original groupings are transformed by the new ideal of a central awareness of their relationship with God.

In addition, throughout the ethical sections of *Romans* attitudes to those *outside* the newly created Christian social groupings are to be the same as to those *within* them. There is to be no distinction. All are to be treated in the same way. This perception is totally new in much of Greco-Roman society.

We thus see the radical way in which Paul took hold of Greco-Roman categories of group identity, and then applied to them new metaphors, including that of the body of Christ, so as to create in them a totally new identity.

Let us then now see how these dynamics are played out within the concepts of discipleship and citizenship within Asian public theologies.

First, there is the *communal* nature of these theologies. These theologies are not conceived for private purposes, but have the whole community as their audience. [15] This is seen in a number of significant indigenous Asian theologies. Let us look, for example, at the Korean concept of *han* as used in *Minjung* theology [16], at the writings of Kosuke Koyama [17] and at the work of Choan-Seng (C S) Song.[18] This communality relates both to the Christian community and to the interaction between the Christian, minority, community and the wider community in each Asian society.

For the *Minjung* theologians this relationship is with the wider Buddhist and Shamanist communities of Korea. The Korean concept of the *minjung* is that of the people who have been put aside and robbed of their subjectivity in history, either by outsiders or by internal oppressors. The word is created from two Chinese characters, "*min*" and "*jung*", which can together be translated as "the mass of the people". [19] Its emphasis is on the people's loss of subjectivity. It thus has some similarity to the New Testament concept of "*ochlos*". The Korean concept of *han*, so close to the heart of *Minjung* theology, refers to the sense of unresolved resentment against injustice and suffering, a sense of helplessness in the face of overwhelming odds, especially overwhelming violence, and a feeling of being totally abandoned. Again, we think of our Lord's cry, "Why have you forsaken me?" [20] *Han* also points to a feeling of acute bodily pain, a feeling of helpless suffering, and an urge to right a wrong. [21] An example is given is the account of Miss Kim Kyong-sook. Miss Kim was an executive committee member of a Korean trade union. On 11 August 1979 she was shot dead during a demonstration organised by two hundred women workers demanding that the Government party (the New Democratic Party) work out a fair solution to their labour dispute. According to the letter which she left for her mother and younger brother (in case she should die during this labour dispute), she recounted that sometimes she was not paid for her work in the factory over the previous eight-year period. She had no opportunity to attend church because of her work on Sunday. Her testament was for a deepening of personal and community piety (church attendance and Bible study) and stronger support for the trade union movement.[22] Piety and public political theology are here seen in communal ways. For the *Minjung* theologian David Kwang-sun Suh [23] this concern is always to relate Christian faith with the wider Shamanist, Buddhist, Confucian and Neo-Religionist communities of Korea, who respectively represent approximately 25%, 15%, 13% and 14% of the South Korean population, with Christians representing over 30%.

Equally for Koyama faith and theological expression are always related to the wider Japanese community, and to the wider Buddhist community of Thailand [24].

For Choan-Seng Song the interrelated factors of Christian faith and engagement relate to the wider Daoist and Confucian society of both Taiwan and China.[25] Song uses the concept of the Mask Dance as a means of expressing communal theology in the public space. The dance helps the community, including both Christian and non-Christian, to overcome the toil of the day, including the effects of structural violence. However, for Song, its importance is much greater. Song sees the dance in its social, political and theological contexts. [26] Through the dance, the plight of the poor and

the achieving of justice without violence are portrayed. It inspires human resourcefulness in a merciless society. It exhibits the nearness of God to humanity, in God's favour as well as God's disfavour. So the communal mask dance, in the public space, is a political manifesto as well as a prayer for a community in trouble. According to Song, the dance comes from what is called the "experience of critical transcendence". [27] It expresses devout discipleship and responsible citizenship.

Second, there is *the close inter-relationship of the personal, the political and the public.* This is seen clearly, for example, in the work of Johannes Leimena [28] and of T. B. Simatupang [29] in Indonesia, particularly in relation to the debates of the late 1940s as to whether or not Indonesia should become an Islamic State. Leimena, a Presbyterian from the Moluccas, served as Prime Minister of Indonesia in the 1950s. In the period after the so-called attempted Communist Coup in 1965, Leimena was questioned under duress by officials of the *New Order* (*Orde Baru*) Government of President Suharto concerning the activities of former President Soekarno. He refused to implicate Soekarno as a Communist, insisting that Soekarno had primarily been a nationalist. What is more significant for this paper is that Leimena insisted that his co-operation with all the independence revolutionaries of whatever background, as a Protestant Christian, had been part of his Christian calling. For Leimena, Soekarno, a nationalist of joint Muslim and Hindu background, had been one of his colleagues, and he refused to join in activity to betray or discredit him. Again, Simatupang, a Lutheran from North Sumatra, served as a General and Chief of Staff in the Indonesian Army during that decade too. In his writings he insists on the living relationship between the faith of Christians, on the one hand, and their thinking and activities in relation to the ongoing revolution in a nation like Indonesia in its striving to bring about a more just society without violence, on the other. [30]

Again, this close inter-relationship of the personal, the political and the public is seen in the work of Mamen Madathilparampil Thomas, or M M Thomas, in India [31], against the background of debates on the state as secular or as influenced by Hinduism. Thomas, a member of the Mar Syrian Church of Malabar, spent much of his career involved in the issues of Christianity and society, both in India and through the World Council of Churches [32], and completed his career as Governor of the Indian State of Mizoram. Unlike the early indigenous Indian theologian Vengal Chakkarai, who was interested in the *bakti-marga*, "the way of devotion", Thomas was interested in the *karma-marga*, "the way of action". One of his aims was to contribute to a humanized world community, along with other religious traditions. Especially in his work, *The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance*, Thomas demonstrates how Christianity has constantly had responsibility for introducing new elements into Indian society, particularly in facing the three challenging issues of Indian society, that is, of group over individual, of certain individuals over others, and of male over female. The introducing of these new elements have brought about many changes to the core of Indian society, both politically and otherwise, and also to Hinduism itself. [33]

Fourth: discipleship, citizenship and Asian faith

In western society individualism and the privatisation of faith at times make it difficult for us to see the significance of the dynamism of Paul's transformation of a received aggressive culture. Moreover, throughout world history Christianity in its western form has had both success and failure in being able to present and live out this newly transformed identity in Christ. This stands in stark contrast to the ideals of the teachings in Paul, as we have seen, where Paul's ethics for *internal* Christian life are exactly the same as his ethics for those *outside*.

In his Cyril Foster Lecture in the University of Oxford, Jack Straw argued that the Cold War had eroded traditional political identities, and that its end had encouraged people to retreat back to identities defined in terms of cultural, ethnic, national, gender or religious affiliations. So, he argued, the challenge is to recapture civic political culture by finding ways of allowing space for these affiliations within a broader framework of shared values. [34] The Pauline ideal, of an equal ethical outlook for those *inside* a community as those it, epitomises a Christian viewpoint on this. In Paul's way, Christians *outside* seek to overcome violence and create communities of peace by showing the same attitudes to all, whether in the community or outside it. In much Asian Christian theology Paul's intent is clearly appreciated and understood.

Thus, in relation to the interaction of discipleship and citizenship in Asian Christian theology, a number of factors are of significance. *First*, we need to be aware of the Asian Christian interaction of personal piety and public engagement, particularly towards those outside the Christian faith-

community. [35]   *Second*, Asian public theology, including the interrelated concepts of Christian discipleship and responsible citizenship, are not simply matters of engaging in semantic exercises (in, for example, doctrine, ethics and polity).   They are as much expressions of faith through public liturgy, drama, dance, music and communal living.   *Third*, this way of communal harmony is necessary in the ways in which the churches in the Asian region live their lives.   Consensus decision-making, mutual celebration, and interest in others' rituals and festivities are important in the Asian way of being Christian.   This is lived, un-self-conscious, Asian discipleship and citizenship.   Moreover, the ecumenical movement in Asia, in and of itself, as it brings the churches together, is central to the expression of an Asian discipleship and citizenship.   *Fourth*, an important *theologia in locō* which we all need is to express the style of our theological existence through Asian forms of peace.   Our western inheritances have not always helped us in this.   Public theological language in western Christianity has at times been violent.   Is this violent language more acceptable where faith is a private matter, and therefore the form of the language of theology has less relevance to civil society? Does the tendency to marginalisation and privatisation mean that the style of the language of public theology does not matter?   However, in cultures where violence is close to the surface, then the style of language and the methodologies of public theology are important.   The ways in which we express public theology, the ways in which we preach, the ways in which we engage in discipleship, the ways in which we engage in communal life, the ways in which we live are the ways we express this "*shālôm*".

A significant example of this comes from eastern Indonesia.   This was in the issue of ecology and the integrity of creation.   In the 1980s, during the logging boom in the eastern Indonesian islands, a licence was granted to an overseas company to log in an area of high density timber of the highest international value and uniqueness.   The concession set out terms for the logging; only one tree in ten was to be felled, and that tree was to be replaced through planting.   The villagers, mainly Christian, saw that the terms of the licence were not being carried out.   Moreover, they saw great danger in any logging of this proposed scale taking place in any case.   In fact, their overwhelming outlook was controlled by their concept of salvation, both present-orientated and eschatologically-orientated.   They regarded the overseas logging company as merely irresponsible children, as endangering the integrity of creation and especially as being unfaithful to their concept of salvation. The villagers were humanly powerless, but divinely empowered, in their eyes.   Thus, in darkness, day-by-day, and week-by-week, they removed small parts of the logging machinery and hid them in the forest.   The logging company brought in more and more equipment, with great trouble and at great expense.   The villagers continued to remove and hide the small parts.   The logging company was greatly frustrated, but could not work out how the parts of their equipment were disappearing. Finally, the logging company gave up, returned the licence to the government, and left the area.   No more logging took place.   After this, the deeply pious villagers gave thanks to God for God's guidance and empowerment.   They had absolutely no concept of carrying out sabotage, or of acting illegally. For them, it was clear simply that irresponsible outsiders, like irresponsible children, were engaging in activity that was, and would be, detrimental to both present-orientated salvation and eschatologically-orientated salvation.   They carried out, in their perspective, a theological *praxis* of salvation.

The gospel is not pre-packaged by cultural particularity.   Thus the styles of Christian public theology, both in word and praxis, not just in its agendas, must vary from culture to culture, if they are to reflect the same gospel.   This, therefore, applies to Christian discipleship and public citizenship.   In this the experience of the church in Asia is an important contribution.   If public theology in each place lives in widely diverse cultures, then for the whole people of God there can only be a true fullness of the understanding of discipleship and citizenship within public theology if there is true inter-cultural theological fellowship.   The gospel, especially today, can only be lived in its fullness through sustained and widespread inter-cultural theological reflection and action.   For the Christ Event, to which these factors point, as in Grünewald's painting [36] constantly before Karl Barth, is only truly the same if differently expressed in different cultures.

AUSTRALIAN RELIGIOUS WOMEN ON MISSION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA: SISTERS OF MERCY CALLED TO CHANGE IN CHURCH AND NATION (1956-1981).

TERESA A FLAHERTY

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In 1964 Teresa Flaherty, a Sister of Mercy from Adelaide, joined the Australian Sisters of Mercy in their first overseas mission at Goroka where the Divine Word Missionaries had their Eastern Highlands headquarters. With teaching and administration experience in the Eastern Highlands and Simbu Provinces, she was appointed an Inspector in the newly introduced National Teaching Service (1971), assisting teachers of the Administration and Christian Church schools in the Simbu Province.

Joining the Goroka Teachers College (later the University of Goroka) in 1974, Teresa responded to the educational challenges on behalf of female and male students in an emerging Christian nation, with an eye to encouraging women within their social context. Teresa's knowledge and experience were subjected to critique by overseas professional, spiritual and cross-cultural studies in South East Asia, England, South Africa, Kenya, the United States and Australia, concluding with a PhD (Education) at Macquarie University. Returning to Adelaide from PNG in 2003, Teresa later enrolled with Australian Catholic University in a PhD program in religious history.

This paper traces the first twenty-five years (1956-1981) of a fifty year period (1956-2006) reviewing Catholic missionary activity of the Australian Sisters of Mercy in PNG. Religious and political reasons for the foundation, and further development, by this religious congregation for Christian and humanitarian service in education, health and pastoral ministry are outlined.

The sisters in the vast dioceses of the Divine Word Missionaries - Goroka (1956) Simbu (1963), Wewak (1957), Enga (1965) and Mount Hagen (1968) – expanded their traditional ministries to suit the local cultural contexts. Significant adaptations in religious life, mission and culture were most marked in response to the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) when the Church re-emphasised its missionary nature, and the Catholic Church in PNG embarked on its own process to explore implications of these directions through the Self-Study (1972-75). The paper traces the 'agency' of the sisters in their involvement in building up an emerging local Church and contributing to a country rapidly moving towards, and consolidating, political Independence (1975).

The research methodology involves interview data, participant observation and research in archives, particularly of the Sisters of Mercy, Mount Hagen, and the seventeen Australian Mercy Administration Centres.

Introduction

For centuries the missionary approach of the Catholic Church had followed a similar pattern. Missionaries, inspired by their call to "save souls" and lead them into the sphere of God's grace, engaged in the arduous work of evangelisation and conversion among "the heathen" of foreign lands. Bishops and priests, assisted by members of religious orders and lay missionaries, sought to establish the church as a basis for expanding missionary activity. In faith, their home churches joined in this endeavour, through prayer and financial assistance, and support for missionary vocations[37].

Although this model presents a simplistic perspective, it serves as a general starting point for viewing the early missionary work of the Sisters of Mercy, engaged in building up an emerging local church in Papua New Guinea. As the limitations of this time-honoured model began to be challenged in the papal statements of the 1950s and then in the Vatican II documents (1962-65), the sisters responded to these religious changes. Political developments in the country rapidly moving towards, and achieving, Independence in 1975 also inspired new approaches. This article traces the "agency" of the Sisters within these two streams of the religious and the political during this period (1956-1981) and is divided into three

main sections: responding to the church's call for Australian missionaries to Papua and New Guinea, developments in nation and church, and the sisters' agency in evolving mission.

Responding to the Church's call for Australian missionaries to Papua and New Guinea

By the 1950s, with the colonial empires collapsing, independence movements rising, the Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the advance of science and technology and increasing secularisation, the church's traditional understanding of mission underwent a severe crisis[38]. The very practice of "transplanting" the church with its Western origins and organizational structure, laws, ways of worship and theology in the hope of Christian unity and consequent neglect of authentic indigenous cultural expressions was severely challenged.

Pope Pius XII called for a renewal of the Church and religious life, and, in particular, a re-visioning of mission. He urged the Church to renew its commitment to, and broaden its view of foreign missions, many of which were in nations emerging from a colonial past. In a significant encyclical letter[39] the Pope gave guidelines emphasising that while the Church's aim was to plant the church firmly among the people of other lands, locally trained clergy were to be chosen from among their own people to form its hierarchy. Furthermore, he urged that "all that was naturally good, just or beautiful" [40] in local traditions and cultural practices be respected.

Calling for a more comprehensive mission involvement, the Pope appealed for co-worker missionaries, professionally trained in education and health care, and prepared with a good knowledge of their future area of missionary work, to help in the reconstruction of mission areas devastated by war.

The Church seeks Australian missionaries for Papua and New Guinea

In Australia the enthusiastic representative of Pope Pius XII was Romolo Carboni, the Apostolic Delegate of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. He had seen at first hand the urgent demands of the post-war period as expatriate missionaries returned and set about rebuilding their stations and resuming their work of evangelisation. Among these were the European and American Missionaries of the Divine Word (SVD), assisted by the Holy Spirit Sisters (SSpS), who went back to their mission fields in the coastal areas of Wewak and Madang, and the Highlands regions of Goroka, Simbu, Mount Hagen and Enga[41]. Facing acute shortages of mission personnel, the SVD bishops of these areas looked to Australia for professional co-workers to meet the challenging needs of the people in education and health. At the same time the United Nations was drawing Australia's attention, as a colonial power, to its responsibilities for development in Papua and New Guinea.

Thus it was that Romolo Carboni encouraged various independent religious orders to combine in a process of rationalisation[42] so that, as unified and more cohesive groups, they could more effectively engage in ongoing missionary activity. Many orders of male and female religious responded, including the Sisters of Mercy, who as seventeen independent groups throughout Australia formed new structures of Union (1954) and Federation (1956). Steeped in their "mission roots" from the days and spirit of their foundress, Catherine McAuley, the Sisters of Mercy were now mobilised for mission, and within a remarkably short time each group sent its first volunteer sisters on overseas mission.

The first foundation to Goroka in the Eastern Highlands

At the special request of Adolf Noser SVD, the Archbishop of Alexishafen - a vast diocese including Madang, Lae, Goroka and Kundiawa - Mother Patricia O'Neill, the leader of the Union in Canberra, sent a community of four sisters to Goroka under the leadership of Sister Elizabeth Miller in 1956.

Initially the Archbishop saw the role of the sisters as building up the Catholic faith among the civic population and townspeople in Goroka,[43] among whom the first administration headquarters and gateway to the vast Highlands area had been opened a few years earlier. The parish priest's zeal was directed towards the European population and the sisters began St. Mary's School for this purpose. However, Mother Patricia had appointed an extra sister for the indigenous children, and soon Sister Marie Dagg began this work when the local people offered land at Faniufa Village and the first Catholic School in the region, Sacred Heart School, was built.

Within a few years, the arrival of Father Harry McGee SVD from the United States and the appointment of Bernard Schilling as bishop of Goroka heralded new opportunities. Father McGee eagerly adapted to the needs of the situation as a pastor on the ground and pilot in the air. He could see the urgent need for the missionaries to be a Christian presence in the town itself, which was growing rapidly, and in the traditional surrounding villages, which were mainly Lutheran,[44] but where there were pockets of Catholic Simbu workers on the coffee plantations. He believed the schools should be open to all children, not just the Catholics, and that the sisters should not set out to make conversions. He encouraged the sisters: "Let us be a presence among the people – north, south, east and west of Goroka."

By the late 1950s, the construction of the Highlands Highway, linking the Coast and the Highlands, was underway. This offered the sisters a base from which to venture forth into the bush areas beyond the Goroka boundary – to Tafeto (1960), Katagu (1960) Yamiufa (1961) and Yabiufa (1961)[45]. Opening a new school meant winning the people's approval for the school, gaining access to suitable land and negotiating its lease, arranging the construction of school buildings by the people, religious brothers or lay missionaries, finding teachers and selecting pupils from the throngs of youngsters yearning to go to school. The lion's share of this was done by the sisters.

Money and school supplies were generously donated by the sisters and the school children in Australia. As the schools expanded, female lay missionaries arrived from Australia and Europe to help in teaching and nursing. Extra money was needed to pay stipends for the lay missionaries, for the transport costs of the sisters' dilapidated jeeps, sorely tested on the narrow mountain tracks, and sometimes for payment of the household bills. In her requests for more missionary sisters, Mother Patricia appealed for financial support for the upkeep of the sisters themselves[46].

Despite the idyllic climate of the "eternal spring" of Goroka, illness befell some of the sisters, forcing their return to Australia. In these sad circumstances their schools, with the exception of St Mary's "European" School, which closed in 1964, were taken over by other church communities, Catholic or Lutheran, according to the area, and have continued since then.

Across the mountains to Simbu

Unlike the "Lutheran area" of Goroka, the neighbouring densely populated Simbu district with 200,000 Catholics or 90% of the Goroka Diocese, was deemed a "Catholic area." The Simbu priests began to look to the English-speaking teachers on the Goroka side of the Daulo Pass to attend to their schools, Religious Education and the upgrading of indigenous teachers. The opening came when there was an emergency at Kup mission station; the priest took ill and the lay missionary teacher and nurse left the country. The Goroka sisters agreed that two of them - a teacher and a nurse - would come immediately and manage the station. Thus the sisters experienced for themselves the growing needs in education and health, and within a few years the Goroka sisters, in twos and threes, formed religious communities on the rural mission stations of Simbu - Kup (1963), Koge (1965), Goglme (1967), and Neragaima (1971). These schools had lost their official government registration because of falling standards and lack of qualified personnel. Regaining official registration was the sister's first priority. In addition, there were several outstation schools and the sisters took a supervisory responsibility for these. At first sister nurses in the basic health facilities were assisted by minimally trained *dokta bois* but as the years passed and health standards increased, they were replaced by female graduates from the mission training centre at Vunapope in Rabaul.[47]

The sisters were conscious of the long-term need to empower indigenous personnel. After teaching and managing schools during the day, the sisters helped the teachers with secondary correspondence lessons so that they would be eligible to apply for upgrading courses in the teachers colleges. Thus it was that the strength of the indigenous Catholic teaching force increased, and from the beginning of 1974 the primary schools were completely managed and staffed by indigenous teachers, who were sometimes former students. Similarly, the sister nurses were engaged in training and promoting indigenous staff. With the closure of the convents of Kup, Goglme and Neragaima in 1973, and that of Koge, towards the end of 1975, the majority of the sisters in education and health sought to meet wider needs in Catholic, ecumenical and secular institutions.

The first foundation to Kunjingini in the East Sepik region

The second Australian foundation was made in 1957 when Mother Damian Duncombe, the leader of the Mercy Federation in Brisbane, responded to a request from Bishop Leo Arkfeld, the "flying bishop" of Wewak. A group of seven selected volunteer sisters from the Brisbane congregation under the leadership of Sister Francis Regis Everingham left for Kunjingini. In the traditional spirit of Mercy, Mother Damian chose Kunjingini because it was the most remote and deprived mission area of the Wewak Diocese. An inter-congregational group[48], bound for the Sepik swamp lands of Torembi with Sister Xavier Byrne as leader, followed in 1958.

In contrast to the Goroka mission-setting with the sisters' smaller communities and less structured missionary work, the Wewak foundations were more centrally planned and organised. From the outset the sisters formed a nucleus on the mission stations to care for the education and health services (which included regular visitation to the villages), and to manage the domestic arrangements of the station. In the extreme heat conditions, mosquitoes were prevalent and malaria a constant debilitating and problematic condition.

At Kunjingini the sisters took responsibility for the parish primary school which had opened several years earlier (1951). Gradually, at Mother Regis' insistence, the people's initial resistance to sending their girls to school changed. More sisters came from Brisbane and within a few years Kunjingini became a large central school for the Maprik area.

The first teacher education centre in the Wewak Diocese was established at Kunjingini under the administration of the qualified and experienced teacher and pharmacist, Sister Margarita Shannon. The first ten male student teachers with barely a primary school education, were flown in by Archbishop Arkfeld. Teacher trainees eventually came from the neighbouring dioceses of Aitape, Vanimo and Daru. Standards were maintained according to the government requirements as Officers from the Teacher Education Division in Port Moresby came on their inspection visits.

At the beginning of 1969, with an increased enrolment of graduates from the Mercy College at Yarapos and Marist Brothers High School from Kairiru Island, Sister Margarita's teacher education institute was transferred to St Benedict's Teachers College Kaindi[49] in Wewak as a regional college of the Wewak, Aitape, Vanimo and Daru dioceses. This was in collaboration with the Christian Brothers, with Sister Margarita fulfilling the role of Deputy Principal for several years.

The nurse, Sister Isobel Condon, who had served as an army nurse during the war, knew what basic health care services were needed and soon settled into the tropical scene. On the station she was kept busy with mothers and patients from the nearby villages, and went out for bush patrol work twice a week. People came in large numbers from the most remote areas, even bypassing the established government aid-posts for treatment. Isobel realised that the bush facilities needed to be improved and added a plan for a permanent maternity hospital built of concrete blocks to the list of buildings going up on the station. The Kunjingini Health Sub-Centre continues to serve the area, run by the Catholic Diocese of Wewak, with indigenous Sisters of Mercy on the staff.

The second foundation to Torembi in the Wewak Diocese
The second foundation in the East Sepik was in a very remote area at Torembi in the swamplands of the Sepik River. Soon after being flown in by Bishop Leo Arkfeld in the mission plane the sisters commenced the ministries of teaching and nursing. Within four years, school enrolment had more than doubled[50], and as the children had two hours' walk to and from school each day, the sisters soon took in boarders – 80 girls and 40 boys.

Sister nurse, Mary Wildie[51], set up a clinic a short distance from the convent and worked with the *Dokta boi* Nicholas, who also acted as her interpreter until she became more familiar with *Tok Pisin.* Sister Mary would make hazardous treks through the swamps to the Maternal and Child Health Clinics (MCH) that were set up in the surrounding villages to serve the parish population of 4,000.

Soon the possibility of girls completing primary school at Torembi and Kunjingini became a reality and a girls' boarding high school was planned for the diocese. The parish priest, Father Grubinger, got builders to construct the school buildings for the school to commence in 1963. Under the leadership of the first principal, Sr. Valerie White, the early students of Mercy College Torembi were certainly captivated by the spirit of learning. Some progressed first to Yarapos, then to All Hallows in Brisbane to complete their secondary education[52]. Graduates were among the first lay professional women leaders as the world around their people was rapidly changing.

Later foundations from Australia

The pioneer sisters in Goroka and Wewak were followed by many others as teachers and nurses from Australia formed small religious communities on the mission stations and existing communities subdivided to meet emerging needs in the dioceses.

At the request of Bishop Bernarding of Mount Hagen, Mother Philomena Ryman of North Sydney arranged for a group of five to manage education and health at Pumakos in the remote Enga region in 1965. A few years later some of the community moved to Holy Trinity Teachers College at Mount Hagen where the dioceses of the Highlands[53] and Madang had recently combined to form a new regional Catholic teacher education institution. The year 1968 marked the first intake of female students and Sister Cecily Geary was appointed Deputy Principal and Dean of Women.

The Rockhampton and Townsville Sisters of Mercy sent separate communities to the rural areas of Yangoru and Negrie in the Wewak diocese. The last major foundation from Australia was in response to William Rowell, bishop of Aitape, when a task force of volunteers was sent to save St. Mary's Hospital from imminent closure[54] - an operation which saw the development of the hospital, school of Nursing and Maternal and Health Services in the diocese by the Sisters of Mercy till they were able to localise the management of these services 15 years later.

Over the 50 year period, a total of 178 sisters came as missionaries to Papua and New Guinea. Although the numbers fluctuated and never exceeded fifty at any one time, a substantial core-group sustained a long-term presence and offered continuity and stability to the Mercy foundations made.

Developments in Nation and Church

By the 1960s Papua and New Guinea became a basically Christian country. The Christian churches, such as Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, Anglican and the London Missionary Society, which had operated in the country virtually from the beginning of mission activity in the latter part of the nineteenth century, had consolidated and expanded their influence, through evangelisation, education, health and development.

Soon after settling in their educational, health and pastoral ministries, and with a concentration on spreading the faith within the Catholic settings of the parish and diocese, the sisters found themselves influenced by forces within the country which was heading towards self-government and independence, and developments within the Catholic Church itself. These new forces were to challenge all the Christian churches to go beyond the traditional concepts of "establishing" the church.

Political developments towards Independence

Changes that had been evolving in the colonial context gathered momentum in the 1960's. Urged by the United Nations, the Australian Administration, after a history of reliance on the various Christian missions for education and health services since the 1880's, put in motion policies to prepare the country for political independence[55]. The Australian Labour Government made a commitment to a "New Deal" for Papua [56] and New Guinea [57], emphasising the priority to be given to the interests of the local population and to the "educational, economic, and political progress of the people." [58] There was now a serious injection of government funding for this purpose, particularly in the government centres and in the recently opened up Highlands areas[59] where half of the country's population lived[60]. However, the mission infrastructure for education and health predominated, particularly in the regional centres and rural areas.

In education, in the interests of promoting national unity, English was declared the medium of instruction in 1962[61]. A United Nations mission recommended the expansion of secondary, technical and higher education, and as a result of the Currie Report of the Commission of Higher Education (1962) the first tertiary institutions were established at Port Moresby and Lae[62]. An Advisory Committee on Education (the Weeden, Beeby and Gris Report) recommended equal pay and conditions for mission teachers (1969). This was followed up two years later by the establishment of the National Teaching Service, providing teachers of mission agency schools with equal salaries and status with those of the administration agency schools, and endorsing national curricula, with English as the language of instruction for all registered schools. The bishops of the Catholic Church made the decision to join the National Teaching Service and the majority of the Sisters of Mercy were part of this new structure. Five Sisters of Mercy within the various dioceses assumed roles of Advisor/Inspector of Schools and Catholic

Education Secretary to assist the various Church and Administration agencies to be incorporated into the new system. Likewise Mercy sisters in the government and mission health services assumed responsibilities at diocesan and provincial levels.

Developments escalated after the first parliamentary meeting of the House of Assembly of Papua and New Guinea in 1964. Seeking public opinion in preparation for setting up an autonomous government, the Constitutional Planning Committee visited town and rural centres in 1972, and Self-Government was proclaimed the following year. Independence in 1975 was a significant moment as people of over 850 different languages and cultures united to form one nation. The written Constitution endorsed the traditional values and Christian principles as the foundation for the new nation state[63]. It endorsed the ideals of the Eight Point Plan[64], prioritising equal distribution of economic benefits, decentralisation, self-reliant economy, equal and active participation of women in all forms of economic and social activity and the retaining of Melanesian cultural ways.

The proclamation of traditional values and Christian principles as the basis for the new nation had the power to hold and bind hearts. Prominent among the traditional values – expressed as "Melanesian ways" – were reverence for the spirit world and the spirits of the ancestors, commitment to family and clan, obedience to custom and law, respect for elders, care and preservation of the environment and hospitality[65]. A new emphasis, long valued and upheld by the sisters in their ministries, was that of equal participation of women.

The Second Vatican Council

The Catholic Church of PNG responded to the renewed theology of the Second Vatican Council (1962 – 65). Its themes were enthusiastically taken up: inculturation – seeking and developing expressions of Christianity within the various Melanesian cultures; using the language of the people instead of the ancient Latin language in the Liturgy; encouraging the use of the Bible as the Word of God; and establishing a new and mutual relationship with non-Catholic denominations and non-Christian religions.

However, it was the overall radical change in church and mission theology which was at the heart of these renewals. Beginning with a Trinitarian centre for its origin[66], mission was placed at the very heart of the church, not because of some command that had been laid upon the faithful, but because, it emanated from the life of the Trinity itself[67]. The central theme of the mission of the church, to further the reign of God, is captured in the words: "The pilgrim Church is missionary by its very nature, since it is from the mission of the Son and the mission of the Holy Spirit (to bring about the reign of God) that she draws her origin, in accordance with the decree of God the Father."[68] As a pilgrim people in a common search for the fulfilment of the reign of God the Catholic Church was being called to constant reform. The church abandoned its negative stance to modernism,[69] and positively embraced the modern world in the ideals of love, care and responsibility. Moreover, embracing a wider sense of the one true church, the Catholic Church entered into a new relationship of dialogue with Christian and non-Christian churches to build up the true church of Christ.[70]

The Catholic Church in PNG conducted its own self-study[71] (1972-75) to determine local, diocesan and national issues and concerns, and Sisters of Mercy took a significant part in this process[72]. Within the context of its major finding "We are the Church," local issues of the family, ministry training of catechists and church workers, formation of priests and seminarians, and the rights, responsibilities and participation of the laity were identified, giving more concrete direction to the vision of the growth of the local Church as the "People of God." No longer was the church to be seen primarily as a hierarchical institution. This exercise of the Self-Study proved to be a significant follow-up to the Vatican Council and a major source of renewal.

The Vatican Council teachings on mission were integrated and reinforced by Pope Paul VI in the encyclical *Evangelii Nuntiandi* that came to be recognised as his "pastoral testament."[73] He reiterated that "the task of evangelising all people" constituted "the essential mission of the church" which was called to "constant conversion and renewal."[74] Referring to the church in its work of evangelisation, the Gospel message was to be absorbed, interpreted and enlivened within the particular cultural context, rather than through the filter of an imposed, western culture. Other themes reinforced were that of the church's commitment to development and liberation, and openness to the truth of other religious ways.

The Sisters' Agency in evolving Mission

The sisters were part of the unfolding events in Church and society, and as they responded to contemporary ideals of Church and nation in efforts to "read the signs of the times" they were led to a broader focus of mission. Government and Church policies promoted localisation – empowerment of indigenous people through preparation for new roles of responsibility.

At first, following the western system of education and teaching the Australian curriculum of the colonial government, the sisters saw Christian education, literacy and numeracy as essential for the foundation of a free, democratic country. They held the general belief in the power of Christian education to transform society. In time, seeing the disruption to village life caused by formal education[75], the sisters were among the first, particularly in the rural areas, to commence vocational schools for young women (and men) emphasising self-reliance skills and family health issues. They eagerly introduced the government initiatives of 'cultural studies' and 'Melanesian values' in the curriculum in schools and teachers colleges.

Sister nurses made adaptations as, working in under-resourced health centres, they were called upon in emergencies to diagnose and perform procedures that would be the prerogative of doctors in first world countries. They carried out extensive bush patrols on foot, on dangerous roads, and in turbulent seas. Being close to the people they soon learnt the language and became familiar with local customs. They came to view their prime purpose as saving lives in a long-term constructive way. They became managers of health centres, concerned with preventative medicine, health education and training, the use of the people's natural remedies, and the training of indigenous staff. They worked in collaboration with the Catholic Church and Government health authorities, as well as with other Church agencies. Some sisters represented the Catholic Church at diocesan and national levels.

The sisters worked closely in an environment of cooperative church and government relations, and during this time of transition, not only was their ability to work with and train indigenous staff well known, but also their personalities, talents, dedication and readiness to adapt to circumstances and to face the difficulties and dangers of the roads. Authorities were aware of the contribution to be made by religious women in Catholic, ecumenical and secular institutions, as firm role models for young women throughout the country entering professional life and aspiring to leadership roles.

Requests for new ministries came from bishops or priests within the diocese or from government personnel and were followed by a process of consultation within the religious community. The sisters responded to the situation, and helped in diverse ways to build up the church as the people of God as they took up work in the various strata of society – formal education (secondary and tertiary) non-formal education (vocational), teacher education, adult pastoral ministries, training of seminarians and catechists, health care in its many forms, and religious formation of indigenous religious women and men. Where necessary, sisters prepared for pastoral work, catechist training, and pastoral and church leadership training through further study and training within the country[76], Australia or the Philippines.

Sisters moved across geographical boundaries – from the coast to the highlands (and vice versa), and to the national capital, Port Moresby. New inter-congregational communities and support groups emerged, in some cases replacing the original, more conventional types of living together. As sisters travelled around the local areas in new supervisory or management roles their presence offered the people, during a time of political uncertainty, a sense of continuity, stability and neutrality.

Despite this positive picture, there was also an occasional measure of criticism in church circles. The sisters tended to stand out from other religious women because of their simplified religious dress, moving into ministries before many of their male counterparts, staying overnight in the villages for ministry or on nursing patrols and their readiness to speak their truth[77] publicly for themselves and for others.

New ministries were not undertaken lightly. Seeing themselves as agents of change, sisters were inclined to reflect upon, review, or modify their approach. At first, some religious life and ministry changes (which preceded those later initiated in Australia) were not readily understood by the Australian Mercy Leaders. But once convinced through their high regard for the needs of the local churches expressed by the bishops, their trust in the sisters' dedication and communication of needs[78], and their own deep desire for mission, the religious leaders provided enduring moral support to the sisters during times of uncertainty and change.

With initiatives coming from the Catholic Church, institutes and centres were formed to explore the theological, cultural and pastoral implications of the Vatican II guidelines and Sisters of Mercy served in these in specialist areas. The Melanesian Institute for Pastoral and Socio-Economic Service (MI, 1973) and the Liturgical and Catechetical Institute (LCI, 1974) were formally established in Goroka. The Catechist Training Centre at Pumakos in Enga, Pastoral Centres at Tangugo and Negrie in Wewak, Par in Enga, and Mingende in Simbu and Kefamo in Goroka were also set up to train catechists and the lay leaders. In addition, sisters joined the staff at inter-diocesan seminaries – St John's, Kairiru, Good Shepherd, Madang, and Holy Spirit Seminary, Bomana, in the capital, Port Moresby[79]. In all of these institutions, individual Sisters of Mercy played significant roles in teaching and management. They brought, not only their own particular expertise and scholarship, but also their cultural knowledge absorbed from living among the people in the rural settings, and their sensitivity to the needs, potential, rights and contribution of women.

Of tremendous significance for women religious, and one in which Sisters of Mercy played an important part, from the beginning, was Xavier Institute of Missiology for Women Religious of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands (1971) in Port Moresby. Through Xavier Institute, the teachings of Vatican II, particularly in relation to the renewal of religious life[80], liturgy, inculturation and pastoral ministry, were open to scores of young women religious and the men religious who eventually joined in the programs[81]. Sisters also took leadership roles in the Union of Women Religious based at Xavier Institute[82], with regional centres throughout the country, and the Conference of Major Superiors (which eventually evolved into the Conference of Women Religious). These bodies focused on religious and cultural formation appropriate to Melanesian women religious, and pastoral approaches to contemporary social issues. This involvement demanded insight, sensitivity to culture, and tact and courage on the part of the sisters, speaking and writing on behalf of women in a male-centred church and society.

While this review traces the course of an evolving mission it deals selectively with a relatively short, but significant time-frame, towards the end of which the sisters accepted the first indigenous young women into their novitiate. Overall, the Australian Sisters of Mercy offered the people of Papua New Guinea a commitment of over fifty years – ample time for mutual relationships to be established, cross-cultural learning to be strengthened, and love, care and forgiveness to be treasured. As the Australian numbers decreased, those of the indigenous sisters, keeping and adapting the mission traditions of their Australian sisters, slowly but steadily grew. In 2006, under the leadership of an indigenous sister the Papua New Guinea foundation was granted autonomous status by Rome. The Sisters of Mercy – Papua New Guinea region, take their equal place along side the seventeen congregations and their Pakistan foundation, which since 1981, have made up the Institute of the Sisters of Mercy Australia.

SHARI'A LAW

Frank Purcell was a Catholic Priest for 21 years. After completing a Doctorate of Theology in Rome in 1959, he taught in the Columban seminary in Turramurra NSW for two years, followed by 8 years in Japan, including a year at the East Asian Pastoral Institute in Manila, and six in Ireland. After resigning from the priesthood in 1976 he returned to Australia and worked in a number of health and welfare services. On retirement he became a sessional lecturer in Australian Politics at La Trobe University's Shepparton Campus. He is currently Vice-President of the Shepparton Inter-Church Council and Interfaith Network.

Christianity and Islam have been major elements in the development of Western and Islamic civilisations. Inevitably, both have had to work out the relationship, which should exist between religion and politics in their respective worlds. Catholic Christianity and Islam are both having difficulties in coming to terms with the relatively recent development of secular, democratic societies within Western and Islamic societies. This article focuses on one aspect of those struggles, the Islamic challenge because of its Shari'a law. it attempts to show the positives of the Shari'a as well as identifying some of the challenges which Islam has to face in coming to terms with Australian Law. A wider study of the challenges facing both Christianity and Islam is being presented by the author in a Voices Essay being published by John Garratt Publishing in December 2009

Introduction

Christianity and Islam are missionary religions. Both seek first of all a turning to God and submission to His law by each individual. They also seek their participation in the struggle to change our relationships with one another so as to transform society into one of justice, peace and compassion. In doing this both religions have played important roles in the development of Western and Islamic civilisations.

The missionary spirituality of Catholic Christianity has been central to the development of the West through that creative tension between Church and State resulting from the struggle to clarify and maintain the proper relationship between religion and politics in Western societies. As a result of this creative tension even our so called "secular democracy" in Australia has been deeply influenced by Christian beliefs and values which are key elements in the foundations of our social cohesion. Our monarchy and legal institutions are full of religious rituals, and our family and marriage laws still largely reflect long established Catholic Christian beliefs and practices.[83] Nevertheless, this historic role of Christianity, and of Catholicism in particular, is not necessarily known or conceded by citizens of modern Western democracies, including many Catholics.[84]

In any case, it is no surprise that most Christians are comfortable with Australia's secularity and its interpretation of that separation of Church and State which is required in a democracy. However, from the time of the Reformation and of the Enlightenment and their contribution to the development of secular democracies, Catholicism has had to continue thinking or theologising on the nature of its relationship to civil authorities within the context of a secular democracy. Today, it does not find any in-principle clash between its basic beliefs and values and those of secular democracy as enshrined in Australian law,[85] but there is still some confusion within the Catholic Church in Australia on the nature of its role.

In the Second Vatican Council's *Constitution on the Church in the Modern World* the Catholic Church summarised its current understanding of that relationship:

> ... The political community and the Church are mutually independent and self-governing. **The Church's contribution is to introduce love and justice into society, not to govern it.** [My emphasis]   But it is also the Church's legitimate work to preach the faith in freedom, to teach her social doctrine, and to discharge her duty among people without hindrance.[86]

In spite of that clarification, there has been a lot of publicity in the U.S.A. and Australia over the pressure put on Catholic politicians by a number of Cardinals and Bishops in both countries. It is hard to reconcile the threats made by those bishops with the thinking of St. Augustine and St. Thomas

Aquinas on the nature of the task of governing.[87] The bishops, in fairness to Catholic politicians, need to clarify this issue for the sake of the political health of our society. It is also important for the sake of constructive interfaith dialogue with Muslim Australians.

Muslim Australians come from a religious tradition which has been the foundation of Islamic societies and culture, but Islam does not make the same kind of distinction between Church and State as does Catholicism. This makes it inevitable that Muslims in Australia will also have difficulties in clarifying its role in the public life of our secular democracy.

Islam shares with Catholics and Christians a general belief that there is a fundamental role for religion in the public life of a society. But this raises important questions which need to be explored at both the interfaith and civic dialogue levels. How can religious beliefs and traditions in Christianity and Islam strengthen the social cohesion and harmony which is an essential part of building a just and compassionate society?   How does religion play a role in public life without turning a secular democracy into a "confessional state" or a theocracy?

This essay explores those questions.   It argues that a number of these issues should be on the agenda for interfaith dialogue - the role of faith and reason in the public square, the separation of church and state as distinct from the separation of religion and politics, and the different roles and responsibilities of religious leaders and of politicians who are believers. Ultimately without some consensus on these issues among religious believers in Australia, religion will continue to be undermined and marginalised, not just by the inadequacies of religious believers themselves, but also by the hostile forces of doctrinaire secularism within academia, the media and our globalised economic system.

Catholic Christianity and Politics

Christianity describes its mission as building the Kingdom of God. This refers to that ideal world of relationships built on God's outpouring of love. It begins with God's invitation to us to make a response in faith, which involves a surrender to God through Jesus Christ and a commitment to a life of love, compassion and service of others here and now.[88] In doing this people build up patterns of behaviour towards one another, not only within the family and the local community, but also within the wider community to which they belong. Those patterns of behaviour influence the establishment of political, social and family institutions which govern the way people relate to one another. Those institutions are crucial in deciding whether our society is one based on respect for human dignity, justice, peace and compassion.[89]   This involves a struggle against selfishness and injustice both within oneself and within society.

Much of what follows about the Christian understanding of the relationship between religion and politics applies to all branches of Christianity, but its focus on the Catholic experience is based on the historical role Catholicism has played and the difficulties it has experienced in coming to terms with modernity and secular democracy. Its experience and difficulties may offer insights for other traditions to ponder.

Catholicism acknowledges that there are two God-given powers with legitimacy – the spiritual and the civil. This understanding has its roots in both the Old and New Testaments [90] but it developed differently in Eastern and Western Christianity. In Byzantium, the Emperor took on the role of the spiritual leader of Christians, a model with its roots in the early development of civilisation in the Middle East, and one followed later by Islam as well.[91]

In the West, there was an acknowledgement by the Church of the separate, God-given authority of the civil rulers:

> In worldly matters, the priests had to follow the laws of the emperor who had been placed in office by divine decree, whereas he [the Emperor] had to submit to the priest in sacred matters.[92]

The same idea gave rise to the "two swords" theory of spiritual and temporal power in the Middle Ages.[93] For Catholics, the civil authority has legitimacy in the eyes of God, but a legitimacy subject to certain restrictions based on fundamental human rights which flow from natural law. The Church, on the basis of its spiritual authority, claims the right to challenge any violation of those rights. Hence the

ongoing tension in Western civilisations between Church and State, a tension which Catholics argue has made an important contribution, along with the Reformation and the Enlightenment, to the development of human rights, capitalism and democracy.[94]

Islam and Politics

Muslims, like Christians, have a similar understanding of their mission or goal of personal and community transformation through submission to God and building a community which creates a culture of justice, peace and compassion.[95] The struggle to live according to the law of God in the Qur'an and to follow the example of the Prophet is known as the "Greater Jihad" (the Lesser Jihad refers to the use of force to defend the House of Islam and sometimes to expand its territory at the expense of the non-Muslim world).[96]

To ensure the freedom of Muslims to hold their beliefs and to practice their faith, the Prophet Mohammad established an Islamic State at Medina:

> The constitution of Medina established a pluralistic state - a community of communities. It promised equal security to all and all were equal in the eyes of the law. The principles of equality, consensual governance and pluralism are beautifully enmeshed in the compact of Medina.[97]

Its purpose was to give internal and external security to Muslims both to earn a livelihood and to practice their faith and worship.[98]

In this Islamic State, God is the only Sovereign; legitimate Lawmaker, with Mohammad or his successor the Caliph exercising both religious and civil power under God. This has been a major factor in the relationship of religion and politics in Islam. While over the centuries a de-facto separation of church and state has developed,[99] the State is still expected to build its legislation on Islamic law and to protect religious belief and practice within society.[100] This could raise a number of difficulties for Muslims in Australia.

As a democracy with a commitment to freedom of speech and religious freedom, Australia has always allowed vigorous criticism of religion, of religious leaders, of the founders of religions and even of God. As long as this does not become vilification, Muslim Australians seem to live with this, much as Catholic Australians shrug off lampooning of the Pope or even of Jesus himself.[101]

Religious freedom is also understood in Australia to mean that a person is free to change or even abandon one's religious beliefs, as well as to have the right to hold and practice one's faith without penalty or discrimination from the state.

In many Muslim countries today, such interpretations of freedom of speech and of religious freedom are not accepted. Some states enforce religious practices by making Shari'a law part of the civil code, and prohibit Muslims from changing their religion.[102] Any criticism of Mohammad or of Islamic beliefs and practices is interpreted as a lack of respect for the sacred and has led to civil disturbances.[103] Muslims demand respect for their beliefs and practices.

While mainstream Muslims in Australia accept that Australian law gives them freedom to maintain their core beliefs and practices,[104] there have been moves in Western Australia to have Shari'a (Islamic) Law recognized as part of the civil code. The proposal has triggered serious objections which have to be discussed for the sake of maintaining and strengthening our social harmony.[105] What then is the Shari'a?

The Shari'a

The word "Shari'a" brings to mind for many Australians, overseas press reports of women being flogged for immodesty, thieves having hands amputated in punishment for their crimes and women being stoned to death for being caught in adultery. While it is true that such measures of the Shari'a are still carried out in areas under the control of the Taliban and other radical fundamentalist regimes, those harsh penalties from the seventh and eighth centuries Arabia were introduced at a time when

there were no courts, police or gaols. Strict rules of evidence made it quite difficult to impose these penalties and were intended to ensure that the number of cases were few. Their main purpose was to make an example of a few cases in order to encourage conformity to the law.[106] Over the centuries as other options became available, the use of such penalties declined to the stage that they are now largely the monopoly of radical, fundamentalist extremist regimes. These regimes claim to be implementing the Law of God, the Shari'a. But mainstream Muslims see the Shari'a, not as a list of harsh penalties to be imposed for improper behaviour, but as a set of guidelines or rules which will enable Muslims to engage with modernity in an Islamic way. They seek guidance through the Shari'a just as Christians look to Jesus and the Gospels for guidance in building their relations with one another and in establishing a just and peaceful society.

Before condemning Muslims and their Shari'a or Islamic Law, it is important to remember that Christians too, in their day, also practised some very rough justice on heretics and witches. In more recent times it is sobering to recall the bombings and assassinations carried out by Catholic and Protestant militants in Northern Ireland. In spite of all that, Australian Christians were not harassed or abused as members of a religion of violence and hatred. That was different from the experience of many Muslim Australians who suffered harassment following September 11th and the Bali bombings; they were on the receiving end of a form of religious sectarianism similar to that which was a part of life for many Catholics in Australia until the 1960s. There is a concise but balanced account of that in the recently published **Wasps, Tykes and Ecumaniacs**.[107] This was a legacy of the harsh treatment of the Irish by their British colonial masters over an 800 year period. It was not helped by the hostility of the leadership of the Catholic Church towards the French Revolution and its brand of democracy and Jacobin secularism, which persecuted the Church in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity.

The overreaction in Pope Gregory XVI's condemnations of democracy, freedom of speech and freedom of religion in the century following the French Revolution confirmed long held suspicions among Australian Protestants that Catholic loyalty could not be trusted.[108] It was only in the 1960s at the Second Vatican Council that the Catholic Church leadership belatedly followed English speaking Catholics in acknowledging that those basic human rights and institutions were no direct threat to Catholics and their religious beliefs and practices.[109] Unfortunately, that official Catholic ambivalence towards those basic human rights fuelled suspicion and antipathy towards Catholics in Australia for nearly 200 years. It may help Muslim Australians to realise that Irish Catholics have been through similar experiences to theirs before them.

Interfaith Dialogue

Ecumenical initiatives by Protestants first, slowly followed by Catholic participation, played an important part in putting an end to the sectarianism which was a feature of Australian life for so long. There are signs that the growth of Christian-Muslim inter-faith dialogue may play a similar role in helping Muslim Australians find acceptance in this country. That dialogue will not be easy, but then Catholic–Protestant dialogue was a painfully slow process which required changes in attitude on both sides as well as by those non-religious players who were part of the reality of Australian society.

A Christian–Muslim dialogue faces the challenge of fostering understanding and appreciation of the positive features of one another's religious and cultural traditions.[110] The fact that both are missionary religions means that there is an inevitable level of competition between them, but it also reminds us of the similarities in much of the vision which drives both Christian and Muslim. The Christians describe this in terms of the Kingdom of God; the Muslims use the term "the House of Islam." Both see this being achieved by fidelity to God's law. Basically, the Shari'a is an attempt to offer Muslims guidance in doing just that.

The Shari'a

The Shari'a is a common law system based on the writings of the Qur'an and the reports about the Sunna - the explanations and practical guidance which the Prophet Muhammad gave to his early disciples on how to travel on the correct path to God. These reports on the Sunna were compiled into anthologies called the Hadith. The Qur'an and the Hadith were the sources used by religious scholars to provide guidance to the faithful on how they should live their lives in submission to the One God. The foundation of it all is the Qur'an.

The Qur'an

Muslims believe that the Qur'an is the very word of God dictated to Muhammad by the Archangel Gabriel. [111] Its historicity as a collection of the teachings of Muhammad which he believed he received from God is not in serious doubt.[112]

Because of its style, the Qur'an is not easy to follow. It is not a history of Muhammad's life but more an insight into his thinking and his understanding of God's advice and guidance for him on how to react to opposition. The lack of historical context makes it difficult to fully understand the debates, who the participants are and who are opposing him and his teaching.

> Supporters are simply referred to as believers; opponents are condemned as unbelievers, polytheists, wrongdoers, hypocrites and the like, with only the barest information on who they were or what they said or did...

The Hadith and the Religious Scholars/Jurists

As there is not much detail in the Quran on proper behaviour, the need for guidance in daily life led to the emergence of religious scholars or jurists who gained credibility as informed and reputable moral and religious guides for the faithful. They looked to the Qur'an and the traditions associated with the sayings and example of Muhammad and his associates for guidance on how to live in the correct way. Groupings of religious scholars (the Schools of Law) gradually emerged.

The scholars or Jurists, sought clear legal rules to enable Muslims to make a reality of their mission to build "a just society that surrendered wholly and in every detail to God's will."[114] Four such schools eventually developed: the *Hanafi* used free reason in making their judgments on Islamic interpretations – the School of Opinion; the *Maliki* used the traditions of the Prophet and customs of Medina for guidance – the School of Tradition; the *Shafi'i* referred first to the Qur'an, then to the Sunna, after that to the consensus of the whole community and finally to analogy with the Qur'an in offering guidance. Finally, for the *Hanbali*, only the Qur'an and the Sunna were used as sources for guidance.[115]

At one time there were many thousands of these Hadith or reports, but eventually they were culled of the inauthentic.[116] Nevertheless, many are still thought by some to be of doubtful authenticity.[117] The Turkish Review of the Hadith currently underway would support such reservations.   Still, it is necessary to keep in mind the important reality - they are the basis for the guidance of the religious and social life of Muslims:

> There has been much debate about the validity of the Sunnah and Hadith: some are regarded as more authentic than others. But ultimately the question of the historical validity of these traditions is less important than the fact they have worked: they have proved able to bring a sacramental sense of the divine into the life of millions of Muslims over the centuries.[118]

The schools of jurists were given a measure of recognition by the Abbasid Caliphs. As the latter had the power to appoint the judges, they appointed as judges only men with legal scholarship acceptable to the Schools. In return, the Abbasids pressured the legal schools to get some degree of uniformity in their rulings and decisions. Scholars were also required to give reasons for their views. The pressure resulted in all Sunni jurists gradually accepting that if there were no explicit Qur'anic ruling, then a decision should be based on the teachings in the Hadith.   This resulted in a degree of uniformity with the schools fully accepting each other's rules and practices. [119]

 In the search for guidance, jurists also drew on customary practice as well as on the use of analogy and consensus to determine proper Muslim behaviour and religious life.[120] Gradually they came to be seen as the real guardians of the heritage of the Prophet taking over the religious leadership role from the Caliph. As the legitimacy of the Caliph or Sultan's rule depended on his observance of the rules of the Shari'a or Islamic law, to ignore or violate that law was to put his dynasty at risk of losing its legitimacy in the eyes of the religious scholars and therefore in the eyes of the Muslim community.. The religious scholars became a counter-balancing power base within Islam which limited the power of the Caliph or Sultan:[121]

> The ulama [the group of religions scholars] was a powerful and effective check on the ruler. To see the Islamic constitution as containing the balance of powers so necessary for a

functioning, sustainable legal state is to emphasize not why it failed…but why it succeeded so spectacularly for as long as it did.[122]

The Caliphs did attempt to get some uniformity from the different schools of law by appointing religious scholars as judges and controlling their decision making, but the Religious Scholars defended themselves against dismissal by avoiding new interpretations of the law. They appealed instead to precedents in the opinions and actions of the earlier scholars. In the meantime, a growing fragmentation of the Caliph's political role saw the rise of local leaders who took power in distant provinces of the empire. These sultans tended to concentrate on the temporal, secular dimension of their roles, thereby strengthening the religious leadership of the jurists. [123]

This near total transfer of religious leadership to the religious scholars led to a form of separation of the functions of the political and religious leadership within Islamic societies. In effect, the Religious Scholars had the ability to insist that the ruler, the Caliph or Sultan, must remain within the bounds of the Shari'a or risk being stripped of his legitimacy.[124] In the Ottoman Empire for example,

> As the price of this legitimation, the scholars insisted upon some measure of executive limitation. Islamic law was in principle the law of the empire - and that meant the Sultan was subject to the law, not above it...Sultans earned the caliphate at the price of accepting that God and his law were above them.[125]

The Religious scholars took responsibility for interpreting and developing Islamic Law (the Shari'a), while the Caliph or Sultans maintained responsibility for matters of state. The sultan was still expected to exercise some level of religious leadership by ensuratg that the institutions of society complied with the Shari'a (Islamic Law) because classical Islamic political theory saw the faith as the regulator of life and society. The temporal ruler's function was to carry out religion's decrees.[126]

The Caliphs, Muhammad's successors should have played a major role in the religious leadership of the community, but they kept losing credibility with both Sunni and Shia Muslims. The Sunni are those who believe that the Caliph should be elected by the consensus of the Islamic community. The Shia insist that he should be a member of the Prophet's family. [127]

In the case of the Sunni, there was a long debate and struggle within Islam over the created or uncreated quality of the Qur'an; over whether it could be subject to rational reinterpretation. Black points out that it was only in the tenth and eleventh centuries that the uncreated character of the Qur'an was finally accepted.[128] It was a defeat for the Caliphate which had backed those supporting the created character of the Qur'an, but a victory for the *ulama*. The Caliphate finally lost "authority"; it was left only with power; it was the Qur'an and the Sunna as interpreted by the religious scholars which had authority. The religious scholars had gradually become the acknowledged interpreters of the word of God and the religious and moral leaders of the community. The Scholars began to limit the use of reason in the process of interpretation by proclaiming that the Qur'an was uncreated and that it was their role to interpret it and guide the community because they had the special knowledge needed for this role:

> (This) deprived the Caliph of any say qua Caliph in the definition of Islamic norms [so that] justice was defined independently of the political rulers or state authority. What was happening was that religious, social and economic legislation was being enacted from below.[129]

In this way Islam became a political community based on law and ritual rather than on political institutions.   It also left the Caliphate without authority and politically weakened so that there was a partial split between the religio-moral-legal authority which belonged to the Scholars and the politico-military power left to the Caliph.

> The conduct of Holy War was separated from the pursuit of Knowledge; the Arabs were no longer a people in arms.[130]

The victory of the Religious Scholars came at a price. Patronage had given the Caliphs a degree of power over them. As the various Schools of Law emerged the Caliphs began appointing judges from the ranks of those religious scholars/jurists who had been trained in those schools. There were risks for the scholars in this if their decisions angered the ruler. To avoid the risk of losing their positions

because of unpopular decisions, some sought to rely on precedence to justify decisions and reduce the ruler's influence. Interpretation (*Ijtihad*) and independent judgment were both casualties. Consequently, literal-fundamentalist tendencies were strengthened by arguing that the Qur'an could not be re-interpreted because of its uncreated character.

Although the Sunni mainstream saw the consensus of the community, expressed through religious scholars, as the source of Islamic law, the arrival of the Mongol invaders disempowered the community as the source of consensus. The Mongols did not want the Shari'a becoming a subversive code. They encouraged its development into "a system of established rules, which could not jeopardize the more dynamic dynastic law of the ruling house."[131] This resulted in the democratic consensus of the community as a guide to God's law being reduced to the consensus of the religious scholars. Their opinions had become so authoritative that many argued that further re-interpretation was considered no longer necessary and the gates of interpretation were closed.[132] But, as Feldman argues, the Shari'a is very like our Common Law system which evolves through the use of precedents, common sense, reason and analogy and this process has continued within Islamic communities.[133] Nevertheless, the use of precedents, the widespread acceptance of the Qur'an as the uncreated Word of God and the use of the Hadith for guidance has resulted in a narrowing of the framework within which Muslim religious scholars seek direction. [134] The use of reason has been under pressure.[135]

In contrast to the Sunni tradition, the Shi'i Muslim groups developed their own system of guidance on law and moral precepts which looked to a direct descendant of the Prophet to guide them. They looked for that from the fourth Caliph who was a member of Muhammad's family, but was assassinated in 661. He became the first Imam of the Shi'a community; it was to him and to the succeeding group of Imams, the Twelve, that the main group of the Shi'as looked for guidance on the Qur'an. The sixth Shi'i Imam, Jafar As-Sadiq, developed a school of law known as the Jafari school which tended to play down consensus as the source of guidance and looked for guidance from the teaching of the Imams who were regarded as infallible.[136]

When the eleventh Imam died in 874 while under house arrest imposed by the Caliph, his young son who was to be his successor could not be found. The "agent" used by the Imam under house arrest to communicate with the Shi'a community eventually announced that the twelfth Imam had gone into hiding. This doctrine of the Occultation of the Hidden Imam led the Shi'a to accept the leader of the religious scholars as the representative of the Hidden Imam.[137]

> God provides each generation of Muslims with an Imam, who as the rightful leader of the community is imbued with...a sovereignty which comprises both religious and, at least in theory, political authority...In the eyes of their followers, the Shi'i Imams retained that role as authoritative interpreters of divine law…[138]

The first twelve Imams were considered infallible and the Shi'a look to them and to the members of the household of the Prophet for guidance while they await the return of the Hidden Imam. [139]

In the light of these comments on Sunni and Shi'a efforts to continue reinterpreting the sources of Islamic Law, claims that the gates of *itjihad* or re-interpretation have been closed in Islam since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are an over-simplification. There is certainly a strong tendency among Muslims to interpret the contents of the Qur'an and the Hadith literally and use this as the guide to the correct path. But, as already noted above, the Shari'a has always been accompanied by an acceptance of those local laws and customs which do not clash with it. The Shari'a continues to evolve and adjust to the context in which people find themselves. Claims that Islam is essentially incompatible with democracy can certainly be challenged and are being challenged by a growing number of Muslim thinkers.[140]

Abdullah An-Naim is a good example. He sees the secular state as neutral regarding religious preference but respects the right of individuals to follow their religious convictions as liberating and essential for Islam. He contends that it also still allows Muslims and Islam to play a constructive role in public life, similar to that played by mainstream Christian groups and Christians as citizens.

> When observed voluntarily, shari'a plays a fundamental role in shaping and developing ethical norms and values that can be reflected into general legislation and public policy through the democratic political process.[141]

However he cautions Muslims that

> This is unlikely to happen if traditional interpretations of Shari'a that support principles like male guardianship of women (qawama), sovereignty of Muslims over non-Muslims (dhimma) and violently aggressive jihad are maintained.[142]

If Muslims continue to maintain such traditional interpretations of the Shari'a, they will find it difficult to commit to supporting human rights principles and constitutional governance.

Both Catholicism and Islam have work to do in clarifying the relationship between themselves and the state in a secular society. Interfaith dialogue has the capacity to enable both faiths to better understand their roles. Australian public life will be the better for ipt but this will not eliminate tension. No political party likes its policies criticised, but that is the role of those who believe in a transcending divine authority.

Missiological Approaches to Islam: Confrontational vs Relational

The ever-growing awareness of the presence and nature of Islam has been paralleled by much missiological thinking concerning the methods the Church should adopt in reaching out to Muslims. Some missiologists at the evangelical end of the dialogue-witness spectrum have been rethinking the value of adopting a confrontational approach towards Islam in the West. In contrast to the prevailing approach that is relational and avoids confrontation as much as possible, those advocating – and experimenting – in confronting Muslims have been using polemics based on the latest historical evidences concerning the authenticity of the Qur'an. The advocates of a confrontational approach argue for the importance of evidence in breaking down barriers of misunderstanding and resistance, as well as the need to present this evidence in a way that matches the confrontational, group-orientated culture of many Muslims in the West. Those who advocate a relational approach emphasize the need to work towards positive Muslim-Christian relationships, which can be achieved through Christ-centered witness and dialogue. They remain skeptical of the confrontational approach; however there appears to be the potential for it to play a specialized yet important role in some Western contexts.

Introduction

Christian mission activity amongst Muslims is being shaped by many factors both past and present, including the end of Christendom, the influx of Muslim immigrants to Western countries, and the rise of terrorism. The response from Western Christians has been varied: at one extreme, many churches have lost interest in mission; while at the same time others are taking up the many new opportunities for outreach presented by the growing population of Muslims in their midst. Developing alongside this new mission activity has been a discussion amongst missiologists about the suitable approach that should be adopted towards Islam. This article focuses on two of these approaches – the confrontational and the relational approaches – and will critically evaluate them. After briefly examining the importance of missiological debate, the two approaches will be defined according to the main advocates for both. Some criteria for evaluating the approaches will be proposed and a brief overview given to the context in which both approaches have been shaped and debated. Each approach will then be examined in a parallel fashion and critically evaluated according to the criteria outlined earlier.

Rethinking Approaches to Islam

In his book *Mosques and Miracles* Stuart Robinson describes a meeting of 800 people held in Hyde Park, London by the Muslim political organisation Al-Muhajiroun in 1996. During this meeting Al-Muhajiroun declared their aim to initiate Shari'a in every Muslim-occupied country in the world. Lone voices of objection came from the groups "Lesbian Avengers" and "Outrage", labeled 'filthy' by some Muslim leaders. An observer was struck by a former Christian who had converted to Islam and was declaring the decline of Western Christianity.[143] After tracing the advance of Islam throughout the world and asking what our response should be, Robinson states the following:

> In the search and research to understand Islam and how Muslims might be approached effectively with the Christian Gospel, there probably is in existence more Ph.D these than there are converts… there must be something we are doing, omitting or overlooking which is preventing what God wants to effect – namely a mighty harvest of Muslims coming to Jesus. For surely he does not send us to fail![144]

Peter Riddell in the journal **Evangelicals Now** urges that despite the heightened tension between the Islamic and Western worlds and other negative impacts in a post-9/11 era, now more than ever the church should be reaching out to Muslims in new contexts and new ways.[145] In his book **Muslim Evangelism** Phil Parshall, a champion of contextualisation, advises that tactics as little as 5 years old can be outdated, and laments that it is "always sad to see missionaries get into ruts and become inflexible".[146] The comments of these authors serve to highlight that currently there is a lot of re-thinking occurring by those engaged in Christian mission to the Islamic world. At the risk of adding to Robinson's pile of research, this article will examine the growing discussion in Muslim missiology which revolves around the question of how to approach Islam.

In recent times there has been a growing voice advocating the use of a more confrontational approach when engaging with Muslims. Those who use this approach do so as an alternative to what has been the prevailing approach, which is deliberately relational and avoids confrontation. In engaging confrontationally with Muslims, they seek to advance the gospel by undermining areas of Islamic belief, and in doing so have created a number of detractors from amongst the Christian faith.[147] This article aims to critique the confrontational and the relational approaches that are being adopted towards Islam today.

Defining the Approaches

To speak of *the* confrontational or *the* relational approach is to suggest that you can succinctly categorize each, which in reality is not the case. However, for the purpose of considering the value of each stance, some kind of definition needs to be given for each. To do this, the following three questions will be considered: who are the key advocates of each approach; how are these advocates characterizing the approaches; and how do these approaches relate to other approaches to Islam?

Advocating the Confrontational Approach

The leading advocate and "practitioner" of the confrontational approach today is Jay Smith, an American-born missionary based in the UK.[148] Much of what is discussed here in support of the confrontational approach is derived from his writings, as he is the main contributor to the subject. Since 1992 Smith has used Hyde Park to openly challenge Islam, by debating Muslims and using arguments based on propositional truth to discredit aspects of their faith, such as the authority of the Qur'an. Smith also partakes in high profile public debates with Muslim apologists and debates on university campuses. He describes his method as polemical but not one that stoops to the use of tactics that seek to deliberately humiliate.[149] Smith seeks to:

- Defend historic, orthodox Christianity;
- Answer untruths that Islam proclaims about the Bible, Jesus, and Christians; and
- Hold Islam itself accountable for the actions of its followers.[150]

Advocating the Relational Approach

Although there are many who advocate for the relational approach, Chapman has articulated much about its strengths, as well as the weaknesses of the confrontational approach.[151] A very useful outline of the relational approach Colin recommends is in his book *Cross and Crescent*:

- Don't start an argument if you can possibly help it;
- Resist the temptation to criticize Islam;
- Do all you can to remove misunderstanding;
- Try to distinguish between what is important and what is less important;
- Be prepared to admit the mistakes and crimes of Christians past and present;
- Be positive;
- Love is more persuasive than argument;
- Don't underestimate the power of personal testimony;
- Be content to communicate one small aspect of the gospel at a time; and
- Make it a priority to encourage your friends at the appropriate time to read one of the gospels.[152]

Comparison to other Approaches: The Dialogue Spectrum

Another area of Muslim mission thinking and practice that has generated a lot of debate in recent times has been the issue of how to strategically contextualize the gospel. The contextualisation debate has revolved in many instances around the C1 to C6 church planting spectrum. Those adopting a more contextual church planting approach (C6 end) represent a move away from more traditional, "extractional" methods (C1 end). The dividing line within the contextualisation debate has become the point between a C4 and a C5 church.[153]

In the last century, in response to an increasingly pluralistic world, dialogue between Christians and those of other faiths has been emphasized. Christian approaches to Islam have been shaped by various understandings of what the aim of dialoguing should be.[154] In a similar fashion to contextualisation, it may be helpful to consider the confrontational and relational approaches on a dialogue spectrum,[155] with the dividing line drawn between the D4 point (represented by Chapman) and the D5 point (represented by Smith). The equivalent extremes of the spectrum would be D1 that represents a liberal approach that seeks to "meet Christ in the other person"[156] and D6 that represents an exclusivist, polemical approach that is one-sided, aggressive and insulting (perhaps the Muslim equivalent being Ahmed Deedat).

Context and Criteria

Without the hindsight to see if either of these approaches will bring about the "mighty harvest of Muslims coming to Jesus" Robinson is seeking, a critical evaluation of each approach requires some sort of common criteria by which to measure their effectiveness. The discussion in the literature concerning the strengths and weaknesses of each seems to revolve around four questions:

- Is the approach biblical?
- Do the lessons of history inform the approach?
- Does the approach analyze the problem accurately?
- Are the approaches producing desirable results?

These four aspects will be used to critically compare both approaches. To give some context for the following discussion, it is important to consider (albeit very briefly) some of the major factors influencing Muslim-Christian relations today. Kate Zebiri has outlined four such factors:[157]

The Qur'anic Paradigm in Islam

The Islamic religious identity as traced in the Qur'an is clearly linked to the religious identities of Jews and Christians. Attitudes to Christians in the Qur'an are mixed, with Christians being described as "the nearest in affection" to Muslims, but also criticized for their desire to lead Muslims astray and refusal to accept Muhammad's prophethood. The doctrines of the divinity of Jesus and the Trinity are totally rejected, and verbal and military confrontation is condoned in some circumstances. Muslims have not welcomed study that Western scholars say clearly link Jewish and Christian influences to the formation of the Qur'an, as it implies it has a human and not completely divine origin.[158]

The Legacy of History

The history of Muslim-Christian relations is one of both harmony and discord. Under Muslim rule, Christians were rarely persecuted, however over time mass conversions to Islam caused the Church to weaken. Islam was a military threat to Christendom until the 18th century; despite being of relatively small political consequence during this time, the Crusades have come to represent in the Muslim mind today a symbol of Christian hatred of Islam and a forerunner of colonialism. Serious study of Islam by Christians began with John of Damascus who produced apologetic material, which paved the way for future work that incorporated interreligious polemic. The 19th and then 20th centuries saw a huge increase in access to information about Islam, which resulted in many (especially liberal) Christians adopting a more reconciling view towards Muslims.[159]

Missions and Imperialism

Both Islam and Christianity are missionary faiths that hope to see the world accept their respective message. In the past mission activity by Christians have been much more organized than Islamic *da'wah*, but this has changed with the establishment of transnational Islamic organisations, growth in Muslim non-governmental organisations, and the intentional targeting of non-Muslims with Islamic literature.[160] The pervading Muslim view of Christian mission activity still links it to imperialism, with missionaries thought to be agents of secularization and Western interests, and often described in the negative terms of colonialism. Although Christians view the age of missions and colonialism as past and indigenous churches as the future, Muslims have embedded past subjugation into their collective memories and are constantly reminded of it with present "manifestations of neo-colonialism".[161]

Muslim-Christian Dialogue

The rise of interfaith dialogue has been mentioned above. There is no agreed definition of dialogue, with tensions between the evangelical emphasis on witness (dialogue as mission) and the ecumenical impetus to dialogue.[162] Although many parts of the church have become committed to dialogue, Muslims have been slow to participate in organized dialogue. This is due to a number of reasons: Muslims have felt like invited guests and therefore removed from the agenda-setting process, dialogue has been seen as covert evangelism, and Christians as incapable of a dispassionate view of Islam due to Christians being numbered among orientalist scholars. Muslims are also discouraged by what they view as "Western-perpetrated global injustice, especially the Israeli-Palestinian conflict."[163]

Comparing the Approaches

As mentioned above, what has been written analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the confrontational and relational approaches can be seen to revolve around four key questions. This discussion is examined below, followed by an evaluation of each approach.

Is the Approach Biblical?

Those who support a confrontational approach emphasize the biblical accounts of Jesus' interactions with the Pharisees and the accounts of the Apostles in the book of Acts. Jesus is seen as responding in kind to those who came to him – listening courteously and engaging in friendly dialogue with those who came to listen and learn, but returning the challenges of those who came to confront and attack him. Jesus did not hesitate to call the Pharisees hypocrites, blind guides, and the other terms recorded in Matthew 23:13-33; and the account of his turning over the money-changers tables in the temple (Luke 19:45) is seen as a pro-active, deliberately confrontational approach.[164] Paul is also seen as pro-active in engaging in confrontational apologetics, "venturing into the synagogues and the marketplaces to reason with some, speaking boldly, or refuting, debating, and arguing with others (Acts 13:46; 17:17; 19:8-9; 18:28; 2 Cor 5:11; 10:5)." Smith takes Paul's statement in 2 Corinthians 10:5 that he demolishes arguments and takes captive every thought to make it obedient to Christ very literally.[165] He is confident the 1st century model he describes fits well with the conditions of the 21st century.[166]

Those who encourage a relational approach by in large do not seem to have a different interpretation of how Jesus, Paul and the other apostles engaged in dialogue. However, Chapman questions if such a direct comparison can be made between the context Jesus was in and the context of Christian-Muslim interaction today, arguing that Muslims should not be seen as equivalents to Pharisees based on a common scripture.[167] A more fundamental concern is the question of whether the nature of the gospel itself rules out its presentation in a forceful, polemical way. Gordon Nickel argues that truth is without imposition and the Bible sets a model of peaceable witness that makes a distinction between strength in the power of the Holy Spirit and human forcefulness that doesn't accomplish God's intentions.[168] Parshall emphasizes the biblical principle of turning the other cheek when confronted by Muslims on the topic of biblical authority.[169] Sudworth believes our approach should be defined by the crucifixion of Christ, which follows the pattern of inclusive, embracing love.[170] In response to this call to love, Smith argues that the true love Muslims need is one that "confronts friends when they go wrong."[171]

Do the Lessons of History Inform the Approach?

The history of how Christians have approached Islam plays an important role for advocates of both the confrontational and relational approaches. One of the periods of Muslim-Christian history that has become a key point of reflection for both camps is the mid 19th century, in which the missionary to India Carl Pfander and the Agra debate of 1854 figure significantly. In his literature and public debates Pfander took a confrontational approach that sought to defend the Bible, expound Christian truths to Muslims and cast doubts about the claims made about Muhammad and the Qur'an.[172] Elizabeth Scantlebury has described the negative Muslim reaction to the polemic tone of Pfander's book **Mizan al-haqq**[173] as beginning a new phase in Muslim-Christian relations. She attributes the public debates Pfander was involved in to the export of inter-religious polemic beyond India, which has only had a long-term negative effect still felt today.[174] Chapman and others believe that whatever short term success may have come from polemics in the past, in the long term it does not work.[175]

Those who support a confrontational approach see Pfander's contribution in a much kinder light. Smith acknowledges that the Agra debate was treated like a debacle by the Christian community; however he highlights the effect it had on some of the well educated and highly respected locals. These men had seeds of doubt planted in their minds during the debate, turned towards Christianity and ultimately took leading roles in continuing debates in the same fashion.[176] The 19th century use of the confrontational approach also offers lessons in how to improve upon its use today. The failure of the 19th century approach has been attributed to it being imbibed in colonialist ideology, its heavy reliance on a rationalistic approach, and its ethnocentricity.[177] It is Schlorff's opinion that in this sense Smith's approach is not comparable to the 19th century approach.[178] Smith draws the lesson from Pfander's loss of the Agra debate that it is imperative to "keep up to date with the newest material being researched so we won't be caught out as Pfander was."[179]

Greg Livingstone has summed up what is an important lesson learnt from history for proponents of the relational approach: "An insightful Pakistani colleague feels that the best of modern missionaries to Islam pursue a mode of approach that (while not totally neglected by their predecessors) was seldom quite trusted to bear full fruit: the method of intimate and personal loving service, of sympathetic testimony, and relentless, united prayer for Muslims befriended."[180]

Does the Approach Analyze the Problem Accurately?

Building bridges is a metaphor often used to describe the evangelistic work of reaching Muslims with the gospel. Parshall has described the river that divides Islam and Christianity as a raging current – narrower in certain places, seemingly unbridgeable in others – but a river where "inadequate attention and energy have been devoted to building bridges of *salam*, understanding and communication."[181] Smith believes that drawing close to people and avoiding conflict makes the chasm between Islam and Christianity seem narrower than it is; "often, a good deal of rubble has to be cleared before any bridges can be built."[182] These two descriptions serve to illustrate that proponents of both approaches to Islam have the same end in mind[183], but that their view of the problem presented by Islam influences their approaches.

For Smith and others who engage confrontationally with Muslims, the largest heap of "rubble" that needs to be cleared is the Muslim's claim to have the true word of God, as opposed to the Bible that has been corrupted.[184] This is the barrier that stops conversations getting to first-base[185], and one that when challenged most Muslims will respond confrontationally to.[186] For Smith, the best way to clear this rubble is to show that the Christian faith is backed by propositional truth, and this can be done by employing historical evidence supporting the Bible (that at the same time shows the claims about the Qur'an to be wrong).[187] This is based on the premise that Muslims need (and want) evidence to be convinced of the truth.[188] Essentially controversy to some degree is unavoidable, as Christensen describes: "…you may be sure of one thing; if you open your mouth in an effort to get your message across, you are implicitly engaging in controversy."[189]

Smith also sees a problem on the Christian side, in that approaches based purely on dialogue and relationships do not factor in the full reality of the mission field.[190] He sees that not only do many Muslims have their own confrontational agendas that utilize polemic in public settings, but they in fact understand the Christian message when it is presented in a similar way.[191] This is because many Muslims in the West have come from Asia, where confrontational language and attitudes are more culturally acceptable; also group decision making plays a greater role than for Westerners.[192]

Chapman and other proponents of the relational approach regard apologetics as playing one small role in trying to solve the bigger problem, which is that Muslims do not yet know the true source of revelation: the person of Jesus, who makes sense of the revealed word.[193] The primary way that Jesus will become known to Muslims is through the witness – and dialogue – of Christians who model Christ in the wider context of the Muslims worldview. This means moving the agenda away from a battle between scriptures[194]; it means that the problem encompasses the need to address such things as wars past and present, the injustice in Palestine[195], the everyday heartaches and challenges of Muslims living in our neighborhood.[196] It means the problem is not just one of words, but of practice and presence.[197] Kraemer summarizes the relational analysis of the problem as such: "The deeply humbling fact remains that the Muslim world… has never in its whole history had a chance to

see the Christian church as she is according to her true nature and calling but has always been presented with lamentable caricatures."[198]

Are the Approaches Producing Desirable Results?

As has been noted in the discussion above, to a certain degree both approaches have an element of "wait and see" when considering the results they produce: the confrontational approach has only recently being adopted, and the relational approach looks towards a church yet to display her true nature. It needs to be stated that a lot of the discussion concerning the confrontational approach is set in the context of reaching Muslims living as minorities in the West, while the relational approach is taken both in the West and in majority Muslim lands (where adopting a confrontational approach is untenable).[199] Parshall has mentioned some of the successes he has witnessed in places where a relational approach has been employed.[200]

Smith has predicted that the use of current historical criticism to eradicate the authority of the Qur'an will "bring about a real disillusionment within Islam in the West."[201] Chapman feels that this prediction is over-optimistic, with the likelihood being that conservative Muslims will work out a way to defend their faith from this attack.[202] Parshall suspects that the confrontational approach only produces a lot of heat but not much light[203], evidenced by the fact that no significant number of Muslims have come to Christ as a result.[204] Smith does expect a wide impact will be made, but indirectly through the very small number of educated elite of Islam who will be the 'makers and shakers' of Islam tomorrow.[205] In this he would agree with Christensen that – in the same way Ahmed Deedat does for Muslims – Muslim converts to Christianity benefit greatly from having a champion. "Every experienced missionary or Church worker has seen how the ordinary convert glows with satisfaction when he hears a clear, bold, sincere controversial address given to Muslims."[206]

Evaluating the Approaches

The two approaches have been discussed in parallel in this article because to a large degree each one defines itself against the other. Those who take a more relational approach regard the history of Muslim-Christian interaction as dominated by negatives (especially as a result of polemics) and so they seek to foster inclusiveness and respect,[207] remaining hopeful that relations will improve. Those who have adopted a confrontational approach have done so in response to the perceived methodological restrictions of the relational approach.

Sudworth has pointed out that the situation in Britain, where the confrontational approach is primarily being used, is "fraught with delicate tipping points that can easily slide into alienation, mistrust and even conflict between the Christian and Muslim faiths."[208] In such a situation, both care and courage are required by all Christians who engage with Muslims, but especially those who feel convicted to do this in a confrontational manner. The following points should be considered:

- The biblical basis for the confrontational approach is applicable only when there is a similar context in today's Muslim to that of the Pharisee or other debaters in the bible. There is the risk in adopting a confrontational approach that it might be done so in an unsuitable context. It may be that the radical element of Islam is the only part that meets this criterion.[209]
- The present-day confrontational approach has sought to learn from the 19th century and seeks not to take on the same flaws, but the risk remains. The challenge is to keep love and the gospel as the basis for confronting.
- Only those who have been gifted and well-trained should seek to engage in confrontation.[210]
- There is a general consensus that more needs to be done in response to the Muslim agenda that seeks to replace Christianity with Islam in a "failing" West.[211] This agenda is advanced when only what is best in Islam is affirmed and it is not confronted with the criticism it deserves.[212] There may be an important role to be played here by those Christians who take a confrontational approach.
- Overall, the counterpoint produced by the adoption of a confrontational approach is producing healthy missiological reflection and experimentation. In many ways it is an extension of the contextualisation debate with the context being the West and not Muslim countries.

Much of the discussion in this article has centered either on arguments for or against a confrontational approach, or arguments against a relational approach. Nevertheless, the following points can be made:

- It appears that as much as there have been some who have become more open to the use of a confrontational approach at suitable times, there has been a strong re-affirmation that a relational approach is central and essential to a theology of missions to Islam.[213]
- There are a lot of biblical, historical and contextual reasons for the use of a relational approach.
- For the overwhelming majority of the time, a relational approach is the most suitable approach to have towards Muslims. Even when someone might be fruitful in engaging confrontationally with Islam, once the "rubble is cleared", the bridge building must still occur.
- Adoption of a relational approach gives the scope for the development of a broad range of creative ways to engage with Muslims.[214]
- For the large majority of communities around the world, a relational approach is the only suitable approach to have. It should be the basic approach for all missionaries going to Muslim countries.

Conclusion

This article has sought to give definitions to the confrontational and relational approaches by drawing upon what has been written about both by their main advocates. In seeking to critically evaluate both approaches the importance of historical and present-day Muslim-Christian relations, the Muslims belief about the Qur'an, and the role of missions and imperialism were highlighted. In the context set by these factors both approaches were critiqued according to their biblical basis, appreciation of history, understanding of the missiological problem presented by Islam, and the results that they produce. It was found that many consider the confrontational approach a high risk, small reward approach. Despite this, the use of a confrontational approach appears to have the potential to play an important role in addressing the more radical Islamic voices in the West, as long as it is used by the right people and grounded in love. It was found that advocates for the confrontational approach criticize a purely relational approach because it doesn't meet many Muslims in the West in the cultural fashion they are attuned to. Proponents of the relational approach are strongly convinced that the barriers Muslims present can be overcome by a vulnerable, positive, yet non-compromising commitment to witness and dialogue. This approach was found to be applicable in most situations and gives the scope for the use of a broad range of creative ways to engage Muslims, both in the West and in Muslim countries. As the Church continues to seek the most effective way to engage Muslims in outreach, it is important that a balance is found that takes into account care and courage, relational approaches and confrontational approaches.

The Scroll Thus Far Unrolled: Kenneth Scott Latourette's Model for a Christian Historiography

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Arguably one of the greatest historians of the twentieth century, Kenneth Scott Latourette (1884-1968), provided a foundational model of Christian historiography for subsequent generations to build upon. His outstanding reputation and rigorous methodology dissolved criticism of his purpose-driven, Christian interpretation of history. His universalistic works on general church history and Christian missions highlighted his philosophy that all history existed in God's hands. However, his more secular research was also deeply influenced by his faith through his empathetic attitude toward Asian cultures and his commitment to successful international relations. The renewed challenge today is to provide the academic world with valuable, motivated contributors to historical scholarship, writing about the Christian involvement in providential purposes, whilst providing fresh perspectives on world affairs. Latourette's dictum remains a source of encouragement to scholars embarking on this path: "The story of Christianity is not only old, it is also ever new. In each age it must be told afresh...In each generation there must be those who will undertake to review for their fellows the scroll as it has thus far been unrolled."[215]

I.   Introduction

The task of a truly great Christian historian is not merely the rehashing of church history but it is the purpose-driven interpretation of history from a Christian worldview. Arguably one of the greatest historians of the twentieth century, Kenneth Scott Latourette (1884-1968), expressed an unshakable faith that history was under the influence of the sovereignty of God, despite people's abuse of free choice.[216] However, he felt that logical positivism had undermined the Christian faith of many, so a Christian historiography was needed to re-affirm confidence in divine interaction.[217] To this end, in his 1948 Presidential speech to the American Historical Association, entitled, *The Christian understanding of history*, Latourette commented: "Whether within or beyond time, God's will is to be accomplished and His full sovereignty will be seen to have prevailed."[218] This study will argue that Latourette provided an outstanding example of and pattern for purpose-driven, Christian historiography. It will firstly define Christian historiography and its purpose. A summary of Latourette's distinguished career will follow, highlighting his use of a rigorous methodology to establish his credibility, after which it will examine how the purpose-driven Latourette approached the two distinctives of Christian historiography. Finally, some contemporary views on the value of Christian historiography will be discussed, with a conclusion regarding its contribution to historical scholarship.

From its Jewish origins to Augustinian interpretation and contemporary philosophies, Christian

historiography has focussed on two distinct fields of enquiry: first, how God's eternal purposes have been outworked in His people; and second, how they relate to the history of what is often perceived as the secular world.[219] These distinctives are based on the belief that God's love, manifested in the redemptive work of the Cross, gives to history not only meaning but also direction and purpose.[220] Therefore, purpose in Christian historiography is found in human events, in relation to God.[221] This belief system was challenged during the Enlightenment which rejected Providential involvement in human affairs.[222] However, modern Protestant historiography revived the focus on God's direct role within history.[223] One such advocate was Leopold von Ranke who maintained a clearly "spiritual apperception" of history.[224] He wrote, "Every deed attests to [God], every moment preaches His name, but most of all, it seems to me, the connectedness of history in the large."[225] Twentieth century Christian historiography also sought to provide meaning to historical study.[226] Many Christian scholars sought to prove that history and creation were intimately linked.[227] As C S Lewis wrote: "History is a story written by the finger of God."[228] Throughout the centuries, Christian historians have sought to reveal the truths of history through the eyes of faith.

II.   Latourette's career as a Christian historiographer

Kenneth Scott Latourette was such a scholar, and his distinguished career as a Christian historiographer bears witness to his widely recognised effectiveness. He completed two Bachelor degrees, firstly from Linfield College in Oregon and then at Yale University and went on to obtain a PhD from the latter, in 1909.[229] His supervising professor at Yale was the esteemed China specialist, Frederick Wells Williams.[230] Whilst studying at Yale, Latourette came under the influence of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVMFM), through which his "determined purpose, if God be willing" was to become a foreign missionary.[231] He became an ordained Baptist minister in 1918.[232] Consistent with his perceived calling, he served for two years with the Yale-in-China mission, returning to America only as a result of a debilitating sickness.[233] Nevertheless, his dedication to foreign missions was able to gain expression through his academic career. He became the D Willis James Professor of Missions at Yale University's Divinity School, in 1921 and served as Chair of the Department of Religion, Director of Graduate Studies of the Divinity School, the Sterling Professor of Missions and Oriental History and as a Fellow of Berkeley College, eventually retiring from Yale in 1953, after thirty-two years.[234] He was also President of the American Society of Church History (1945), the American Historical Association (1947), the American Baptist Convention (1951-1952) and the Far Eastern Association (1954-1955) now the Association of Asian Studies.[235] A total of seventeen universities in five countries, including Yale, Princeton, Oxford, Glasgow and Marburg presented Latourette with six different honorary doctorates.[236] He mixed with such significant men as Yung Wing, Director of the Chinese Educational Mission; eminent China missionary Timothy Richard; Henry W Luce, financial supporter of China research; John R Mott of the International Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA); Lucius Porter of Yenching University and Hu Shi (Hu Shih), leader of China's New Culture Movement.[237] In 1938 the Chinese Government decorated him with the Order of Jade for his contribution to China.[238] Able to read more than a dozen languages and write around two thousand words a day throughout his career, Latourette wrote more than eighty books, hundreds of book reviews and journal articles, and was a continual contributor on China to the Encyclopædia Britannica from 1926 to 1959.[239] His PhD students included dozens of future missionaries, such as Elgin Moyer who later served on the faculty of the Moody Bible Institute, and C. George Paik, a Korean and later President of Yonsei, the leading Christian university in Korea.[240] Latourette's record of academic achievement as a Christian historian remains unrivalled.

Latourette's apologetic methodology was revealed in a relentless pursuit of objectivity and rigorous source criticism. This is significant, considering the heated scholarly debate on the subject of objectivity, many insisting that historiography is affected by philosophical commitments.[241] Personal bias, in particular, is seen to unfairly distort historical interpretation.[242] Even Christian historians have questioned the possibility of balanced judgement.[243] Ronald Wells argues that Christian historians interpret reality through the three dimensions of time, space and spirit.[244] However, some scholars are of the opinion that the internal account of a purpose-driven historian has greater accuracy than second-hand opinions.[245] Latourette himself openly admitted the Christian "bias" in his value-frame.[246] He wrote: "...pure objectivity does not exist...One is either for or against Christianity: there

is no neutral nor strictly 'objective' ground."[247] Nevertheless, it is the relentless pursuit of objectivity evident in his writing which is highlighted as his greatest attribute, one reviewer commenting: "No schematization or typology or indeed theology is allowed to get in the way of the simple rehearsal of the basic facts and trends."[248] His narrative style was described by another as clear, judicious and unimpassioned.[249] In fact, in 1934, Isidaor Schneider wrote in **The New Republic** that Latourette possessed:

…the obsessive impartiality of the "scientific historian", which keeps him from positive statements and makes his paragraphs soggy with qualifications, but which, ten years ago, was held up as the ideal of historical writing; today, in the midst of a society violently in motion, the reader asks for something more.[250]

Latourette was also dedicated to rigorous source criticism. His reworked doctoral thesis, finally published in 1917, **The History of Early Relations Between the United States and China 1784-1844**, contained a fifty-five page bibliography.[251] He gathered primary and secondary source material over many years, including letters, missionary reports, eye-witness accounts and oral histories, one of which was obtained through a private audience with Pope Pius XI.[252] Latourette was intent on gaining a comprehensive and balanced selection. One Chinese reviewer did criticise Latourette for his lack of Chinese language sources.[253] Nevertheless, acclaimed China scholar, John King Fairbank commented, in 1972, that Latourette's missionary literature compilation was a pioneering effort, invaluable for contemporary historians.[254] Robert Handy, Professor of Church History at Union Theological Seminary, New York, wrote that Latourette "will be known for generations to come for his gathering an incredible amount of scholarly material on the growth of the church since the French Revolution".[255] Latourette's apologetic style of Christian historiography was reinforced by his commitment to objectivity and source criticism.

III. The universal philosophy of Christian historiography

Having established his credibility as a scholar, the first analytical distinction of Latourette's Christian historiography is his universal philosophy, as seen through his work on general church history. As William Pitts notes, Latourette's greatest contributions to Christian history were acknowledging the "influence of Jesus" in history, writing from the global viewpoint, focussing on the modern era and distinguishing between Christian and church history.[256] Latourette's *magnum opus* of 3,500 pages, in seven volumes, **The History of the Expansion of Christianity (1937-45)**, which surveyed nineteen and a half centuries of Christian expansion and gained praise for its broad sweep of history and freedom from sectarian prejudice, was labelled: "the most monumental work of its kind undertaken and so successfully completed, in modern times."[257] It was the first time that missionary expansion had been fully integrated into a general church history.[258] The work was hailed as a panoramic narrative of compelling excellence, meeting the highest standards of craftsmanship and marking a milestone in New World historiography.[259] His next set of five volumes, on **Christianity in a Revolutionary Age**, was equally as universalistic and espoused his advance-retreat-advance theory of Christian development.[260] He held that Christianity would continue to spread and to increase its influence upon humankind but that humankind would never fully conform to it.[261] As Stuart Piggin notes, Latourette understood both the power and the fragility of Christian communities.[262] Owing to his philosophy that all history existed in God's hands, these works were typically comprehensive in scope, aiming for a unitary, global history.[263] This universal philosophy also reflected his strong support of the ecumenical movement, as an outgrowth of missions.[264] Juhani Lindgren explains that Latourette's theory of diversification held that the many and varied Christian traditions are a result of environmental and historical factors rather than dogmatic arguments or sinful stubbornness.[265] Latourette was convinced of the benefits of Christian missions, regardless of denominational label, and admitted that: "Whenever occasion offered, through lectures and articles, I sought to express my convictions where they would gain a hearing with specialists."[266] Consequently, his Christian historiography had a firm foundation in Christian, historical analysis.

In conjunction with this sacred distinction of Christian historiography was his emphasis on Christian missionary history. Andrew Walls notes that, for Latourette, far from being a mere appendix, missions determined the very nature and meaning of Christian history.[267] It was the one of the key "Kingdom tests" to reveal the expanding influence of Christ.[268] This ideology was an outworking of the missions consciousness embedded within Latourette at Yale.[269] Throughout his life, he had an evangelistic commitment, serving as travelling secretary of the SVMFM from 1909-1912 and serving on the boards of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, the Yale-in-China programme, the Nanking Theological Seminary, the International YMCA, the China Medical Board and the Peking Union Medical College.[270] His millennialist doctrine was encapsulated in the motto of the SVMFM: "The evangelisation of the world in this generation".[271] Latourette faced severe criticism for this stance, commenting: "...to many on the Yale faculty and elsewhere in academic circles, missions seemed associated with propaganda...."[272] Such propaganda was said to be divorced from historical scholarship.[273] Even the esteemed theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, criticised Latourette's layman theology, scorning his optimistic view of human progress, to which Latourette responded: "He knows thoroughly the meaning of Good Friday. I wish that he understood as fully the power of Easter."[274] Latourette also challenged the views of William E Hocking, Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University, in his **Re-thinking Missions**, which held a generally negative impression of missions.[275] In **A History of Christian Missions in China** published in 1929, Latourette portrays Christian mission work as a vital, positive force in the process of change in China.[276] In the preface, he wrote: "The author wishes to state frankly, at the very outset, however, that he is thoroughly committed to the enterprise of Christian missions, and that his bias, therefore, is to interpret missionary activities in China more favourably than some who are not so committed..."[277] The acclaimed scholar of Christianity in China, Daniel Bays, notes that Latourette's **A History of Christian Missions in China** has not been replaced or revised since publication and still serves as a standard reference for students of missions and China.[278] This is outstanding evidence of the significance of his Christian historiography.

IV. Christian historiography as mission

The second distinction of Latourette's Christian historiography was the missional influence of his faith and his commitment to greater cultural understanding in his more secular publications. Latourette said: "My writing was an outgrowth of the global outreach of the Christian faith. If, as we Christians believe, the Gospel is for all men, historians with a Christian commitment must view their fields from that perspective...That is a basic conviction which underlays all my authorship."[279] Thus, whilst his 1917 book on **The Development of China** contained no Christian rhetoric, it could be (and was) viewed not only as an introductory student text but also as a missionary training manual.[280] According to one reviewer, the fact that he was such a dedicated Christian made it "all the more remarkable" that he should also have been the major historian to introduce several generations of American students to the whole range of Asian civilisation.[281] The uniqueness of Latourette's work was that he focussed on contemporary trends in Asia, rather than on the usual ancient history and culture which could be interpreted as an apocalyptic urgency for immediate issues.[282] Contrary to the Saidian[283] argument, Latourette's secular work was uniquely empathetic toward Asian cultures. In **The Chinese: Their History and Culture**, published in 1934, he emphasized cultural appreciation as well as historical information.[284] In his 1946 book, **A Short History of the Far East**, his comments reveal a view ahead of his time: "Indeed, at the outset we must disabuse ourselves of one of the commonest misconceptions of Occidentals, that the Orient is a unity...The only unity in the Orient is that it is not the Occident...The very term, the Far East...designates the part of the Orient which is most remote from them."[285] He also acknowledged his limited view as a Westerner and encouraged broader Chinese scholarship, inviting people such as Tai Xu (T'ai Hsü), the eminent Chinese Buddhist monk, to lecture in Yale's Divinity School.[286] In this way, his Christian historiography indirectly promoted the study of missions by providing an invaluable and culturally sensitive contribution to the general study of China and global history.[287]

Latourette's missional vision also incorporated political comment. During his time at Yale, he was actively involved in the International Relations Group in New Haven and developed courses on "Christianity and International Relations".[288] In 1946, he wrote **The United States Moves Across The Pacific: The A.B.C.'s of the American Problem in the Western Pacific and the Far East**, which criticised America's Asian immigration restrictions.[289] In **A Short History of the Far East**, he commented that it "is in no sense intended as a work of propaganda in which the case for the policies

and actions of the United States is set forth and defended."[290] In 1949, he concluded that revolution in China had begun in the 1890s, primarily brought about by the impact of the Occident because China's cultural, political and social structures were in decline.[291] Latourette's opinions on world affairs were ingrained in his life's mission but they always remained subordinate to his goal to promote his faith. He commented:

What lies beyond this present life I cannot know in detail but I know Who is there and am convinced that through God's grace, that love which I do not and cannot deserve, eternal life has begun here and now, and eternal life is to know God and Jesus Christ Whom He has sent.[292]

Providing a solid and extensive research base, Latourette's work was comprehensive, compelling, universal and ecumenical, with the specific purpose of preparing and propelling the church into greater mission. It explored the outworking of God's purposes in secular affairs, not through Christian rhetoric but through his own worldview, empathetic attitude and commitment to global dialogue. It is clear that Kenneth Scott Latourette provides an outstanding example of purpose-driven, Christian historiography, but what can contemporary Christian historians learn from his example?

V. Latourette's legacy on contemporary Christian historiography

Latourette's record of academic achievement would be difficult to match but his dogged commitment to excellence and source criticism remains a tangible legacy. In 1967, just two years before Latourette died, the Conference on Faith and History (CFH) was founded with the dual purpose of fostering fellowship between Christian historians and "to encourage evangelical Christian scholars to explore the relationship of their faith to historical studies."[293] A new, notably more cautious Christian historiography began to emerge, tending to view missions as an ecumenical symbol of American identity.[294] Robin Collingwood categorised Christian historiography as universal, providential, apocalyptic and periodised.[295] To this list, Gordon Clark added divinely revelatory.[296] Earle Cairns emphasised non-literary sources with critical interaction.[297] Reformed thinking became the focus of researchers such as C T McIntire.[298] He commented that scholars were reluctant to "work with the idea of religious ground-motives in Western civilization."[299] David Bebbington posed a Christian philosophy of historiography that bridged both positivist and idealist claims, viewing humans as "shaped by their context and as shapers of it."[300] Such fluidity made the categorical claims of missionaries harder to justify. The close relationship of "the flag and the Cross" was seen as unconscionable; evangelism was viewed as cultural destruction and mercy missions were interpreted as paternalistic bribery.[301] Whilst Latourette may have been disappointed with some aspects of the pendulum swing of Christian historiography, it is clear that his "trail-blazing" contributions allowed further exploration to continue.

A major distinction of Latourette's Christian historiography is his universalistic approach, with the apologetic that missions brings meaning to history. This theme evolved during the 1980s and 1990s, which witnessed an explosion of renewed interest in Protestant missions, although it was "no longer able to fit comfortably into the outgrown garb of denominational history, Christian unity or American identity."[302] The writing of missions history faced increasingly reductionist mentalities, which tended to instil in many Christian scholars a fear of naïve integrations of faith and learning. Within this environment, Karl Giberson and Donald Yerxa offered the following caution: "While 'footnoting' God or plugging God into the gaps of our understanding is unwarranted methodologically, as well as unwise theologically, dare we, on the other hand, ignore God?"[303] Likewise, authors such as Ronald Wells and Stephen Mansfield called for a new, positive approach to Christian historiography.[304] Various techniques have been attempted and critiqued.[305] Some contemporary scholars cautioned Christian historians not to play the divine "interpretive trump card", suggesting a more subtle use of "background beliefs" to portray Christian historiographical principles.[306] There came a move toward more ecumenical perspectives, replacing the privileged place of mainstream Protestantism.[307] Providential historian John Woodbridge affirmed the validity of "open" ordinary history but believes that "closed" ordinary history denies the work of God in history and leads to naturalism.[308] Considering the radical shift in the cultural and demographic composition of the church toward Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific, equally crucial is the reconception of the task of the Christian historian.[309] In Australia, scholars such as Stuart Piggin brought "prophetic insight" into the history of evangelicalism,[310] and a Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity was established at Macquarie University.[311] Added to this is the astoundingly rapid growth of the Pentecostal movement in those regions, leaving the field wide open for further historical research.[312] Latourette's pivotal contributions

have motivated other scholars to pursue the study of Christian missions and perhaps, once again, to attempt large scale global Christian historiography.

VI. Conclusion

Several valuable lessons may be drawn from the outstanding example of Kenneth Scott Latourette's Christian historiography. The importance of a credible reputation and rigorous methodology cannot be overstated. In conjunction with this are the increasing possibilities available to those who understand the analytical distinction between Christian historical research and a purpose-driven, Christian interpretation of secular history. Ultimately, the experiential dimension of revelation impresses the Christian scholar more deeply than exclusive reliance on the reductionist methodologies of the academic world. Christian historians thus impressed can provide the academic world with valuable, motivated contributors to historical scholarship, writing about the Christian involvement in God's providential purposes, whilst providing fresh Christian perspectives on world affairs. Obviously, more research needs to be done regarding the contemporary nature of Christian historiography but whatever form it takes, Latourette's dictum remains a source of encouragement to the scholar embarking on this path: "The story of Christianity is not only old, it is also ever new. In each age it must be told afresh...In each generation there must be those who will undertake to review for their fellows the scroll as it has thus far been unrolled."[313]

Public theology after *Christ and Culture*: moving beyond Niebuhr's Typology towards a Post-Christendom Trajectory

Douglas Hynd has been working as a practical theologian on the boundaries of Church, academia and the public service over the past two decades, as an academic associate of St Mark's National Theological Centre and as public servant working in social policy in the Australian Public Service, drawing substantially upon the Anabaptist tradition of witness and theological reflection.

The paper provides an account of an emerging critique of the implicit assumptions underpinning HR Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture* typology, particularly those related to Christology, culture, and Christendom. A consideration of this critique along with a sketch of alternative typologies of "Christ and culture", and some traditions of post-Christendom engagement with culture and society, suggests that there are good reasons why we should remove this tool from the public theologian's toolkit.

Introduction

The theological assumptions of H.R.Niebuhr's **Christ and Culture**[314] implicitly, if not always explicitly, seem to provide the deep background for much of the analysis currently being undertaken under the label of 'public theology'[315], particularly in those nations where the social order has been profoundly shaped by the Christendom settlement and its long, still ongoing deconstruction[316]. At the same time, a substantive critique of the "Christ and Culture" typology and its assumptions is emerging, inspired substantially, though not exclusively by theologians of an Anabaptist persuasion.[317]

The argument of this paper is that these critiques provide us with substantial grounds for removing Niebuhr's typology from the public theologian's toolkit despite is "classic" status and the stature of its author. Having made that case in the body of the paper, I then gesture at the need to begin developing alternative approaches to reflection on, and analysis of, the engagement of the Christian community with society and culture, through employing approaches, whether implicit or explicit, that move beyond a commitment to Christendom.

I commence this paper with a critique of key theological assumptions of Niebuhr's "Christ and culture" typology. The key theological issues of the critique relate to Niebuhr's Christology and his account of culture. Beyond that I move to consider both the significance of Niebuhr's implicit commitment to a Christendom form of settlement and his assumptions about the relationship between church and the social order, particularly as it emerges in his critique of the 'Christ against Culture" category.

The argument then shifts the focus beyond Niebuhr by way of an account of two quite different typologies of "Christ and culture" that have in common a rejection of the necessity of a Christendom stance for a productive engagement by the Christian church with "culture"[318]. The final stage of the argument introduces some strands of Christian cultural and social engagement that might enable us to re-imagine possibilities for public theology and mission after Christendom[319].

Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture* typology

A summary account of Niebuhr's "Christ and Culture*"* typology is provided in **Table 1** below.

Table 1 – Summary of the *Christ and Culture* typology[320]

Types	Extreme	Extreme	Mediating	Mediating	Mediating
Classification	Christ against culture (rejection)	Christ of culture (assimilation)	Christ above culture (synthesis)	Christ and culture in paradox (dualism)	Christ the transformer of culture (conversion)

Stance	Christianity and culture are in opposition	Christ and the highest expressions & aspirations of culture are in agreement	There is both continuity & discontinuity between Christ & culture	There is paradoxical tension between Christ & culture	Culture is sinful yet it can be turned to Christian purposes
Historical representatives	Tertullian Tolstoy	Basilides Valentinus	Early Apologists Aquinas	Luther Roger Williams	Augustine Calvin FD Maurice
Examples	Monastic & sectarian groups	Cultural Protestantism of the 19th Century	Catholic tradition	Forms of Lutheranism	Puritanism Social gospel

Before spelling out the critique of Niebuhr's "Christ and culture" typology summarised above, I want to first draw attention to its rhetorically powerful character, a factor that has contributed substantially to its ongoing appeal. The typology has become a classic[321] over the past half century, in that its theological structure and its underlying assumptions have become taken for granted, and are now used without second thought by teachers of theology around the world. As David Cunningham observes:

The invention of such a straightforward device – enabling readers to classify much of Christian history and to sort out their own perspectives in the process – was a theological coup of epic proportions. … In fact the book has such a strong hold on the collective mindset of those who study the issue that it can be difficult for many people to imagine thinking through the issue in any other form.[322]

While among those who found Niebuhr's typology compelling when I first encountered it, I subsequently became increasingly uneasy about its empirical adequacy, an unease that was focused on Niebuhr's treatment of the "Christ against culture" category. When I came across John Howard Yoder's extended critique,[323] it became clear to me that there were strong grounds for questioning the adequacy of Niebuhr's typology.

Niebuhr's Christology in the typology

In unpacking Niebuhr's theological assumptions I want to start with his Christology, an issue which has a central place in Yoder's overall critique of **Christ and Culture**. That Yoder would engage Niebuhr closely on this issue should not be surprising. Christology was a key issue in Yoder's **The Politics of Jesus**[324] with his critique of the standard mainstream accounts as to why Jesus could not, or should not, be normative for Christian ethics. In developing this argument in **The Politics of Jesus**, Yoder had H Richard Niebuhr, as well as his brother Reinhold, clearly in view[325]. According to Craig Carter who both summarises and extends Yoder's argument on the question of Niebuhr's Christology:

*The Christ of **Christ and Culture**… is a docetic Christ who is not really embedded firmly in history. The Jesus of the Gospels is a flesh and blood, Jewish, human being who thinks like a Jew, knows the Jewish Scriptures inside out and preaches and teaches about the Kingdom of God in an effort to reinterpret (within a tradition) the meaning of messiahship. As the overwhelming consensus of Third Quest[17] New Testament scholarship is making clear, Jesus did not so much "reject" his culture as he "reinterpreted" the Scriptures and brought together previously unconnected strands of the tradition to define a new kind of Messiah and a new vision of the Kingdom…. Jesus was in dialogue with, but clearly different from, the Sadducees and Herodians, the Pharisees, the Essenes and the Zealots.[18]* [326]

The New Testament scholarship to which Carter refers has been effective in helping us locate Jesus in his specific political, social and religious context in a way that enables us to move beyond Niebuhr's

abstract and docetic "Christ". This scholarship gives us a rich account of a Jesus who took specific stands on the pressing issues of his day. [327] While there undoubtedly is still contestation over specific details of Jesus' life and context, and the theological significance of what this detailed picture implies[328], there is a very substantial weight of scholarship supporting a strong account of a non-docetic Jesus who stands in the tradition of the prophets of Israel.[329]

The docetic account of Jesus assumed by Niebuhr in developing the normative implications of his typology has been underpinned by a matching abstraction in hermeneutics that has been self-reinforcing with respect to Christological docetism. As Tom Hurcombe observes *… deterritorialising the kingdom of God, as Jesus taught it … abstracts it, pushes it into the hereafter, and makes it irrelevant to both the first-century context and our own. By spiritualising the kingdom, we miss the thickness and polyvalence of the kingdom metaphor …*[330].

What is culture?

Curiously enough the docetic character of Niebuhr's Christology is paralleled in Niebuhr's account of 'culture', an account that has a similar disembodied, or abstract, character.

What is Niebuhr's understanding of culture? The distinguished church historian George Marsden both gives substantial weight to Yoder's criticism of the abstractness of Niebuhr's category of "Christ" and moves us forward to a consideration of the specific character of culture in Niebuhr's discourse when he acknowledges that *… if we are to continue to use the Christ and culture language, we have to do it with a warning label that using the term "Christ" as opposed to culture can be misleading. The Christ and culture juxtaposition may reinforce the tendency of Christians to forget that their own understanding of Christianity is a cultural product.*[331]

Marsden here directs our attention to the reality that our judgments are informed by our location, shaped by the culture in which we grew up and that in undertaking our theological analysis we are always already 'in the middle' and 'on the way'. We never operate from some impartial point of judgment with a God's eye view, uninfluenced by our heritage and experience. Niebuhr's account of culture though tends to leave the impression that our judgment and analysis is being undertaken from a position above culture, uninfluenced by our cultural and social context and outside of history.

Discrimination and discernment

Having noted that issue I want us to consider the characterisation of culture in Niebuhr's typology, as it is critical to an assessment of its overall validity and effectiveness. According to Yoder, Niebuhr uses culture almost indiscriminately as equivalent to "anything people do together", activities ranging from language we use to the conduct of warfare. Having 'defined' culture in this monolithic or undiscriminating way, Niebuhr then criticizes "Christ against culture" advocates for not being consistent in attempting to discriminate as to what areas of culture they will draw on, in what he considers to be their anti-worldly stance[332].

"Christ against culture" advocates may reject, Niebuhr says, the pleasures of sex and of wealth, renounce learning and the fine arts, and refuse to participate in civil government or warfare, but they inevitably adopt some other cultural forms, such as language, learning of earlier eras, or agriculture. Tertullian comes in for particular attention by Niebuhr for his perceived inconsistency on this score.

In Yoder's view, on the other hand, this act of discrimination, that is the process of making deliberate choices, and taking different stances with respect to various dimensions of culture, is precisely what Christians should be doing. There is nothing inherently reprehensible or inconsistent according to Yoder about such a stance, or process of discernment.

Some elements of culture the church categorically rejects (pornography. tyranny, cultic idolatry). Other dimensions of culture it accepts within clear limits (economic production, commerce, the graphic arts, paying taxes for peacetime civil government). To still other dimensions of culture Christian faith gives a new motivation and coherence (agriculture, family life, literacy. conflict resolution, empowerment). Still others it strips of their claims to possess autonomous truth and value, and uses them as vehicles of communication (philosophy, language. Old Testament ritual, music). Still other forms of culture are created by the Christian churches (hospitals, service of the poor, generalized education)[333].

There are substantial implications that arise from Niebuhr's monolithic account of culture and its use to rhetorically rule out of the theological game those who would attempt to shape Christian mission through a discriminating and nuanced analysis of cultural activity and social engagement. The comprehensiveness of Niebuhr's categorisation of culture means that the political arrangements and the appropriateness of Christian opposition to those arrangements, can be easily lost sight of, and assumptions about the church state relationships embodied in them accepted as normative. There is an inherently conservative bias built into a typology that has such a unified and monolithic characterisation of culture.

As D Stephen Long points out:

Niebuhr first creates a "monolithic" definition for culture and then rigorously relates theologians .. to that monolithic definition. Whether or not his definition functions to illumine well these theologians is not a question he raises because he makes his definition of culture the standard to which theology must be measured.[334]

Postulating two distinct realms, one of culture that is distinguished from the other realm, the fundamental dimension of religious commitment summarised under the category of "Christ", presumes a way of seeing that has only become possible in the modern age. As Cunningham points out *… only in modernity do people begin to imagine a "separate" realm of religious life that could be set apart at least theoretically from everything else that happens.*[335] In developing and applying typologies such as "Christ and culture" using a two realm private/public structure, invented it must be noted as part of modernity, the people and movements we are analysing that preceded modernity, might well be justified in failing to recognise themselves as being properly represented by such analysis.

Cunningham's point suggests that a much less comprehensive typology that does not presume a necessary totalising dichotomy and focuses on a limited issue or behavioural stance by a faith community might well be more appropriate – say for example the question of acceptance or non-acceptance of coercive violence by the governing authorities to further the aims of the Christian community.

The issue of Christian engagement with the natural world is also largely absent from Niebuhr's discussion. While I do not have the space to explore this issue in detail, I will return to comment on it briefly at the close of the paper in taking note of the account of culture and creation in the writing of Wendell Berry.

Christendom in Niebuhr's typology

Consideration of the monolithic character of culture in Niebuhr's typology brings to the surface an iimplicit assumption about the normative character of Christendom. Yoder notes in his discussion of the monolithic and autonomous character of culture in Niebuhr that *… the state is prototypical, if not pre-eminent as representative of "culture".*[336] If we look at those Niebuhr is most critical of in his discussion, the criticism hinges on their critical stance on participation in government and engagement in war.

In discussing the need to openly account for the axioms that Niebuhr chose, Yoder argues that a key axiom in **Christ and Culture** is … *the assumption that the state or even the violence of the state is pre-eminently representative of culture, so that pacifists who reject that are described as being, against culture "as such" or as a whole (even though they are in act affirmative about agriculture, the arts, marriage, communication and social justice). H Richard Niebuhr does not make the state (or war) nearly as important for his whole system as does his brother Reinhold … yet in his portrayal of both Tolstoy and Tertullian it is their challenging the Empire (Roman or Russian) and its wars which best exemplify the "against culture" posture.*[337]

Marsden is broadly supportive of Yoder's observations on this issue, commenting that *… Niebuhr had no illusions about building the Kingdom of God on earth. He favored a unified civilization to which Christian influences could make positive contributions. In the context of this debate, Niebuhr begins*

by addressing accusations that Christianity has no positive contribution to make to civilization or culture (he uses the two terms more or less interchangeably).[338]

Yoder takes this point still further, arguing that for Niebuhr:

… perhaps the most important basic implicit assumption, all the more important because it is not brought to the surface consciously, is that it is the responsibility of the ethicist to stand within the "mainstream" of his own religious civilization. This is exemplified superficially by Niebuhr's lack of any serious attention to free church strategies with Christendom since the Reformation or to dissenters since Tertullian. It is said more deeply in his unargued assumption of the necessity of managing society from the top and his identification of political control with "culture". Tolstoy was in favour of story-telling, the novel, the folk tale, the arts, the family, the village, the school, the restoration of peasant crafts, and heavy labour in the fields, but because he rejected the sword and criticized the Tsar he is pigeonholed as a radical anticulturalist. The government becomes exemplary for all of culture.[339]

Niebuhr's "Christ and culture" typology consequently has the effect of marginalising grass roots Christian movements for social and cultural change and effectively occluding from our view those that rejected the necessity for violent coercion and close alignment with the powers that be.

Alternative typologies of "Christ and Culture'

The context in which Niebuhr's typology was developed is important. The obvious, but often undiscussed point, that the typology was a product of a particular time and place. **Christ and Culture** emerged a decade or so after World War II. The role of the state was not regarded by Niebuhr as a matter that might be problematic for the churches in shaping their response to the social and cultural order. What happens to the typology though when we make explicit the question of the acceptance or rejection by the church of the use of violent coercion as a key marker in identifying commitment to the Christendom settlement?

Carter's typology – taking account of violent coercion

Craig A Carter has developed an alternative approach to analysing the engagement by the church with issues of culture through the use of a typology shaped by the criteria of whether or not the church accepts the use of violent coercion. Carter is here responding to a situation that has changed substantially since Niebuhr was doing his analysis. The perceived loss of the church's social power and the automatic priority of Christian views in determining the social agenda has become a significant issue in pluralist societies.[340]

Carter's typology also has the advantage of shifting our focus to the church as the embodiment of Christian engagement with culture. In the table that follows, **Table 2 Alternative Typology of Christ and Culture**[341]**,** I have tried working with an abbreviated form of Carter's classification. In doing so, I have added some additional examples of people and movements, particularly from the Catholic tradition[342].

The amended and abbreviated typology in **Table 2** is provided not so much because I am convinced that we need to replace one typology by another but to help us see what happens when we explicitly take account of the Christendom settlement instead of implicitly accepting it as normative as Niebuhr does. The line between Carter's categories of "Christ transforming culture" and "Christ humanising culture" is difficult to draw, and my allocation of groups and individuals between these categories is therefore likely to be open to dispute. One of the other weaknesses in Carter's typology that needs to be noted, is that he does not substantially address the issue of the multi-dimensional character of culture, a failing that I noted previously in assessing Niebuhr's typology.

Table 2 - Alternative typology of Christ and Culture

Type	Christendom Types (accept violent coercion)			Non- Christendom types (reject non-violent coercion)		
	Christ legitimising culture	Christ humanising culture	Christ transforming culture	Christ transforming culture	Christ humanising culture	Christ separating from culture
Examples	Theodosius I Crusades German Christians	Luther Pietism Revivalism Billy Graham	Augustine Columbus Cromwell	William Penn (Society of Friends) Martin Luther King Jr Desmond Tutu Jean Vanier Micah Project World Vision	Mother Teresa Mary McKillop Catholic orders Mennonite Central Committee Christian Peacemaker Teams	Antony of Egypt Monastic orders Amish
View of Christ	Symbol of the ruling powers of society	Unattainable yet relevant ideal	Lord of the cosmos	Lord of the cosmos	Inaugurating a new community	Lord of the church
Teaching of Jesus	Denial of Christ while using the term rhetorically as a cultural symbol to unify society	Applicable only to personal life – person/vocation dualism	For all society and should be imposed by force if necessary	For all society but should not be imposed by force but preached by word and deed	For the church only – directly but motivates loving service for society that may have spill over effects	For the church only

Abbreviated and adapted from Craig Carter **Rethinking Christ and Culture: A Post Christendom Perspective**

Table 2. Post Christendom typology of Christ and Culture p.113

HR Niebuhr and "the world" in the New Testament

The other typology of Christian engagement with culture that I want to draw attention to is that developed by Duane Friesen[343]. It is significantly different in character from those of both Niebuhr and Carter, though Friesen does share with Carter an explicit commitment to moving beyond the totalising dualism and docetic Christology of Niebuhr's approach. Instead of beginning with an abstract definition of Christ, Friesen suggests that we move towards an embodied Christology that places Christ in his Jewish culture in first century Palestine. Christ is the concrete presence of God in the world of culture. We cannot then place Christ over against culture but rather understood him as embodying a cultural vision in a specific time and place.

In developing his typology Friesen notes a problem in the way Niebuhr understood the" world" as it was discussed in the New Testament. Contrary to Niebuhr, the "world" in the New Testament, is not culture as a whole, but rather culture and human life as it is estranged from God and the accompanying alienation of humanity from the pattern for full human flourishing[344]. The focus by Niebuhr on "transformation" was not matched by any extended consideration of why transformation was necessary and how it might be achieved. To accept the need for transformation takes us back to a consideration of the fall as manifested in human life and institutions[345].

Friesen's typology

Friesen, like Yoder, argues for patterns of discrimination rather than Niebuhr's dualistic for and against culture as our only options in responding to the cultural and social choices that we face. The trouble with such a dichotomy is that it polarises debate and stifles our imaginative faculties from exploring other possibilities that might break open our existing stalemates.[346]

Friesen offers the following list of possible responses by the church to differing elements of its surrounding culture, a range of responses that might be held simultaneously, by an individual or community with respect to differing elements of cultural activity:

- Opposition
- Agreement
- Neutrality
- Going beyond dominant cultural norms
- Creative alternative institutions
- Revitalisation of existing cultural arenas
- Relativising cultural practice in the light of a higher principle
- Compromise
- Conversion[347]

This is less a typology for high level analysis along the lines offered by Niebuhr and Carter, than it is a guide to reflection about options for engagement at a local or community level. It is for that reason a more practical tool than their typologies that encourage high-level analysis but offer little guidance for action at the local, or national, level.

The perennial problem according to Friesen is not the relationship between "Christ and culture" but between cultural visions – how the cultural vision of life referred to as the good news of the gospel can be brought into relationship with other cultural visions. Friesen agrees with Carter and Yoder that Niebuhr assumes a Christendom model and is biased in favour of those churches and Christians that have sought to be integrally connected with the major institutions of the dominant culture.

According to Friesen *… a much more adequate model for the church will come out of the "sect" or "believers church" tradition. This is especially the case in our secularised and pluralistic world*. [348]

Theological support for this assertion can be found in readings of Scripture that foreground the trajectory of scepticism in both the Old Testament and the New Testament toward the powers that be, and that accept that God's project brings those identifying with that project into conflict with the principalities and powers.[349]

An alternative trajectory - Christian cultural engagement from the margins

Another line of approach in assessing the ongoing value of Niebuhr's "Christ and Culture" typology is to apply an empirical test. Are there examples of thinkers, practitioners and movements that have engaged society in culturally transformative ways that would tend to fall within Niebuhr's "Christ against culture" category?

This empirical test is interesting because the assumption in Niebuhr's account is that transformation of culture or political society comes from alignment by the church with the central institutions of society. There is a strong argument to be made that on the contrary, significant change comes from marginal groups that are intension with centres of power and authority.

A brief account by Robert Inchausti of the tradition that he describes as "Subversive Orthodoxy" can stand, I would argue, as prima facie evidence of the cultural relevance of the outside voice.[350] In his chapter on "Antipolitical Politics", Inchausti provides an account of the life and thought of Dorothy Day, Thomas Merton, Martin Luther King Jr, E F Schumacher and Wendell Berry[351]

Inchausti has identified here a list of thinkers and activists committed to transformation from the bottom up, based on a recovery of the local and community level of action rather than looking for change imposed from above. None of these people could be seriously accused as rejectors of culture. What they do have in common is a rootedness in a particular location, in terms of either geography, or tradition, from which they move to engage with society, through telling their stories and attempting to model the change they wish to see.

Theorising social change

Moving beyond the realm of politics to the broader intellectual field of "Macrohistorical Criticism", Inchausti offers us another list of thinkers engaged with questions of social change powered by faith commitment, including Marshall McLuhan, Northrop Frye, Jacques Ellul, Ivan Illich and Rene Girard. In considering this trajectory of cultural engagement a few points are worth noting that support a critique of the adequacy of Niebuhr's typology. The figures listed are all heavy hitters with reputations well beyond the world of the church and the theological faculty.

Many of the intellectual and movement figures discussed in Inchausti's narrative, had a tense relationship with the institutional church and while many of them were/are distinguished in academia they mostly come from outside the traditional theological faculties. They were movement leaders who engaged themselves in a variety of projects towards transformation of culture and society on the basis of faith commitments, while representing at the same time a fundamental challenge to reigning academic, institutional and political orthodoxies. They were often in severe tension with established forms of the Christian church yet clearly identified themselves as being in the Christian tradition.[352]

"Transformation" or "healing"?

One further question is worth asking at this stage about the adequacy, from a theological perspective, of the metaphor of transformation in **Christ and Culture**, a metaphor that Carter is happy to continue to use in continuity with Niebuhr. Wendell Berry's concern with healing the brokenness of creation suggests an alternative metaphor that explicitly takes into account the damage that has been done to the world and the need for humility about our efforts to respond to this damage. [353] The value of such an approach is underlined by the fact that the examples of Christian engagement illustrated by Inchausti, point to a practice that is clear about the reality and brokenness of the world.

Outside the mainstream

Inchausti at the end of his account of this radical tradition offers a challenge to Niebuhr's assumption that to be outside the mainstream is to be irrelevant and argues that "being in the world but not of the world" is the way to be truly relevant.

A religious worldview – indeed a Christian worldview – need not blind one to contemporary realities; indeed it should lead one to even greater objectivity and critical distance from the fashions, fads and assumptions of our day.

… We now know that the so-called absolutes of Christianity lie outside any particular cultural expressions of them, and yet paradoxically those same "absolute" can only be embodied in those relative expressions. This makes modern Christian thinkers paradoxicalists by definition. On the one hand they see through all world mythologies as products of particular times and yet at the same time they acknowledge a transcultural Absolute that unites all of humanity in a shared participation with the divine. In other words religious modernists (or postmodernists, if you prefer) never lose sight of the fact that they are in this world but not of it, inside prevailing descriptions of reality but not defined by them. [354]

Simon Barrow puts the challenge of Christian engagement slightly differently, reminding us of past failures and the need for humility and truthfulness in the way we perform the faith in this time and place, when he asks, … *How can our performance of the traditions and texts which formed us lead us into a positive engagement with modern culture, while confronting the terrible corruptions and distortions that have affected historical religion?*[355]

In conclusion: what should we do with Niebuhr's typology?

On the basis of the critique in this paper, I would argue that Niebuhr's "Christ and culture" typology, while it has achieved the status of a classic, should now be regarded as being of historical interest only, and should therefore be discarded without delay from the intellectual toolkit of the public theologian. In support of that adventurous recommendation, I offer the following justification:

- The typology disengages Christian ethics and mission from the specific character of Jesus in his life, ministry, death and resurrection and similarly ignores the biblical trajectory that narrates an ongoing distance from the powers that be while living out a politics characterised by faithfulness and marginality, shaped by the witness of the saints.[356]
- The Christendom assumptions embedded in the typology blind us to the significance of subversive Christian traditions and movements that have been critical to bringing social and political change.
- The typology diverts our attention from the importance, and indeed the necessity, of making issue-by-issue judgements as to how we might respond faithfully in our varied contexts to the diverse range of issues confronting those committed to following Jesus.

The "Christ and culture" typology assumes an unquestioning allegiance to organised religious institutions at home with the status quo. What we need instead is "disorganised religion" out on the margins of society, or perhaps better, a Christian movement for active and compassionate engagement not confined within the realm of "religion" but committed, rather, to embodying signs of the coming kingdom in the pain and brokenness of the actually existing world.[357].

Understanding the Mission / Development Nexus:

Views of those in Missionary Training

Associate Professor Matthew Clarke[1]

Br Darwin Loro, SVD

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Br Darwin Loro is currently living in an SVD parish community in Godoy Cruz, Mendoza, Argentina. He is actively involved in pastoral health care and charitable works under the Parish Caritas. His tasks are to strengthen programs available and to encourage more community volunteers. There is a concerted inter-organisational cooperation there to address poverty in poorer areas; a local based social network of organisations actively involved in addressing the needs of children and women. The goal is geared towards the promotion of human and community development, thereby alleviating social marginalisation through participatory activities and the provision of specific services that are beneficial for the people.

Abstract

Non-government Organisations (NGOs) are often viewed as participatory, democratic and cost effective organisations that work directly with the poor. In addition to secular NGOs, a number of NGOs are faith-based, Church-related organisations, including Catholic religious congregations that are mandated to undertake missionary work with the poor. Whilst these religious congregations work with the poor as missionaries, their activities are often difficult to differentiate from secular development interventions. This paper considers the nexus between missionary service and development within one such organisation – the *Societas Verbi Divini (SVD)* or Divine Word Missionaries.

Understanding the Mission / Development Nexus: Views of those in Missionary Training

1. Introduction

The desire to improve the lives of the poor has motivated the establishment of many thousands of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) operating in developing countries. Indeed, the number of NGOs is increasing rapidly. There were 9000 international NGOs registered in 1990, increasing to nearly 12,000 in 1999 (Anheier et al., 2001). Growth has continued into the twenty-first century with now over 13,600 registered international NGOs in existence (UIA, 2007)[2]. The interventions implemented by these organisations range from development and advocacy programs in various sectors, including agricultural, water and sanitation, health, etc., to relief and rehabilitation activities in environments of conflict, and natural and human-made disasters.

NGOs are often defined as having four main characteristics: (1) independence; (2) not-for-profit; (3) voluntary; and (4) 'not for the immediate benefit' of its members (or altruism) (Ball and Dunn, 1996). They are also often seen as participatory, democratic and cost effective organisations that work directly with the poor. Arguably, they can be effective at a number of activities including strengthening civil society, improving democracy, and strengthening governance. In addition to the secular-based organisations that display these general characteristics, there are also a number of faith-based, Church-related organisations, including Catholic religious congregations, which can also possess these NGO characteristics. These organisations (or societies) are independent of the State, not profit-

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[2] It is noted the UIA registration of international NGOs is voluntary and so that data collected likely underestimates actual numbers.

driven, based on voluntary membership, and not motivated by self-interest. Their work with the poor is understood in terms of mission and is mandated by Christian compassion and justice.

Whilst many religious congregations work with the poor as missionaries, their activities are often difficult to differentiate from secular NGO's development interventions. This paper considers the nexus between missionary service and development within one such organisation – the *Societas Verbi Divini (SVD)* or the Divine Word Missionaries. More specifically, this paper is interested in the views of how young men presently training to be SVD missionaries understand mission and development. Fifteen men in temporary vows were surveyed as to their understanding of mission and development and their experience of pastoral work.

Based upon this small sample this paper concludes that while the practical expression of mission is often indistinguishable from secular NGOs activities, it is the intrinsic motivation for this work that is the major point of distinction for these men. Indeed, this motivation allows the missionary to devote a longer time to accompany communities on their development journey. It is this desire to be with the poor, live among them and share their experiences that results in a mission / development nexus.

2.   A Brief History of SVD

The Society of the Divine Word is an international and multicultural religious missionary organisation. It is one of the largest missionary congregations within the Catholic Church, with a presence in more than 60 countries and a current membership of over 6,000 brothers and priests (SVD Catalogus, 2007). The majority of SVD members come from former mission lands (Pernia 2002).

There are different ministries that the SVDs are involved with throughout the world. The SVD undertake traditional missionary activities, such as working in parish churches and running schools and training future religious missionaries. However, much of their work is also indistinguishable from 'development' activities usually associated with secular NGOs. They have radio stations in different countries and have their own printing press for publications of mission magazines and books. They also work in response to the needs of the refugees and migrant groups. They also involve themselves in housing projects for the poor, in farmers' cooperatives and in community organisations among the urban poor. They run centres for street children, hospices for orphans with HIV/AIDS and health care clinics for the poor.

Wherever a SVD works, the commitment to accompany and live among communities indicates an acceptance of everyone, regardless of faith belief, colour, race and language. And so, once they are part of a community it is natural that promoting the value of human dignity, tackling issues of poverty and inequality becomes major concern of their work, especially in the developing world. Faithfulness to the call of service for an SVD reminds one to retrace the source of the Christian tradition in Jesus who has been a model of genuine love for humanity, respect and acceptance for others.

3.   Identifying the Mission / Development Nexus

Understanding Mission

Mission, as understood in the Catholic Church, is a continuation of Jesus' mission of service rooted in 'love', which itself was entrusted to his disciples whom he sent out (Lk 24:36-49; Jn 20: 19-29; Acts 1:6-11). Missionary endeavour promotes human dignity, initiating dialogue and equality as a way of relating with other people (Ascheman 2002).

The Second Vatican Council brought about the emergence of the radical interpretation of the gospel advocating a preferential option for the poor and the quest for justice (Gonzalez 1985, Gutierrez 1973). The focus of Catholic missionary work is no longer proselytising. For Nemer (2001), missionaries today to some extent have to live their commitment of serving the poor and the marginalised without preaching or being vocal in their faith. Being silent has far greater benefit and consequences as they work and serve the people of various backgrounds and faith beliefs (Nemer 2001). Without doing this, , the love of Christ and the commitment to follow Him may not be seen by certain people. Miranda (2002) uses Cragg's words to challenge missionaries:

> Our first task in approaching another people, another culture, another religion, is to take off our shoes for the place we are approaching is holy. Else we may find ourselves treading on another's dream. More serious still, we may forget… that God was there before our arrival (Bishop Kenneth Cragg in Miranda 2002, p38).

Missionary work and dialogue in developing countries therefore requires living amongst the poor. The lives of the poor are characterised by premature death, preventable illnesses, limited access to clean water and sanitation, economic insecurity, and often illiteracy. Like many NGOs, missionaries are therefore involved in community development work as they seek to work with those confronting these harsh realities.

Understanding Development

Improving the lives of the poor is a complex undertaking for organisations working at the local level[3]. Both poverty and development are contested terms (McGillivray and Clarke 2006) yet they are intrinsically linked. Indeed they can be considered two sides of the same coin. Those that have not experienced development experience poverty, because it is through the process of development that poverty is reduced. Development seeks to improve the lives of the poor. But this relationship is clearly not linear, and both terms – *poverty* and *development* – are often ambiguous. Poverty can be considered simply in a monetary sense, but also a lack of what Sen (1985) calls capabilities (the ability to use a commodity well), or social exclusion, or even non-participation. The Catholic Church's teaching on development highlights a faith-based view in which spiritual aspects of an individual's fulfilment are addressed alongside economic and social improvements (Alkire 2006, *Populorum Progressio* 1967, Reed 2001).

It is unsurprising that approaches to development vary greatly between different organisations seeking to improve the lives of the poor; it is therefore inappropriate to speak of only one approach to development. However, whilst being cautious of overstatement, there is value in seeking some loose classification of different approaches. Korten (1990) has suggested that there are four typologies of development assistance implemented by community-based organisations: 1) relief and welfare; 2) community development; 3) sustainable systems development; and 4) people's movements. (De Senillosa (1998) adds a fifth classification of "domestic change agents".)

An important development concept relevant across these typologies is 'empowerment' (Ife 1995)[4]. The structure of power and domination is overturned when community activities are strengthened and people themselves are allowed to run and take control of these development interventions. Their sense of self worth is restored when they are able to sustain these interventions through their own efforts (Kirk 2000). They are more encouraged as they see themselves partaking and contributing as members owning their projects. However, empowering communities does not happen immediately and it takes a great deal of struggle, time and effort among people who are committed to genuine community development (Liffman 1978). Further, co-operation in the community, as well as participation, inclusiveness and consensus are among the different facets of community development that also need to be taken into consideration.

Seigel (1999) and Santamaria (2000) both highlight solidarity in enhancing development. They agree that everyone should have access to ownership of world resources and that there be a support for each other – a responsibility that all people be included and participate. Therefore, a message of solidarity is being envisioned by actively involving the community in the quest for change, to free the majority of people from misery (Uffing 2002). Development occurs when there is a conscious awareness of taking responsibility in helping alleviate the sufferings of others. The Catholic social teaching has given the emphasis of the right to use material goods over the right to ownership. This must be a priority over economic structure or rights of ownership (Seigel 1999, Kirk 2000). Without

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[3] It is also a complex undertaking for those working at the macro level, with little agreement on how to best improve the lives of the poor – see for instance Sachs 2005, Stiglitz 2007 and Easterly 2007 for divergent overviews of past failures and future approaches to development at the macro level.

[4] Empowerment within welfare interventions is less likely to occur due to the nature of the interventions, thought it is possible to empower communities during relief activities. Indeed, one the of the weaknesses of the major relief effort that followed the 2004 Asian Tsunami was the failure of international NGOs to empower local communities in planning and implementing the relief activities (see Telford et al. 2006),

this occurring, the absence of a concerted effort among people and nations impedes real development from happening (Santamaria 2000). Self-interest and individualistic attitudes create gaps and misery for many who are deprived and are suffering. Without concern and empathy, authentic development will be elusive.

4.   Survey Results and Analysis

When understood in the above terms, mission and development naturally coalesce and form a nexus. Therefore, addressing the development needs of the poor is a concern and a priority for missionaries. This development-orientated approach to mission within the SVD is clearly articulated. The survey of 15 temporary professed SVDs explores the views of the next generation of SVD missionaries and their understanding of mission and development.

Methodology

The survey questionnaire was divided into two parts (see Appendix A). The first part dealt more on general information and background of the respondents such as nationality, the age, education, language spoken, number of years in the SVD and questions regarding their pastoral work. The second part of the survey required a response to aspects of SVD missionary life. The questions covered the areas of development, missionary work and religion.   The respondents were also encouraged to write additional comments at the end of the questionnaire and the survey were provided ample space for lengthy responses. The survey questionnaire was distributed to 19 temporary professed men undertaking their SVD studies in Melbourne, Australia. Fifteen responses were received from those ranging in age of between 25-48 years of age from the following countries: Angola, Australia, China, Indonesia, Mexico, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, South Korea, Vanuatu and Vietnam.

Analysis

When asked to define missionary work, eight respondents identified missionary work as following the Christian way of life, with Jesus as a model, through dialogue with all people regardless of religion and culture. Another six respondents answered missionary work meant an offering of oneself when needed and being with the people, doing something beneficial in the different aspects of their lives. As expected, these responses are aligned with the SVD approach to mission.

In linking mission to religious life, eight respondents considered religious life as a commitment to missionary work, following the mandates of Christian living and in keeping the promise to live out their vows. Seven mentioned religious life as a form of sacrifice dedicating their lives to the service of God and all people. Christian values and the love of one's neighbour motivate them.   Genuine missionaries come from a conviction that the love they receive ought to be shared as they serve their neighbours.

The motivation for mission and religious life was being able to 'share' one's talents in the service of the people in need was the most rewarding contribution they could give according to 12 respondents. One mentioned that a rewarding contribution he could give was to share God with others. Another respondent specifically indicated that promoting justice and hope in life was a very rewarding contribution. Responses around the link between mission and religious faith differed. Six respondents indicated that as a Christian witness, an effective missionary meant someone who was open to learn and adapt to other people's cultures and could start from where the people were. Three mentioned that sharing God's love to all could make an effective missionary. Two described an effective missionary meant those who were committed to live out their vows, while another two indicated effective missionaries were those able to speak up and advocate for peace and justice. Successful missionary work requires particular skills: eight respondents mentioned that openness and respect to other cultures and their people were essential in living as a missionary, while three respondents focussed on 'commitment' to missionary living. Despite the challenges in mission two mentioned the need to balance life, and one indicated that living a life as a missionary entailed a love for the mission. One respondent did not answer.

The type of work they envisaged undertaking as missionaries varied between the respondents. Five respondents thought they would likely work as teachers, while four respondents would like to become Chaplains or work in a parish in a developing country. Another two stated they would like to become

development workers. Others wished to become a nurse, an advocate for justice and a formator (in charge of the formation training of the postulants, novices or the temporary professed SVDs).

Respondents were then asked to consider the concept development in order to determine their understanding of how this is linked with missionary work. When asked to define developing countries, seven respondents spoke of poverty and the need for increased financial assistance. Four talked about the struggle and suffering of developing countries as they were dominated or manipulated by powerful countries and organisations. Two persons identified developing countries as a priority in today's world. One described developing countries as the future for the vocation to the priesthood and the religious life.

When asked what was involved in working in developing countries, seven of the respondents mentioned commitment among people willing to share with courage and to be at the side of the oppressed. Four indicated helping the poor face their difficulties and move forward. Two respondents indicated respect and openness toward other cultures. One indicated attention to the needs of the people and another one pointed out the need for specialised skills in working in developing countries. When asked to define the process of development, nine respondents indicated the need to improve the delivery of social services (health, education and building economic structure) and addressed issues that are hampering real development. Three respondents focused their attention on the people being empowered through participation in order to sustain the processes of development. Two respondents had no answers. One identified development as catching up with the developed countries. Collaboration is seen in the formation and establishment of VIVAT International (VI) (organised network of the Society of the Divine Word or 'SVD' and the Missionary Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit or 'SSpS'[5]). As a joint NGO composing the two religious congregations, VI facilitates networking among members and in promoting collaboration with other agencies, NGOs, and with the United Nations in achieving its goals (VI Charter and Statutes, 2002). There are four main issues of focus as priorities for VIVAT International: poverty eradication, gender, sustainable development and peace. These concerns are classified together under the theme of Human Rights (Pernia et al. 2002). VI issues of focus are in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). At the United Nations (UN) Millennium Summit in September 2000, UN member states committed themselves to achieving the MDGs. All 191 members of the UN have now pledged to meet the MDGs by 2015. The MDGs are a set of eight internationally agreed goals to improve the well-being of the poor in developing countries. They include: (1) eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; (2) achieving universal primary education; (3) promoting gender equality; (4) reducing child mortality; (5) improving maternal health; (6) combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; (7) ensuring environmental sustainability; and (8) developing a global partnership for development. The MDGs emanated from a number of development-related conferences during the 1990s. In addition to the eight Goals, there are 18 targets and 48 indicators. Wherever SVD members are in the world these important issues of concern will guide them. Grassroots experiences in the mission areas will be brought to the UN through VIVAT.

The work described by those interviewed as missionary work is closely aligned with the interventions required in achieving development. What did separate the two concepts of mission/development though was the motivation for that work. Respondents identified the need to live alongside and becoming one with the community in being effective missionaries. However, development simply required partnership and service delivery. Development was therefore more functional, whilst mission involved an expression of love, even though the actual tasks in both mission and development were largely similar. The commitment of the SVD to tackle, first, poverty eradication as its main mission priority, has long been advocated as they live and learn with the people they work within the mission field. Second, addressing VI support for women's empowerment is being realised in the members' various ministries. Both SSpS and SVD can make a difference when they work together, consciously aware that empowering women as a second issue of focus is a must in today's age. Third, sustainable development for VI, does not only speak about ecology but also includes concern for the economy, culture and education among others. Lastly, in promoting the culture of peace as a fourth issue of focus, VI is supporting the message of the UN Charter and the Church in its message against the culture of violence and death. While these issues represent the priorities of the SVD as a whole, other particular important issues undertaken by the members in every country continue.

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[5] Both organisations (SSpS and SVD) have the same founder and have the same missionary orientation.

5.   Conclusion

SVD missionary work is often indistinguishable from the work of secular non-government organisations that are known for their development activities. However, within this mission / development nexus a distinguishing point does exist. SVD dedication to missionary commitment allows them to devote a longer time to accompany communities and learn from them.   Learning the languages and culture of the places they go to affirms their interest and genuine desire to be with the people, live among them and dialogue with them. Their commitment to the poor, participation in issues of justice and peace, inter-faith dialogue and inculturation are signs of hope for the world - inseparable of their religious missionary calling. Therefore, today's missionary must seek equal partnership and initiate openness to dialogue.

In this research, it can be seen that the development-orientated missions espoused by the SVD and based on understanding of and participation in the activities of communities in which they work is largely understood as significant by the young men aspiring to be future SVD missionaries. So whilst practical expression of mission is often indistinguishable from secular NGO activities, it is the intrinsic motivation for this work and allows the missionary to devote a longer time to accompany communities on their development journey. It is this desire to be with the poor, live among them and share their experience that brings mission and development together.

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Colin Greene and Martin Robinson

Metavista: Bible, Church and Mission in an Age of Imagination

Faith in an Emerging Culture series

(Milton Keynes: Paternoster, Authentic Media, 2008)

Reviewed by Darren Cronshaw

Colin Greene and Martin Robinson constructed a model of doing mission in the West while working at the British and Foreign Bible Society based on "radical cultural engagement". It is not enough, they claim, to improve seeker-sensitive church services or cultivate alternative expressions of church. The church is hemorrhaging and its position in society is marginalised. Greene and Robinson critique both Christendom and attempts today to revert to a position with the church as a centralised power holder. They argue instead for embracing powerlessness and ambiguity, and connecting with people's interest in religion and spirituality irrespective of any lack of commitment to church. The authors describe the contemporary cultural context as a kind of post-post-modern "Metavista", a space where change and transition are dramatic and in which innovation and imagination are predominant. Metavista, they suggest, is the dawning age of imagination. In our post-Christendom, post-modern, post-individualistic, post-colonial context, the church must celebrate imagination and engage its cultural context at deep levels.

But it is also essential to firmly ground cultural engagement in Biblical narrative. Biblical grounding will maintain a prophetic edge to the church's voice rather than allowing it to bow to cultural accommodation. Graham Cray praises Metavista as taking missional discussion "beyond 'Gospel and Culture' and beyond 'Emerging Church' to put the Bible back at the centre of the conversation" (back cover). A sad reality is that the Bible is a closed book for most Westerners, even including most church people. They generally know little of its information and are engaged even less with its story. Imaginative, creative and reflective use of Scripture is a largely untapped resource for the mission of the Church. Desmond Tutu suggested, "My advice to anyone who wants to run an oppressive regime would be to ban the Bible, because once that book is in people's hands then the liberation cat is out of the bag" (p63). The biblical narratives of creation, Israel, Jesus and the church are solid (fiduciary) frameworks for shaping the church's mission and its cultural engagement.

Greene and Robinson urge churches in the West to reimagine Christian community and to recover their identity and confidence. At a time when some emerging believers are questioning the place of church, these writers uphold the counter-cultural value of expressing faith communally. To suggest we can express faith without church is to be over-influenced by individualistic Western culture and under-influenced by the gospel: "However much we might be out of love with the church as it is presently constituted, it is simply not an option to be forever living apart from Christian community" (p186). Nevertheless, for an age of imagination, it is important to cultivate innovation and experimentation in church and its cultural engagement. The church needs leaders who are entrepreneurial risk-takers and not just content with the status quo, and pastors who serve as spiritual directors and not just strategic planners. In grappling with the church in an age of imagination, the writers interact with issues of church consumerism, attractional church, apostolic leadership, globalisation, inter-church cooperation, community exegesis, the marginalisation of the church and public theology.

Part of the challenge of public theology, Greene and Robinson argue, is that the church has maintained social influence but relegated its right of speech into the public square. This reflects an abdication of the gospel's power: "In surrendering the ability to talk about public theology, truth, the basis for ethics, and the critical business of how we might live together in a troubled world, Christianity set itself up to be marginalized and eventually ignored" (p166). Part of the church's calling, however, is to speak from the margins and subvert ideologies, from Caesar through to consumerism.

Back to Greene and Robinson's appeal for deeper use of biblical narrative, the Bible contains political capital to address public issues. *Metavista* appeals for engaging the biblical narrative and its public truth as part of radical cultural engagement. If the church's role is to foster human flourishing, then it is beholden to model new ways of relating, advocate for flexible family-friendly and spirituality-supportive workplaces, criticise early sexualization of children and address any and all other public issues. The church must engage these issues alongside other aspects of missiology. This is part of re-imagining the church's role in the cultural metavista that Greene and Robinson describe.

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Book review submission for *Australian Journal of Mission Studies (2009)*

Jim Reapsome and Jon Hirst, ***Innovation in Mission: Insights into Practical Innovations Creating Kingdom Impact*** (Atlanta: Authentic, 2005)

Reviewed by Darren Cronshaw

Missionaries have been among the most innovative communicators in history. They have to be. Faced with the challenge of cross-cultural communication of an unchanging gospel in a changing world, innovation is a premium value. And with the increasing pace of change in the 21st century, effective missionaries need to cultivate imagination and creativity all the more.

Jim Reapsome and Jon Hirst have collected case studies from a dozen innovative mission efforts. These include communicators taking seriously the digital age, businesspeople using their work for Kingdom purposes, journalists encouraging writers of local resources, short-term missions sending CEOs and experts instead of tourists and builders, member care systems that allow for cultural differences for non-Western missionaries, theological educators grappling with slums and Islam, Bible software distribution for Chinese church leaders, and the use of flexible online learning and resource sharing.

Significantly, most of the writers celebrate the "gracious revolution" of global partnerships. They ask what Western missionaries can learn from missionaries in India and Latin America, China and Africa, and how we can all be better resourced to work together. Mission is seen as "from anywhere to anywhere", rather than "from the West to the rest". There are also some initial discussions of how cross-cultural missionaries can help ethnic ministries in the West. Most of the writers are Western missionaries, but some are Asian. It is timely to learn from and read more of non-Western mission thinkers.

In future writing it would be good to see more reflection on innovation in other aspects of mission which cry out for new approaches. How will mission organisations respond to the changing missions giving of younger generations? What is the scope of local theologising and how can it be encouraged? What can we learn from the innovation of emerging missional churches in responding to a post-Christendom Western mission field? What can mission organisations learn from studies of the diffusion of innovation, including people who tend to be "adopters" or "resisters", and appropriate processes for introducing change? Exploring these issues, as well as the more traditional expressions of mission like tentmaking, short-term mission, literature, media and theological education that are in the book, are critical as we face whatever opportunities and surprises arise over the next few decades.

This is an insightful book for mission workers, lecturers, committees and executives. It is informative about the diverse aspects of mission covered, and it models practical innovations across the globe. A related blog on implementing innovations is at http://www.generousmind.com/communities.php.

Darren Cronshaw trains leaders and missionaries with the Baptist Union of Victoria and Forge Mission Training Network.

"Disturb us, Lord"
(The Prayer of an Innovator)

Disturb us, Lord, when
we are too pleased with ourselves
when our dreams have come true
because we have dreamed too little,
when we arrive safely
because we have sailed too close to the shore.

Disturb us, Lord, when

with the abundance of things we possess,
we have lost our thirst for the waters of life;
having fallen in love with life,
we have ceased to dream of eternity;
and in our efforts to build a new earth,
we have allowed our vision
of the new Heaven to dim.

Disturb us, Lord, to dare more boldly,
to venture on wider seas
where storms will show your mastery;
where losing sight of land,
we shall find the stars.

We ask you to push back
the horizons of our hopes;
and to push into the future
in strength, courage, hope, and love.

Sir Frances Drake **(in *Innovation in Mission*, pp.1-2)**

Book Review

What is the Mission of the Church? A Guide for Catholics.

Roger Schroeder

Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008

xiv, 159 pp., $16.00

While this book is subtitled "A Guide for Catholics", anyone interested in knowing the current understanding of mission in the Catholic Church will find this a clear statement of its understanding of and teaching on mission today. In many ways the author has summarized (and made for easier reading) the contents of the book he published with Stephen Bevans: *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today* (2004).

He starts with what he calls "the big picture", briefly describing the three principal ideas that form the basis for a theological understanding of mission: God's mission, the reign of God, and Christ the Savior. Later in the book he returns to these ideas, linking God's mission to the Vatican II *Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church* (1965), the reign of God to the apostolic exhortation written by Paul VI after the synod on evangelization *On Evangelization in the Modern World* (1975), and Christ the Savior with the encyclical of John Paul II *On the Permanent Validity of the Church's Missionary Nature* (1990). Those who have not been able to study the original documents will find here both a clear summary of their unique teaching and a careful harmonization.

In presenting the biblical basis for the author's affirmation that the church is missionary by its very nature he focuses on the earliest spread of the gospel by the disciples as narrated in *Acts.* He tells the story of the Spirit's guidance of the disciples in their mission first to the Jews and then to the Gentiles. It was the Spirit who called them forth to bring the Good News to others.

The author then presents the briefest of mission histories in two chapters. The reader will find both familiar and expected names in this summary as well as some surprising and unexpected names. In the first of these two chapters the author discusses the important role that women played in the early Church as they "gossiped the Good News" in the home and in the marketplaces. In the period after Constantine, rather than focus on the conversion of the Germanic tribes in Europe he tells the story of Alopen who led East Syrian monks along the silk road in the 7th century to bring Christianity to China. He discusses at some length, as one might expect, the important contributions of Cyril and Methodius as well as of Francis of Assisi who approached the Moslems in a "non-traditional" way. But he also talks of the Beguines, a group of women in the 13th century who were carrying out mission in Europe in a "different" way.

In the second of these two chapters he talks about Montesinos and Bartolome de Las Casas, two people who were committed to the dignity and freedom of the indigenous Latin American people in the 16th century, about Francis Xavier who came to appreciate the culture of Japan, about Samuel Ajayi Crowther (the former slave who became an Anglican bishop in Nigeria) who approached the Moslems in a dialogical way, and about Daniel Comboni who foresaw that Africa would have to be converted by Africans. He also gives a brief description of two people that he calls "icons of transformation of mission" – the well-known Mother Teresa of Calcutta and the not-so-well known (at least in mission literature) Dorothy Day.

While early in the book he gives a definition of mission ("mission is proclaiming, serving, and witnessing to God's reign of love, salvation, and justice"), he later devotes an entire chapter to mission as "a single but complex reality". He offers six forms or aspects of mission today and discusses each of them: witness and proclamation; liturgy, prayer, and contemplation; justice, peace, and the integrity of creation; interreligious and secular dialogue; inculturation; and reconciliation. He states that these are not alternatives and shows how they often overlap and impact on one another.

This book is meant for study groups in parishes. Therefore the language never becomes overly academic or technical. In each chapter there are guide questions for discussion as well as a suggestion for further reading. It is a book primarily destined for an American audience, and so some sources, references, and applications refer to the scene in the United States and Canada. However

readers will be able to apply these to their own situations in Australia, New Zealand, or the South Pacific. The bibliography at the end is selective and useful

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Book Review by Ross Mackinnon

Sacred Australia: Post-Secular Considerations

Edited by Makarand Paranjape

Published by Clouds of Magellan, Melbourne, 2009, 311pp

Sacred Australia comprises seventeen essays on the concept of "sacred" as understood in Australia. It is edited by Makarand Paranjape, a Hindu and scholar from India. Fifteen of the essays are written by Australians, most of whom are academics, and the remaining two are by Indians (the editor and one other Indian academic). Two of the contributors can be identified as Christian. The Australian contributors are mostly from Victoria, and the majority of the contributors have backgrounds in the Humanities. It would have been good to have had a contribution from a scientist or two. (Why?)

This is a scholarly book, therefore not one to be read in a hurry. Each essay needs to be read carefully, and time needs to be taken to digest it before moving to the next essay. It is a book which would appeal especially to readers who are used to reading scholarly works, yet for readers not used to scholarly writing, it could prove a challenge, but it is well worth the challenge. This book contains rich pickings indeed.

Two main themes emerge from this book. First, Indigenous Australians have a profound sense of the sacred which is deeply rooted in the land. As contributor Deborah Bird Rose puts it, Indigenous Australians see the Dreaming in the landscape. Most non-Indigenous Australians have a vague awareness of this, but generally have little understanding of it. For example, many non-Indigenous Australians still see no problem with climbing Uluru to which the Indigenous owners object. Interestingly, the editor of this book visited Uluru. Because of his Hindu background and the Hindu respect for sacred places, he immediately felt the sacredness of Uluru and could understand why the site is sacred to the Indigenous people. He did not climb Uluru, but happily made his own pilgrimage around the rock. Again, his Hindu background helped him in this ritual, because processions around sacred places are part of Hindu tradition.

The second theme of the book is that non-Indigenous Australians also have a sense of the sacred, for instance, things of ultimate meaning and value, or places with a "presence" but generally do not relate this to God or religion. As contributor David Tracey points out, spiritual and religious matters, which traditionally incorporate the sacred, are private matters in Australia. The various contributors reveal that for Australians, sacred places include the Melbourne Cricket Ground, Bells Beach, Bondi, Sydney Opera House, spontaneous shrines marking sites of fatal car accidents, Gallipoli, Kokoda, the Australian War Memorial and Australian war cemeteries around the world. Sacred activities include Test Cricket and the AFL Grand Final, and sacred "icons" include Phar Lap and Sir Donald Bradman. Many Australians also have their own special parts of the landscape and seascape which they would regard as sacred.

The book tells us that if we want to find the sacred or spiritual side of Australians, apart from places and things, we will find this in the arts – poetry, novels, music, film and art. As contributor Bill Ashcroft puts it, the task of art and literature is to locate the sacred. The book is studded with references to Australians poets, novelists, musicians and artists, and several essays provide deep analysis of the sacred and the arts in Australia. When Australians seek the sublime, they seek it in the arts. The conclusion is that Australian people, by and large, do not find the sacred in religion. When looking for meaning, they do not turn to the Church; they seek it elsewhere.

What then, does this mean for the mission of the Church? Christianity has its own concept of the sacred – God. If Australians at large do not share this concept of the sacred, it means that the Church and most Australian people are on divergent paths, and are seeking meaning in different directions. This is something for the Church to grapple with – and urgently. For this reason alone, this book is an important book for anyone interested in mission to read and digest.

Book Review by Ross Mackinnon

Decolonizing God: The Bible in the Tides of Empire

Mark G Brett

Published by Sheffield Phoenix Press, Sheffield, 237 pages

Decolonizing God is difficult to review without seeming superficial - it is a relatively short book, but one packed with important things to say about postcolonial theology and its relevance to Indigenous Australians in particular.   (Author Mark Brett is an Australian theologian and Biblical scholar who has served as Policy Officer at Native Titles Services Victoria.)

The book comprises 10 chapters. Chapter 1 outlines how European colonizers used the Bible to justify invading and appropriating the land of peoples in Asia, Africa, Australia and the Americas. In Australia, the colonizers were arrogant enough to declare the land to be unoccupied and denied Indigenous claims to the land. The Australian Indigenous people were deemed to be inferior and used as virtual slaves. They had no political rights and their laws, customs, spirituality and sacred places were ignored. The colonizers used the Biblical injunction to "subdue the earth" as justification for invading and subduing Indigenous peoples. They also used the concept of the "curse of Ham" as justification for regarding Indigenous peoples as inferior.

Chapters 2-9 provide detailed and fascinating analysis and interpretation of the biblical texts which deal with issues such as land ownership, ethnic and racial purity, ancestors, connecting kin and country, indigenous origins, genocide, social justice, appropriation and misappropriation of land, reparation and restitution, slavery, Jesus' use of non-violent dissent and Paul's concept of the Cosmic Christ and the need for a vision of a new social imagination. The discussion on all of these issues (and more) is linked constantly to the theology of the colonizers. The author concludes that the colonizers' use and interpretation of Scripture was narrow and destructive and is not supported by the Biblical narrative.

The final chapter of the book deals with postcolonial theology and ethics. Brett remarks that the central flaw of colonial theological discourses has been to presume that foreign cultures have nothing to teach us. In developing postcolonial theology and ethics, the author identifies the need to:

- Confess the collusion of Christianity and colonialism
- Resist new temptations to exercise mastery over others
- Make space for the natural order (increasing awareness of environmental crises is assisting here)
- Make space for others
- Allow subjugated voices to be heard
- Desist in attempting to control divine grace
- "Be open to hearing the Spirit of God speak through other religious traditions".

He has a vision of a postcolonial church which "will be orientated around a cosmic Christ whose suffering expresses solidarity with victims, not in order to provide a narrowly religious opiate for suffering, but rather, to generate prophetic action against oppressive power and coercive economic conditions."

The book stresses the colonial experience of Indigenous Australians, but also makes pertinent references to the colonial experiences of Indigenous Africans, Indians, North Americans and Maoris. These experiences have been largely negative and there has been a significant backlash against Christianity in postcolonial countries. Christianity has many fences to mend. *Decolonizing God* helps us to see the way forward in this regard and is therefore a timely and relevant book. Prominent Australian Indigenous leader, Professor Mick Dodson, sums the book up well when he says, "Brett offers a different biblical perspective that might have been and what can now be. He affords us an opportunity to revisit biblical tradition and view it in a way that is more respectful to native traditions, even a way we might see the biblical traditions as demanding recognition and acknowledgement of native lands, space and spirituality. A new licence if you like."

The book has an extensive Bibliography and Indexes for Scriptural References, Authors and subjects. It is a book to read by anyone concerned about Indigenous Australia and the future of postcolonial Christianity.

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[1] This paper has been peer-reviewed and is deemed to meet the definition of original research required of scholars by the Department of Innovation, Industry, Science and Research (DIISR) of the Australian Commonwealth Government.

[2] See, especially, BOYD, R. H. S. *India and the Latin Captivity of the Church: The Cultural Context of the Gospel* (Monograph Supplement to the *Scottish Journal of Theology*, No. 3). London: Cambridge University Press, 1974; KITAGAWA, J. M. *The Christian Tradition beyond the European Captivity*. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992.   See, too, HAIRE, J. *The Character and Theological Struggle of the Church in Halmahera, Indonesia, 1941 – 1979* (*Studien zur interkulturellen Geschichte des Christentums*, Band 26). Frankfurt am Main und Bern: Lang, 1981.

[3] I use the term "gospel" here in a sense not simply dependent on the Bultmannian use of the term.

[4] See, for example, Romans 10: 16 – 17; Galatians 3: 2.

[5] See KÄSEMANN, E. "Begrundet det neutestamentliche Kanon die Einheit der Kirche?", in *Evangelische Theologie*, München, Vol. XI, 1951/52, 13 – 21 (subsequently published in KÄSEMANN, E. *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, Erster Band, 2nd Edition.   Göttingen: Vandenhoech und Ruprecht, 1960); KÄSEMANN, E. "Zum Thema der Nichtobjektivierbarkeit", in *Evangelische Theologie*, München, Vol. XII, 1952/53, 455 – 366. (subsequently published in KÄSEMANN, E., 1960).

[6] Such political activity may be formal or informal, local or wider.

[7] MOFFETT, S. H. *A History of Christianity in Asia*, Vol 1. San Francisco: Harper, 1992.

[8] GILLMAN, I. and KLIMKEIT, H. J. *Christians in Asia before 1500*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002.

[9] The author has lectured in Asia now for over thirty-five years, including thirteen years when he was resident in Indonesia.

[10] KOBIA, S, quoted in World Council of Churches News Release, entitled "Restating the Ecumenical Vision demands Conversion, says Kobia", Geneva, 15/02/2005. Cf. BURTON, J. *Conflict: Resolution and Provention*. London: Macmillan Press, 1990, 1 – 2; 13 – 24.

[11] MALINA, B J. *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology.* Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981, 55-66, 60-64; MEEKS, W A. *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983, 90-91. Cf. THEISSEN, G. *Social Reality and the Early Christians: Theology, Ethics and the World of the New Testament*. Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1992, 272 – 278.

[12] THEISSEN, G. *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth* (edited and translated by John H Schutz). Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982, 27-40. Cf. ESLER, P. F. *The First Christians in their Social Worlds: Social-Scientific approaches to New Testament interpretation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994, 6 – 12.

[13] PEARSON, L. *Popular Ethics in Ancient Greece.* Stanford: University Press, 1973, 193; WEDDERBURN, A J M. *The Reason for Romans (Studies of the New Testament and its World).* Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988, 81-83. Cf. LOADER, W. R. G. *Jesus' Attitude towards the Law: A Study of the Gospels.* Grand Rapids (Michigan) and Cambridge (UK): Eerdmans, 2002, 177.

[14] MALINA, 27-48.

[15] See WICKERI, P. L., ed. *The People of God Among All God's Peoples: Frontiers in Christian Mission*. Hong Kong/London, Christian Conference of Asia and the Council for World Mission, 2000; WIDYATMADJA, J. P. *Kebangsaan dan Globalisasi dalam Diplomasi*. Yogyakarta (Indonesia): Yayasan Bimbingan Kesejahteraan Sosial/Kanisius, 2005. See, too, A. A. YEWANGOE, *Theologia Crucis in Asia: Asian Christian Views on Suffering in the Face of Overwhelming Poverty and Multifaceted Religiosity in Asia.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1987, *passim*, especially 289 – 323.

[16] See BEVANS, S.B. *Models of Contextual Theology(Faith and Cultures Series)* (revised and expanded edition). Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004, 77 – 78.

[17] BEVANS, 95 – 99.

[18] See, for example, SONG, CHOAN-SENG (C S), *Christian Mission in Reconstruction*. Madras: CLS, 1975; SONG, C S. *Third Eye Theology*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1979. See, too, KOSHY, N. *A History of the Ecumenical Movement in Asia*, Volume 1. Hong Kong: World Student Christian Federation Asia-Pacific Region, Asia and Pacific Alliance of YMCAs, and Christian Conference of Asia, 2004, 219.

[19] MOON, C. H. "*Minjung* Theology", in *Ching Feng* 26 (1983), 48

[20] Mark 15: 34 (NRSV).

[21] SUH, David Kwang-sun. "*Minjung* and Theology in Korea", in Kim Yong Bok, ed., *Minjung Theology: People as Subjects of History*. Singapore, Christian Conference of Asia, 1981, 27; MOL, D. "*Minjung* Theologie, Zuid Koreaanse Bevrijdingstheologie in een geïndustrialiseerde Samenleving", in *Wending* (1985), 20 – 21.

[22] SUH, Nam Dong. "Towards a Theology of *Han*", in Kim Yong Bok, ed., *Minjung Theology*, 54.

[23] See KOSHY, 306.

[24] See BEVANS, 96 – 99, 169 – 170.

[25] See, especially, SONG, C S. *Third Eye Theology.* See too PO Ho Huang*, From Galilee to Tainan: Towards a Theology of Chhut-thau-thiⁿ* (ATESEA Occasional Paper, No. 15). Manila: Association for Theological Education in South East Asia, 2005.

[26] SONG, Choan Seng. *Theology from the Womb of Asia*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1986, 218 – 219.

[27] SONG, Choan Seng. *Theology from the Womb of Asia*, 219.

[28] LEIMENA, J. "De Ontmoeting der Rassen in de Kerk", in *De Opwekker*, 1941, 626 – 642; LEIMENA, J., "The Task of Restoring Fellowship Within the Church and the Indonesian Nation", *South East Asia Journal of Theology* 9: 3 (1968), 57 – 64. See too VAN KLINKEN, G. *Minorities, Modernity and the Emerging Nation: Christians in Indonesia, a biographical approach (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde,* Volume 199*)*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2003, 122, 137, 189 – 190, 218 – 220.

[29] See VAN KLINKEN, 97, 123, 147, 169 – 170.

[30] SIMATUPANG, T. B. *Tugas Kristen dalam Revolusi*. Jakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1967; SIMATUPANG, T. B. *Keselamatan Masa Kini*. Jakarta: Badan Penerbit Kristen, 1973.

[31] THOMAS, M. M. *The Christian Response in the Asian Revolution.* London: SCM, 1966; THOMAS, M. M. *The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance.* London: SCM, 1969.   See, too, KOSHY, 32 – 33, 111 – 112, 179 – 180.

[32] See, for example, THOMAS, M. M. and ABRECHT, P., eds., *World Conference on Church and Society: Christians in the Technical and Social Revolutions of our Time*. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1967, *passim*.

[33] BOYD, R. H. S. *An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology*. Madras: CLS, 1975, 312.

[34] *Oxford Today* 19: 3 (2007), 4.

[35] See, for example, from a Muslim perspective, H. TARMIJI TAHER. *Aspiring for the Middle Path: Religious Harmony in Indonesia*.   Jakarta: Center for the Study of Islam and Society (CENSIS), 1997; MUHAMAD ALI. *Teologi Pluralis-Multikultural: Menghargai Kemajemukan Menjalin Kebersamaan*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2003; H. M. OASIM MATHAR, ed. *Sejarah, Teologi dan Etika Agama*.   Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Interfidei/Dian, 2003.

[36] "The Crucifixion of Christ", a panel of the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (1512 – 1515), by Matthias Grünewald.

[37] PHAN, Peter, **Proclamation of the Reign of God as Mission of the Church: What for, to Whom, by Whom, with Whom, and How**, paper presented at McAuley Campus, ACU, 2002, pp1-11.

[38] Ibid.

[39] *Evangelii Praecones*, 1951. Previous encyclicals of the twentieth century – especially *Maximum Illud* (1919), Rerum Ecclesiae (1926) as well as a subsequent one, *Fidei Donum* (1957) paved the way for a new missionary understanding of the Church (ref: BOSCH, David J., Transforming mission, Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission, American Society of Missiology Series, No 16, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1992) p 371.

[40] Evangelii Praecones, On Promoting Catholic Missions: Evangelical Letter of Pius XII, June 2, 1951. P. 66, In The Popes and the Missions: Four Evangelical Letters, pamphlet published by A Sword and the Spirit (undated)

[41] MIHALIC, F., **Readings in PNG Mission History: A Chronicle of SVD and SSpS Mission Involvement on Mainland New Guinea between 1946 and 1996**, (Madang: DWU Press, 1998).

[42] This process has been reported in Flaherty, T.A., in **Crossings in Mercy-The Story of the Sisters of Mercy Papua New Guinea 1956-2006** (Adelaide: The Sisters of Mercy Papua New Guinea Region: OpenBook Howden, 2008).

[43] The missionary context was quite complex because Goroka was part of the original religious sphere officially assigned to the Lutheran church.

[44] According to an early government practice the various Christian churches were assigned to particular 'spheres of influence'.

[45] This information is preserved in the archives, Diocese of Goroka[45]

[46] Circular cited in the Archives of the Sisters of Mercy Victoria Square, Western Australia.

[47] This Hospital and Nurse's Training Centre, St Mary's, were conducted by the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart at Vunapope, Rabaul.

[48] Federation Sisters from Cairns, Townsville, Brisbane and Grafton formed the community.

[49] Currently this forms St Benedict's Campus of the Divine Word University, Madang.

[50] Volunteer sisters were selected from Brisbane, Cairns, Rockhampton and Grafton.

[51] From letters by Sister Mary Wildie, preserved in the Archives of the Sisters of Mercy Rockhampton.

[52] Information provided by pioneer former student, Mrs Rose Maule, and ex-Yarapos Sisters.

[53] Western Highlands, Eastern Highlands, Simbu, and Southern Highlands.

[54] The administrative staff of the hospital, the Franciscan Sisters of the Divine Motherhood, were recalled by Chapter to England.

[55] WAIKO, John Dademo: **A Short History of Papua New Guinea**, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press,1993), pp155-157

[56] Papua was under Australian domination from 1905.

[57] New Guinea was under Australian control from 1914.

58 Ibid, p 126

59 The Highlands, discovered in 1933, were put under government control in 1947.

60 Ibid, p132

61 Coping with the 850 different vernaculars proved too complex.

62 The University of Papua New Guinea in 1966, and the University of Technology in 1967.

63 WAIKO 1993, p189

64 WAIKO 1993, p156

65 Cf. the writings of lawyer and significant contributor to the PNG Constitution, Bernard Narokobi.

66 BEVANS, Stephen B., and SCHROEDER, Roger P., **Constants in Context – a Theology of Mission for Today,** (Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Books, 2004) pp249-250, commenting on *Ad Gentes*, the Decree on the Mission activity of the Church.

67 Ibid, *Ad Gentes* 40.

68 Ibid, *Ad Gentes*, Par 2

69 KASPAR, Walter, **The future of Christianity: Truth and Dialogue in a Post-Modern Era**, paper presented at Bonython Hall, Adelaide University, Adelaide, 4th July, 2003.

70 In Lumen Gentium (8) the Catholic Church is said to *subsist* in the true church, but is not identical to it. This theme of relationship with non-Christian religions is elaborated in the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to non-Christian Religions (*Nostra Aetate*).

71 An initiative of the Catholic Bishops, ecumenical in membership and goals, implemented by the Melanesian Institute. This is also reported in BEVANS, S. B. and SCHROEDER, R. P. p 253.

72 Herman Janssen: Founder of the Melanesian Institute, and team leader of the Self-Study: personal communication.

73 BEVANS, S. B. and SCHROEDER, R. P., p253

74 Evangelii Nuntiandi of his Holiness Pope Paul VI to the episcopate, to the clergy and to all the faithful of the entire world ON EVANGELIZATION IN THE MODERN WORLD, A Saint Paul Publication, 1976., EN 15, p 20.

75 This criticism of formal education is also made in WAIKO, J.D., pp155-157.

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[315] LONG, D Stephen in **Theology and Culture: A Guide to the Discussion** (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2008) identifies H R Niebuhr along with Troeltsch and Tillich as the key twentieth century theologians working on this theme.

[316] The emergence of "public theology" as a category of theological research and discourse across the English-speaking world raises interesting questions of theological, sociological and historical character. Could it be that public theology is at least partially an attempt to maintain a space for Christian engagement in the public sphere, without fully facing the impact of the unwinding of the Christendom settlement?

[317] YODER, John Howard *How H Richard Niebuhr Reasoned: A Critique of Christ and Culture* published in STASSEN, Glen H, YEAGER, D M & YODER, John Howard **Authentic Transformation: A New Vision of Christ and Culture** (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996) pp31-89

[318] I use the term Christendom stance, Christendom mindset and Christendom model flexibly to signal the fact that I am pointing to a basic presumption that has taken a variety of institutional, legal and cultural forms. For one account of this diversity see YODER, John Howard *The Constantinian Sources of Western Social Ethics* in YODER, John Howard **The Priestly Kingdom: Social Ethics as Gospel** (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984) pp135-147 for a brief discussion of the significance of Christendom for theology and mission see HYND, Douglas *Getting back to Jesus? Theology, Mission and Christendom Australian Journal of Mission Studies* (Vol2 No2, December 2008) pp62-69

[319] The discussion of Christendom in this paper is informed by Stuart Murray's account in **Post-Christendom: Church and Mission in a Strange New World** (Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster, 2004) and Simon Barrow's commentary on the **Ekklesia** web site: http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/

[320] Peter Gathje *A Contested Classic: Critics Ask: Whose Christ? Which Culture*?

http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=2641 religion-online downloaded 24 September 2008 p29. For a good summary account of Niebuhr's typology see *The Argument of Niebuhr's Christ and Culture* by CARTER, Craig A **Rethinking Christ and Culture: A Post Christendom Perspective** (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2006) pp35-52

[321] Peter Gathje *A Contested Classic: Critics Ask: Whose Christ? Which Culture?*

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[322] CUNNINGHAM, David S **Christian Ethics: The End of the Law** (London: Routledge, 2008) pp107 For an extended discussion of the rhetorical power of the typology see CARTER, Craig A **Rethinking Christ and Culture: A Post Christendom Perspective** (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2006) pp54-64 where Carter locates this rhetorical power in the "good story" that Niebuhr told.

[323] In STASSEN, Glen H, YEAGER, D M & YODER, John Howard **Authentic Transformation: A New Vision of Christ and Culture** (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996) pp31-89. The book also contains some important theological and ethical discussion by Glen Stassen on the question of transformation.

[324] **The Politics of Jesus: Behold the Man! Our Victorious Lamb** (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972)

[325] See Chapter 1 in **The Politics of Jesus: Behold the Man! Our Victorious Lamb** (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd Edition, 1994) Chronologically it is important to note that the Christological critique probably originated in Yoder's critique of Christ and culture as this was written in 1958 over a decade earlier than **The Politics of Jesus**.

[326] Craig Carter *The Legacy of an Inadequate Christology: Yoder's Critique of Niebuhr's Christ and Culture* **Mennonite Quarterly Review** July 2003 http://www.goshen.edu/mqr/pastissues/july03carter.html downloaded 24 September 2008. For an extended discussion see CARTER, Craig A **Rethinking Christ and Culture: A Post Christendom Perspective** (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2006) pp64-66

[327] Christopher Rowland has provided a succinct and nuanced summary of the Gospel accounts of Jesus' political engagement on pp4-7 of *A kingdom, but not as we know it* http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/node/8020 (downloaded 21/11/08). For some other scholarship that enable us to ground Jesus in the reality of early first century Palestine see:

YODER, John Howard *The Politics of Jesus* and *Beyond the* Jewish Christian Schism Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2003), YODER NEUFELD, Thomas **Recovering Jesus: The Witness of the New Testament** (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2007) and STORKEY, Alan **Jesus and Politics: Confronting the Powers** (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005)

[328] At a popular level you can get a sense of both the extent of agreement and the significance of the differences in the debate between T E Wright and Marcus Borg for example in their conversations in **The Meaning of Jesus: Two Visions** (New York: Harper, 2000)

[329] NT Wright, Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan who have quite different theological stances come to mind here, Among the activist scholars Ched Myers has sought to popularise the findings of this scholarship, drawing particularly on Mark's Gospel.

[330] HURCOMBE, Tom *Disestablishing the Kingdom* (Ekklesia Features) http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/node/8138 downloaded 11 January 2009

[331] George Marsden in a lecture to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the lectures that became *Christ & Culture*" *Christianity and Cultures: Transforming Niebuhr's Categories* religion-online http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=517 (downloaded 24 September, 2008)

[332] See also GUENTHER Bruce L *The "Enduring Problem" of Christ and Culture* **Direction** Fall 2005, vol 34 No.2, pp215-227 religion-online http://www.directionjournal.org/article/?1401 downloaded 24 September 2008

[333] YODER, How H. Richard Niebuhr Reasoned: A Critique of *Christ and Culture p* 69.

[334] LONG p70

[335] CUNNINGHAM p107 See also CAVANAUGH William *A Fire Strong Enough to Consume the House – The Wars of Religion and the Rise of the State* **Modern Theology**, 1995, pp.397-420 On the trajectory of scripture See Tom Hurcombe **Disestablishing the Kingdom** http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/node/8138 Ekklesia, downloaded 11 January 2009

[336] YODER *How H Richard Niebuhr Reasoned: A Critique of Christ and Culture* p56

[337] YODER *How H Richard Niebuhr Reasoned: A Critique of Christ and Culture* pp51-52

[338] Marsden

[339] YODER *How H Richard Niebuhr Reasoned: A Critique of Christ and Culture* p.66

[340] For a discussion of this issue see BARNS, Ian *Representing Jesus: Public Christianity in a late Modern World*. Australian Evangelical Alliance http://www.evangelicalalliance.org.au/content/documents/pdf%20files/Barns%20-%20Representing%20Jesus.pdf 18 December 2006

[341] For Carter's original version see CARTER **Rethinking Christ and Culture** p113 Table 2 Post Christendom Typology of Christ and Culture

[342] In the process I became aware of how protestant Carter's language and assumptions are.

[343] FRIESEN, Duane K **Artists, Citizens and Philosophers: Seeking the Peace of the City: An Anabaptist Theology of Culture** (Scottsdale, Pa: Herald Press, 2000)

[344] FRIESEN, Duane K **Artists, Citizens and Philosophers: Seeking the Peace of the City: An Anabaptist Theology of Culture** (Scottsdale, Pa: Herald Press, 2000) p58 This is part of a larger work on an Anabaptist Theology of Culture, a project that is in itself challenge to Niebuhr's typology

[345] See William Stringfellow's discussion of the fall and the principalities and powers as manifested in American society and culture in for example **Imposters of God: Inquiries into Favorite Idols** (reprint) (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2006)

[346] CUNNINGHAM p108

[347] FRIESEN pp60-61

[348] FRIESEN pp62-63

[349] ROWLAND, Christopher *A kingdom, but not as we know it* (Ekklesia Features) http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/node/8020 (downloaded 21/11/08) and HURCOMBE, Tom *Disestablishing the Kingdom* (Ekklesia Features) http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/node/8138 downloaded 11 January 2009 and BERRY, Wendell *Christianity and the Survival of Creation* **Cross Currents** Summer, 1993, pp.149-163

[350] INCHAUSTI Robert **Subversive Orthodoxy: Outlaws, Revolutionaries and Other Christians in Disguise** (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2005

[351] For a comprehensive theological reading that unpacks the cultural relevance of Wendell Berry's writings see BONZO, J Matthew and STEVENS, Michael R **Wendell Berry and the Cultivation of Life: A Reader's Guide** (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2007)

[352] For another example see the extended discussion between Romand Coles and Stanley Hauerwas on the practice of radical democracy that covers an exploration of the transformational character of

local activity including references to John Howard Yoder, Rowan Williams, Jean Vanier, L'Arche and Ella Baker (SNCC). Here the sectarian and local is the heart of the project for social and cultural transformation. See HAUERWAS, Stanley & COLES, Romand **Christianity, Democracy and the Radical Ordinary: Conversations between a Radical Democrat and a Christian** (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2008)

[353] See BONZO, J Matthew and STEVENS, Michael R **Wendell Berry and the Cultivation of Life: A Reader's Guide** (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2007) particularly chapters 8 and 9
[354] INCHAUSTI pp190-1
[355] Particularly BARROW, Simon *Redeeming Religion in the Public Square* Ekklesia July 24, 2006, downloaded 11 Jan 2009 http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/research/papers/0607barrow

[356] ROWLAND, Christopher *A kingdom, but not as we know it* (Ekklesia Features) http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/node/8020 (downloaded 21/11/08). p10
[357] See BARROW, Simon *Rethinking Religion in an open society* (Ekklesia Research Paper)

http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/node/6557 Downloaded 12 January 2009