The Contextualization of Cargo Cult Beliefs and the Christian Message in Irian Jaya, Indonesia

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Chapter I
The Problem of the Cargo Cults

Introduction To The Problem

The phenomenon of cargo cult movements in the region of the South Pacific known as Melanesia has captured the attention of scholars, journalists, anthropologists, missionaries and the general public since it was first observed and recorded in the mid 1800's. Many bizarre stories have surfaced from Westerners living in the region about the seemingly incoherent activity and ritualistic ceremonies performed by the native inhabitants of Melanesia. An early Western observation of a cargo cult recorded such unusual behavior that it was named "The Vailala Madness". One observer wrote, "On entering the main village of Arihava, I observed at one end, on a particularly clear space, a number of natives, approximately twenty, gesticulating and carrying out many antics which could only be likened to those of a lunatic" (F. E. Williams 1923, 11). The purpose of this behavior, it was later discovered, was to hasten the coming of a ship bringing back the spirits of the dead and large quantities of Western goods.

Essentially, cargo movements are; 1) millennary,

in the sense that they anticipate the coming of a *golden age* where sin, suffering and death have been removed and replaced with a utopian society on this earth, 2) messianic, in that the anticipated millennium will be brought about by the coming of a messiah-like figure, usually an ancestor, who is able to supernaturally rescue the people from whatever political-economic crisis in which they happen to be. These elements of a cargo cult utopian society are coupled with nativistic and culturally specific beliefs. If certain rituals are performed or certain edicts are followed, the ancestors of that particular tribe or people group will return from the realm of the dead and usher in this *golden age*.

Although the term *cargo cult* is unique to Melanesia, the phenomenon of this type of movement spans the globe. As Kenelm Burridge observed, "Cargo cults compare most directly with the Ghost Dance cults of North America and the prophetist movements among African peoples" (Burridge 1960, xv). It appears that the term *messianism* is most frequently used in America; *prohetism* is the current word in Africa, along with Melanesia by certain Roman Catholic writers (Kamma 1972, 232). Brian Schwarz, a Lutheran pastor and member of the Melanesian Institute, has estimated that

about 100 movements have occurred in South America with a similar number in North America. Around 500 movements have been noted in the Philippines, 200 in Korea, and isolated examples have been reported from India, Burma and South East Asia. By far the greatest numbers have occurred in Africa, with estimates which go as high as 10,000 movements (Schwarz 1982, 232).

A distinctive of the several hundred movements which have been known to occur in Melanesia is seen in the expectation of the participants to receive material goods. This is why these movements have been described as being cargo cults. The term *cargo* as used in cargo cults comes from the Pidgin English word *kago* and means material wealth from a Western origin (Oosterwal 1967, 469). A more application-oriented definition of the word as practiced by the cultists themselves would more accurately define material wealth to include; food, clothing, valuable goods, economic development, money, technological advancements, political freedom, knowledge, peace, social justice or any and everything which is viewed as needful to live a happy and harmonious life. All of these items the Western, developed nations possess in abundance but are perceived to be lacking in Melanesia.

Although material goods are involved with most of these movements, cargo is by no means the only objective of the movement. Freerk Kamma, having done extensive research among the cargo cults of the Biak-Numfoor people explained:

> Quite apart from the derogatory meaning it (cargo cult) has acquired the term is incorrect. There is no cult of Western goods. The cargo the ships are to bring is no more than part of the expectation, it is not the cargo but the ancestors that are worshipped (Kamma, 238).

The key factor of the movements observed in Melanesia is the return of a messiah-like ancestor who will bring with him what the people desire. The desires of one tribe may differ with those of another, which would include either one, all or any combination of; material goods, political freedom, economic freedom, moral renewal, tribal status and security. The objective of the tribe to attain one or more of these virtues is played upon by members of the society who claim to have received, by some supernatural means, the way to achieve or attain their millennial rewards. This emerging prophet conveys the requirements which must be followed or performed for attaining what is desired to the people who then must act upon them. If what the prophet promised does not occur, then the movement dies out and the people wait for the next prophet to emerge.

Since Christianity has been introduced to the region of the Pacific Islands, many of the cargo cults have absorbed the messianic and millennial themes found in the Bible. Bob Lenz wrote, " In most movements, the native culture has admitted elements from two or more outside cultures or bodies of belief which have had sufficient influence to change the people's way of life" (Lenz 1988, 4). The results of this outside influence has produced a unique form of cargo cults adopting the trappings of the Christian faith. Some of the manifestations of this belief seem rather bizarre or unusual from the perspective of a foreign cultural observer. One movement, recorded by John Strelan, which illustrates these tendencies occurred in February of 1984 in Mamberamo Tenggah, Irian Jaya. A young man in the village of Papasena was told by some spirits that Jesus was ready to come back and bring independence and freedom to Irian Jaya along with great wealth for all the people. He was further instructed by Jesus himself that everyone, without exception, was to: 1) publicly confess all sins, 2) do no hunting in the morning hours, 3) keep all grave sights immaculately clean, 4) drink a specially prepared "holy water" and 5) be baptized by a Western missionary. If all these injunctions were followed, then in just a few

days unspeakable wealth, which is now only enjoyed by their ancestors and Westerners, would pour out of the graves. A mock radio transmitter was built at the graves to receive further word from the spirits about the coming of this great wealth. The church became alive with activity as hundreds stepped forward to confess their sins and be baptized (Strelan 1989, 42-44). Although to this day the people have received no wealth, the hope remains that if they confess their sins and are baptized as well as keeping the other stipulations, one day it will come.

These types of beliefs are easily spurned by the Westerner who has learned to separate the empirical world from the spiritual one. Separation of the natural, physical world and the spiritual world does not exist, however, for the majority of Melanesians. In approaching a problem of this kind it must first be understood that no amount of empirical evidence will persuade a cargo cultist to adopt a more orthodox faith. Peter Worsley observed that all events are held to constitute fractional symbolic confirmations of the wider cosmic belief (Worsley 1968, xix). Any unusual happening, war or local tragedy is interpreted to be a confirmation of the syncretistic belief. The cultists in Mamberamo Tenggah later received confirmation of

their belief when a missionary conducted a funeral for a child who had recently died. In his closing remarks he asked the people to make sure to keep the grave yard neat and clean. This was interpreted as a confirmation of the original account and that the missionary already knew about it (Strelan, 41).

The beliefs seen in the cargo cult movements are based on generalized and sketchy information which neither can be proven nor denied but can be clarified and confirmed. It is this facet of the cargoist's belief system that has allowed for the contextualization of the gospel message to proceed beyond the initial stages. In so far as the gospel of Christ relates to and confirms a cargoist's beliefs, it is accepted and contextualized into his overall belief system. The cargoist, like all of mankind, is searching for something that can provide meaning and purpose in life. The issues involve bringing order to the experiences of life. Metaphysical and epistemological questions dealing with such issues as, how things came into being and what causes death need rational answers from this particular societies world view. The search for meaning is not a new one; it is the common theme of religion. The questions that must be answered by the searcher are: 1) Who or what do you

turn to in order to find answers to these foundational questions? and 2) What method or ritual best assures positive results? The answers to these questions are unclear and made up of myths combined with actual current events as well as dreams and visions for the cargo cultist. It is the responsibility of the Church of Jesus Christ to provide clear answers to the questions that effect the search for salvation among the cargo cult societies found in Melanesia.

Statement Of The Problem

The *who* and *what* questions stated above have been answered by Western missionaries who have proclaimed the gospel of Christ in Irian Jaya. The cargo cults, like other religions, are centered around man's attempts to attain his own salvation through his efforts which satisfy either ancestors or the Sacred/God. The difference in the message as proclaimed by evangelical Western missionaries is that it is not man nor his efforts that determine salvation but God and grace. However, there is reason to question if the understanding of the Church in Irian Jaya is the same as the perception of the Western missionaries. The question arises and deserves

investigation because of the prevalence and practice of cargo cults along with Christianity in this region.

The problem that is observed in the Christian Church in Irian Jaya is the contextualization of two belief systems. One side of the context is the socio-economic and religious system of the cargo cultist which stem from an animistic world view. The other context has been brought by Western society with its distinctive dualistic world view encased in the Christian message (Figure 1).

The contextualization itself is not the problem here; this is an expected process. The problem is determining which stage of the contextualization process the Church is presently in. This research will attempt to identify areas in which the Church in Irian Jaya is involved in the contextualization process. It is hoped that with a definition and understanding of the contextualization process that is occurring, evaluations can be made as to the validity and acceptability of these emerging beliefs.

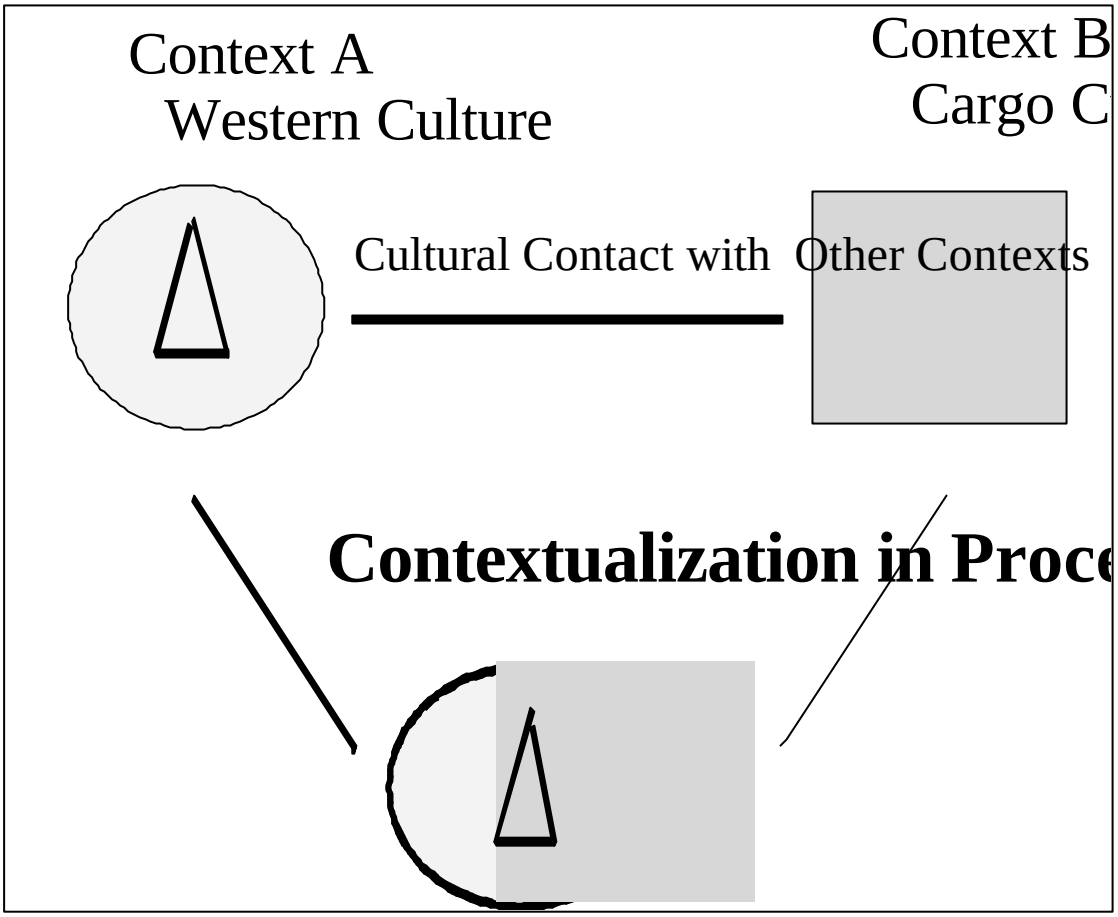


Figure 1

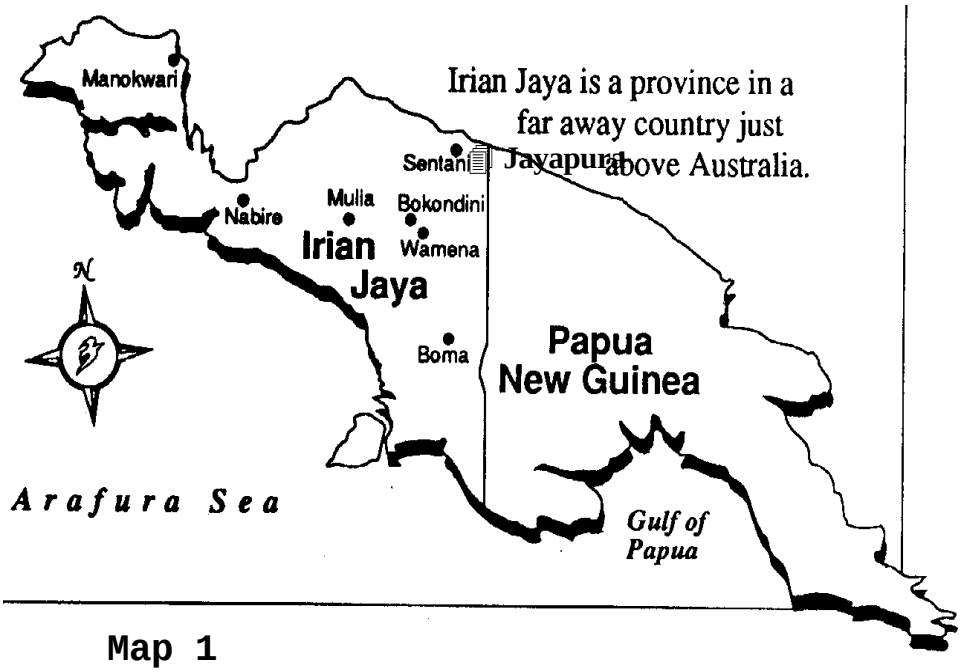
Background To The Problem

Area and Geography

The Republic of Indonesia is an archipelago nation of more than 13,500 islands extending for 3,000 miles along the equator from Southeast Asia to Australia. This nation covers approximately 788,425 square miles. New Guinea (the island of which Irian Jaya constitutes the entire western half) is part of this system. Irian Jaya, formerly called West Irian, is one of the largest

islands of the Indonesian archipelago measuring 264,000 square miles. The entire island of New Guinea is approximately 1500 miles long and five hundred miles wide.

Capitol of Province: Jayapura



Map 1

People

The people of Irian Jaya are largely Papuan, predominately Malay stock, including many related but distinct cultural and linguistic groups. It is estimated that there are about 250 tribes with about the same number of distinct languages, many of which have never been reduced to writing. Many of these tribal people are living in a stone age culture;

primitive, illiterate and superstitious. The population of the island is approximately 2,000,000.

Living conditions vary greatly from region to region with the greatest difference seen between coastal people and interior people. A typical coastal home is made from cement block with a dirt or cement floor and covered with corrugated zinc roofing. Living arrangements for coastal dwellers vary but the norm is a single family home. The single family usually includes children and their spouses with children.

Interior living conditions reflect the natural environment more since most homes are built from materials available in the jungle. A typical home in the interior Bird's Head of Irian Jaya is raised off the ground by poles. The floor and walls are built from split bamboo, the walls sometimes are covered with tree bark. The roofing material of choice is corrugated zinc, but when not available tree bark or thatch is used. Communal living is more the norm than single family dwelling. It is common to have women and children sleep separately from the men of the village.

Government

Irian Jaya is the far eastern province of Indonesia. The country's capitol is in Jakarta, West

Java. Elections for a president are held every five years. Citizens choose a party for which to vote and the elected party then appoints a president. The military is quite powerful which makes for more of a "guided" democracy.

Religion

Harmony and ecumenicalism are the key words in understanding religion in Indonesia. The government ideology of "pancasila" or the five principles strongly encourages cooperation among religious groups After the attempted communist coup in 1965 the government declared that all citizens need to have a religion. The acceptable choices were; Islam 87%, Hinduism 1.9%, Buddhist 1% and Christianity 9.6%.

The island of Irian Jaya, however, is mainly animist and Christian. Statistics for animists are sketchy and include those who would also classify themselves as Christians but 83% of the populace claim to be adherents to Christianity, 60% Protestant and 23% Catholic. The recent influx of transmigrants from Java and other islands has increased the number of Islamic followers on the island to about 16%. Irian Jaya is one of only two provinces in Indonesia with a majority Christian population.

Language

The official language is Indonesian. This is the language of commerce and education. However, in the villages and homes, each tribe continues to speak its own dialect. There are about 250 mutually unintelligible languages or dialects in Irian Jaya.

Brief History of Indonesia

From the 7th to the 12th centuries Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam were introduced to the people of this archipelago. Islam was the last introduced and has had the strongest hold up until the present.

The Portuguese established a basis of trade in these islands but were soon conquered by the Dutch in 1602. It did not take long for the Dutch to establish themselves as rulers over these islands, a position they held for more than 300 years. Through the development of the Dutch, the Netherlands East Indies, as they were called, proved to be one of the world's richest colonial possessions.

Indonesians themselves began to move toward independence from Dutch control between the two World Wars. At the close of World War II, a Japanese occupation of Indonesia for three years triggered the

Nationalist Movement. Indonesians revolted; three days after the Japanese surrendered, a small group of Indonesians led by Sukarno established the Republic of Indonesia. The date was August 17, 1945. The Dutch tried to regain control but failed, and in 1949, the Republic of Indonesia became the 60th member of the United Nations.

Irian Jaya, however, was still ruled by the Dutch government. West Irian continued under their rule until 1961. After years of negotiation, talks broke down and fighting began. The Dutch were eventually defeated and on May 1, 1963 an agreement of transfer was reached. "Included in the agreement was the promise of a plebiscite in 1969 to determine the wishes of the people of New Guinea"(Gregory, 1976, p. 58) This had a significant effect on the church in Irian Jaya in that growth was generally stifled from 1965 to 1969. The primary cause for the setback was this "Act of Free Choice" which caused rebellion by several people groups. Don Gregory wrote concerning this, saying, "Beginning in 1965 and lasting approximately five years, mountain people living in the outskirts of Manokwari rose up in armed rebellion against the Indonesian rule" (Gregory, 1976, p. 58). Under United Nations supervision, the Act of Free Choice was

confirmed and Irian Jaya became a recognized part of Indonesia that same year, 1969.

Not only was 1965 an unstable time for Irian Jaya, but also for the rest of the nation of Indonesia. On October first of that year, Indonesia underwent a radical change in its history. On this date, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) attempted a coup d'etat which resulted in a bloody civil war. The rebellion was finally put down but not without the deaths of hundreds of thousands of PKI activists. In March of 1967 the People's Consultative Assembly voted Sukarno out of power (whose political alliances kindled the coup) and named General Suharto as president of Indonesia. The emotions created by this coup still persist today.

The people of Indonesia and specifically in this study Irian Jaya can never be divorced from their history. To consider social order and structure in an ethnographic report, it is imperative that a foundation of history be laid down. We will understand much clearer the implications of the changes occurring in this corner of the world and of the cargo cults which have emerged having been exposed to this brief history.

History of Cargoism in Irian Jaya

The cargo cults of Melanesia date back before the first arrival of Europeans to the region. Although no documented accounts of these movements existed until the mid 1800's, there is evidence that great value was placed on items of foreign origin before there was any contact with the West, and that there existed the belief that shiploads of these valuables would be brought by a messianic type figure in the culture (Kamma 1972 , 9; Oosterwal 1973, 473).

The Island of New Guinea, whose western half is Irian Jaya, was first seen by Europeans in 1512 when it was sighted by Portuguese explorers Antonio d' Abreu and Francisco Serrano. The Portuguese were followed by the Spanish explorer Inigo di Retes, who named the island *Nueva Guinea* in June of 1545.

Next on the scene were the Dutch. Captain Willem Schouten, along with Jacob le Maire, sailed along the north coast of Irian Jaya in 1616. They reported finding Chinese porcelain and amber colored beads made from Indian corals (Kamma 1972, 9). Although it is not known the exact date that the indigenous people of Irian Jaya first obtained these valuable foreign possessions, these objects began to play an important role in the economy of the people. Kamma explained

that, "In the course of time the number and variety of these valuables of foreign origin multiplied. Gongs and copper ware, china, earthenware, beads, lengths of red and blue cotton, hatchets and iron bars were the most important" (Kamma 1972, 9). In Irian Jaya today ancient porcelain and other artifacts including cannons from the 15th and 16th Centuries are kept as priceless heirlooms and used in the negotiation of the bride price. It is not unusual that the indigenous people of Irian Jaya would place a high value on ancient artifacts. Westerners, likewise, place great value on items from the past. The difference may be found in the expectation of the Irianese, for instance, that more of these possessions will come from their ancestors in supernatural ways.

The oldest recorded occurrence of a cargo cult movement took place among the Biak people in Irian Jaya. A publication dated January 1854 referring to the Biak figure Manseren Manggundi read, "He is expected to return someday to found an earthly kingdom of plenty" (Kamma 1972, 105). This obscure mention of the expectation of the return of a messianic figure was simply the first recorded occurrence. Kamma documented 45 such movement which occurred among the Biak people from 1855 to 1967 (Kamma 1972).

The response of missionaries to these cargo cult movements has varied greatly. The traditional response to the mythical-magic religions and practices of the indigenous people of Irian Jaya has been negative. The practices were considered erroneous and the participants heathen, who were condemned to hell unless they professed Christ and joined the Church. The goal of the missionary was to convert the lost using any means available at his or her disposal. In those early days of missions, missionaries who tried to understand the culture were met with disdain and rebuke by governing boards since they were not relying on the Holy Spirit for the conversion of the lost (Whiteman 1984, vii; Pentecost 1982, 9). Christianity became shrouded in Western idioms and culture which made it virtually impossible to distinguish between it and the colonialist's mentality of that era. In fact, colonialists and missionaries often went together. When the colonialists left, the missionary stayed on, but the imperialistic method of conversion remained the same.

Cargo and Conversion

Early missionaries were known to use the cargoistic tendencies of the people they encountered to

entice them into the church. R. P. Gilson recorded one such enticement made in a Samoan village by John Williams from the London Missionary Society in the July of 1830. Upon arrival in Sapapali'i, "...He proceeded to tell the people that the ship was a *va'a lotu*, a ship of religion and prayer. If the Samoans would accept Christianity, he said, it would ensure peace among them and in its wake would come vessels carrying an abundance of goods, which would prove that Jehovah was indeed the most powerful of the gods" (Gilson 1970, 69). It is not surprising, then, that there was great *success* on the part of the London Missionary Society in the Samoan Islands as they used the millennary and messianic beliefs of the people to bring them into the church.

Christianity held the monopoly on religious truth and experience which was so closely related to the missionary's own culture that it was indistinguishable from the message he proclaimed. As Erik Cohen has put it, "Conversion of the natives was expected to involve a total religious and cosmological reorientation" (Cohen 1990, 4). Whether planned or not, becoming Christian meant becoming Western and adopting a Western form of Christianity.

Critics of missionaries both past and present fail to realize that change is inevitable when two contexts meet-- whether the contexts be religious or cultural or both. Conversion, which is meant to initiate a change of belief about who Jesus Christ is, is a significant part of the Christian message. This is not said in defense of inappropriate tactics and strategies used in the name of Christ for the propagation of Christianity throughout the centuries. Conversion, however, by its very nature does require change. It would be naive to think that the introduction of new ideas would not bring change of some kind to a culture and society. Whenever two people come together there is an exchange--and change--that occurs. The gospel of Jesus Christ does bring change. Jesus' message of repentance was the basic requirement that followed the reality of an eschatological kingdom found in His person (Mark 1:15; Matthew 4:17). His message began the most radical transformation in human history and it should not be surprising that His followers also are conveyors of change.

The concept which Jesus presented to the religious leader Nicodemus of being *born again* implies a complete and fundamental revamping of religious beliefs and practices (John 3). Jesus presents Himself as the

Messiah, the light of the world, the way, the truth and the life. The usual meaning of repentance (*metanoeo* and *metanoia*) as found in the writings of the New Testament is *change of mind* (Kittel, Friedrich, Bromiley 1985, 637). Conversion or repentance imply changing your mind about who Jesus is (Acts 3:19; 20:21) and it involves a break with and remorse over behavior which God views as unacceptable (II Corinthians 7:9-10; 12:21; Ephesians 4:22-24). These are the simple truths of the gospel message which require a change in thinking, because without the change there is no other means by which a person can enter into God's eschatological kingdom. Jesus commissioned His followers to proclaim this message which He preached to the whole world (Mt. 28:19-20).

Missionaries should not be faulted for carrying out the edict given to them by Jesus, nor should they apologize for the changes that occur in a culture and society because of that message. What missionaries should reckon with is an attitude which refuses to accept and learn from religious beliefs and practices of the indigenous people among whom they work. There are beliefs and practices in every culture which are acceptable to God and the missionary runs the risk of

being misunderstood and his message distorted if these beliefs and practices are indiscriminately abandoned.

Purpose Of Research On The Problem

Anyone who has lived in Melanesia or has read extensively about the region could not fail to come in contact with the cargo cults. Likewise, it is hard to ignore some of the striking similarities of the cargoist beliefs and the Christian message. Both are messianic and millenary in that they anticipate a coming king who will usher in an age of great prosperity on the earth where there is no sickness, suffering or death. It is these similarities which has led to charges of syncretism between cargo cultist's beliefs and Christianity. It has further been charged that the Christian message has not only inspired cargoistic beliefs but has also been the perpetuating stimuli behind the movements (Kamma, 1972, 208; Lawrence 1964, 82,89-90; Oosterwal 1967 472). It is true that early missionaries did use the people's attraction to *cargo* as a means of conversion, but it seems to be equally true that they did not understand the significance of the message they preached to the peoples of Melanesia in terms of the similarity that existed between the gospel and the cargoist's belief.

To the cargoist, the great wealth that the missionary brought with him was evidence enough that his message was true. One native chief responded this way:

> Only look at the English people, they have strong beautiful clothes of various colors while we have only leaves, they have noble ships while we only have canoes... I therefore think that the God who gave them all these things must be good and that his religion must be superior to ours. If we receive this God and worship Him, He will in time give us these things as well...(Holmes 1980,478).

Missionaries and other Westerners have inspired the people of Melanesia and specifically Irian Jaya to change not only their religion but also their way of life. The purpose of this research is to gain some understanding as to how the change has occurred specifically with regards to what it means to be a Christian living in Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

Significance Of Research On The Problem

A significant question which all missionaries have to deal with relates to why people have responded to the Christian message as presented in a particular culture. This is especially true in the tribalistic, cargo cultist societies found in Irian Jaya. This is not to suggest that God is not capable of using His Word to make clear the message of salvation even

through inferior messengers but rather to point to the fact it is a concern when large numbers of people simultaneously convert to Christianity.

This has been the overwhelming norm in Melanesia. In the 1960's, for example, large people movements occurred in Irian Jaya, resulting in thousands of people converting to Christianity at the same time. Henry Block, one of the missionaries involved with a mass conversion among the Sougb tribe in Irian Jaya wrote, "Our overriding concern was that we dare not give them a false security in the thought that throwing away a fetish just automatically made them Christians" (Gregory 1976, 55). The burning of fetishes was symbolic of a particular tribe's break with old beliefs and practices. It was a common means used by missionaries to illustrate a commitment to Christ. The problem is when this or any symbolic gesture is made, is it a true indication of repentance and conversion as offered and explained by Jesus and subsequently offered through His apostles and ministers of the gospel? Are there any indications in a person's life that he has experienced a conversion in terms of what Jesus was offering? This issue has been wrestled with from the First Century on and is identified by the Apostles Paul, James and John as an issue of faith and works

(Romans 10:9; Ephesians 2:8-9; James 2:14-20; I John 2:3-11).

In Western Christianity, an acceptable way to define a person as a Christian is by his behavior and/or his belief. This, to be sure, is not the only way to define a Christian. However, it is a widely condoned practice which identifies certain behaviors and beliefs as being acceptable for Christians while other behaviors and beliefs would mark a person as a non-Christian. Examples of these behaviors and beliefs readily recognized by Christians in North America would be smoking and drinking, and the belief in the doctrine of the deity of Jesus Christ. This is not meant to be an exhaustive list of behaviors and beliefs but these do represent an activity (smoking and drinking) and a belief (the deity of Jesus Christ) which have been used to identify those who are Christians. Acceptance or rejection of these behaviors and beliefs could identify you as a Christian or non-Christian.

My purpose here is not to examine what the norms are in North America, but rather to examine and research what the significant factors are which not only identify a person as a Christian in Irian Jaya but

also identify commonly held beliefs and practices which have been contextualized into Christianity.

Chapter II
Literature Review

Introduction

Recently anthropologists have focused their attention on fundamental assumptions which underline specific cultural beliefs and practices. These assumptions or world views have a profound effect on cultural development and identity. One geographic area where anthropologist have always had an interest are the islands of Melanesia. This literature review will attempt to summarize some of the anthropological and sociological studies along with a sprinkling of some theological research which has been done in this part of the world.

> Then if anyone says to you, 'Behold here is the Christ,' or 'There He is,' do not believe him. For false Christs and false prophets will arise and will show great signs and wonders, so as to mislead, if possible, even the elect. Behold I have told you in advance (Matthew 24:23-24).

Christ's advanced warning of the plethora of messianic movements that would emerge in the then eschatological future reads like the latest review in a anthropological journal. The world has been inundated by sects, cults, isms and schisms too numerous to recite. Missionary anthropoligist Gottfried Oosterwal observed that, "hardly a week passes where somewhere

another prophet arises whose message of a soon coming "messiah" and the imminent destruction of the present world becomes the basis of a new messianic movement or religious awakening",(Oosterwal 1973, 7). Oosterwal's research of modern messianic movements in the last two or three decennia compiles an impressive list of thousands of movements with millions of followers.

Christian theologians and apologists have copious bibliographies relating to the major religions such as Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, etc., yet the schisms and isms of these major religions have received comparatively little attention. *Kebatinan*, which is an animistic form of Islam found in Indonesia, is rarely mentioned or dealt with by Christian theologians. However, the Muhammadiyah or Islamic missionary movement estimates that 75% of Muslims in this, the largest Muslim nation in the world, are followers of this animistic form of Islam (Asia Week May 4, 1986). The *Watawat ng' Lahi* movement in the Philippines is another example of widespread cultic activity which has captured the hearts of the people in the Philippines yet not seriously dealt with theologically. This cult anticipates the return of Jose Rizal who will descend on Mt. Makili and Mt. Banahaw to restore the Filipino

people to their rightful place among the nations of the world.

Cargo cults also fall into the category of the "less researched". There is no question by theologians and anthropologists alike that there is a religious aspect to the messianic movements known as cargo cults (Trompf 1991, Lawrence 1964). The contextualized religion of choice which is at least the facade of these cargo movements in Melanesia is Christianity. The preponderance of research done about this phenomenon *sui generis*, as Lawrence called it, falls squarely in the fields of anthropology and sociology. This is not necessarily because it is strictly an anthropological or sociological phenomenon but rather it seems few theologians have concerned themselves with these issues on a theological or missiological level.

There are some notable exceptions which represent seminal thinking in the theology of the cargo cults and other messianic movements in Melanesia, for example, the works of John Strelan, Gottfried Oosterwal and Friedrich Steinbauer (1978, 1967 & 1973, 1979). The majority, however, have been content to focus on the conclusions of anthropology and sociology. Eugene Nida wrote that these movements are the "grim evidence of a dying culture" and "the last agonies of a

disintegrating society which makes one final attempt to rally the past to solve the problem of the future" (Nida 1954, 177). Louis Luzbetak concurred by saying the cargo cults are, "traceable to frustration" and "generally a reaction against suppression" (Luzbetak 1963, 249). This does not suggest that Nida or Luzbetak are wrong in reaching anthropological and sociological conclusions concerning cargo cults. They are certainly not alone in doing so, but they have relied on the anthropological work of Ralph Linton and Anthony Wallace in forming their opinions (1943, 1956). The point is that there are also foundational religious reasons why cargo cults exist apart from culture clash, deprivation, oppression, colonialism, injustice and stress, which typify the anthropological and sociological responses to the cargoist mentality. Theology has an important role to play in understanding the cargoist, especially in relationship to the contextualization of the Christian message.

There are several overlays which will form the foundation of understanding messianic movements in general and specifically the cargo cults. Terminology and causation or interpretation are the issues relating to this foundation. The irony of the vast divergence of opinion regarding these issues is found in the fact

that the mythological base and progression of each movement has little variance. "When one reads a description of a new cult one always has the impression he has read it all before. A good description of one of the cults fits almost exactly any other even though it has occurred hundreds of miles away" (Oosterwal 1967, 470). There is a commonality of practice and yet a divergence of views. Perhaps the problem lies in the fact that no active participant in any cargo cult has ever bothered to analyze his own behavior and belief. This has been left up to the outside foreign (and primarily Western) cultural observer. It needs to be remembered that most of the literature available on religious movements in primal societies comes from a Western perspective.

Terminology of the Cargo Cults

The term *cargo cult* is one of many terms used to describe these Melanesian religious movements. Kamma listed forty-eight separate terms used in describing these movements which all characterize the same activity. In essence this is very typical of the movements themselves which have a common religious theme yet are different in their manifestations. Kamma

has twelve categories in which he has placed his forty-eight references:

1. *General Native*:

   nativistic movements

2. *Ritual*:

   nativistic cults, messianic cult, new cults, modern cults, religious movements

3. *Economic:*

   cargo cults, the cult of the secrets of wealth

4. *Eschatological*:

   messianic expectations, messiah movements, messiah expectations, adventism, messianism, messianic movements, millennialism

5. *Revivalistic*:

   religious revivalism, religious reversion, revived paganism

6. *Individualistic*:

   prophets, prohetism, prophetship, saviors, certain primitive steps towards prophetship

7. *Syncretistic*:

   syncretistic cults, mongrel religion, semi-heathen heretic religion, new pagan movements

8. *Sectarian*:

   fanaticism, religious fanaticism, Christian fanatics, sects

9. *Acculturative*:

the "europeanization" of the primitives, contra-acculturative movements

10. *New*:

new superstitions, new cults, new religions, new religious movements

11. *Reactionary and Political*:

native religious outbreaks, outbreaks of a quasi-religious nature, native reaction to white rule, the forerunners of nationalism

12. *Psychopathic*:

queer religious hysteria, fanaticism, religious delusions, religious mania, the Great Dream after the war, Vailala Madness (Kamma 1972, 231-232)

What the movements are called reflects a great deal on the background of the researcher and the point that is trying to be made through the research. The diversity seen in the terms used to describe these movements is evidence of the emic and etic problems of making ethnographic observations. Anthony Wallace described these movements as "revitalization movements" in which there is a deliberate effort on the part of the indigenous people to construct a more satisfying society (Wallace 1956, 268). Peter Lawrence's observations of cargo cult movements in the southern Madang District of Papua New Guinea illustrate the use of another term to describe these movements. Lawrence called the movements, "a rudimentary form of

revolutionary nationalism" (Lawrence 1964, 222). The questions that he asked at the beginning of his study reflect why he saw these movements as reactionary and political. The goals of his research were to ask and answer these questions: Why did the natives of the southern Madang District want cargo? Why did they believe they could get it largely by means of ritual? And what is the political significance of their attempt to do so?

For Weston La Barre the significance of these movements lies in the element of crisis which he believed was the causal factor. In such cases La Barre is looking for the underlying crisis which gave rise to the cult. Although La Barre's research is primarily among the Ghost Dances of Indians in North America, he does make comparisons with the cargo cults in Melanesia, and in doing so is looking for the significant crisis (La Barre 1972).

It is the "*significance*" question which drives for the conclusions. A theologian would ask: What is the theological significance of the cargo cults? An anthropologist would seek to find the anthropological significance of the cults. A social scientist would look for issues relating to societal change which occurs among cargo cultists. And so the list goes on,

creating what Kamma called a superficiality which makes it "impossible to formulate a general definition for these movements" (Kamma 1972, 231).

Despite Kamma's frustration, definitions have been made. The definitions are not multiform lines of explanation, nor could they be, yet all contribute to the base of understanding the movements. There simply is not a singular way to describe the multi-faceted, incomprehensibly complex nature of these kinds of movements. What appears to have happened with regard to research about the cargo cults is that the emphasis is put on the adventitious aspects of the movements specifically related to a particular field of study. This of course would explain the great variety of terminology used in describing them.

It is also quite possible that other researchers felt the way this researcher did when first encountering a cargo cult movement. The movement and beliefs appeared to be an anomaly, something so unusual that they defied immediate classification. However this may in fact be the case, cargo cults do not fit into any particular anthropological or sociological category or theological category but are indeed *sui generis*. It appears that the movements are more than just socio-political aspirations or economically

driven. They shape and encompass a believer's whole life, including his interests, ambitions, his religious beliefs and especially his view of the world; in short, they influence his whole culture and society. The Oxford English Dictionary defines religion as, "A state of life bound by monastic vows; ...recognition on the part of man of some higher or unseen power as having control of his destiny; ...action or conduct indicating a belief in, reverence for and desire to please a divine ruling power;...the exercise or practice of rites or observances implying this" (1962). The cargo cult is a state of life; it is a mentality which permeates other aspects of life and in that sense it is a religion. The forty-eight terms identified by Kamma which characterize certain aspects of the movements simply illustrate that indeed the movements penetrate all of life for the cargo cultist.

Causation and Interpretation of the Cargo Cults

For the purposes of this research the term *cargo cult* will be used as the primary means of identifying the movements. There is a danger of being misunderstood in using this term since it is immediately identified with economic and materialistic causes. Cargo, as defined earlier, is more than simply

material goods. A more application-oriented definition of the word as practiced by the cultists themselves would more accurately define material goods to include: food, clothing, valuable goods, economic development, money, technological advancements, political freedom, knowledge, peace, social justice, or any and everything which is viewed as needful to live a happy and harmonious life. *Cargo cult*, as a term to define the movements, is chosen simply because in Melanesia the aspect of receiving cargo in some form or another is present in ninety percent of the movements (Steinbauer 1979, 195).

To answer the question of why cargo cults occur would, as Kenelm Burridge has observed, "entail raising profound metaphysical issues" (Burridge 1960, 246). Kamma has attempted to put the movements, or at least the terminology used to describe the movements, into twelve rather cumbersome and repetitive categories. This actually is helpful in gaining a broad understanding of the development of the causal factors of the movements but lacks organization and definition. Kamma stated what the movements have been called and then attempted to place them in categories. This seems to be what led to his frustration in dealing with the cults. He could find no real consensus as he warily

circles from term to term. Narrowing the categories in the development of the causal factors is of prime concern in wading through the individual hypotheses and research specific literature. Most writers are content to put forth their particular view regarding the causal factors.

There are some eclectic approaches (Oosterwal 1973, Strelan 1978, Steinbauer 1979, Trompf 1991) which attempt to more narrowly define and categorize the available material. Oosterwal presented an evaluation of various messianic movements from a theological perspective. Drawing on the more individualistic approaches of Lanternari (liberation movements), Lawrence (nationalistic movements), La Barre (crisis cult), Linton (nativistic movements) and Wallace (revitalization movements), he attempted to find the normative cause.

Oosterwal asked perhaps the most foundational question in seeking to synthesize the material: "Why do different crises, political and economic, psychological and religious, external and internal, individual and social, in their complexity and large variety of circumstances, precipitate the same revelation, the same messianic movement?" (Oosterwal 1973, 13). Oosterwal found his answer in a causative

factor which transcends all human factors put forth by the various sciences. He said that, "Ultimately, the prophetic revelations and messianic movements are a problem of theology" (Oosterwal 1973, 13). Oosterwal himself could be accused of simply adding to the terminology by calling the movements *theological movements* but his approach is one which is looking for the unifying factor amidst the many distinctions and dichotomies already present.

Friedrich Steinbauer has done extensive research into the causal factors of Melanesian cargo cults beginning first with his doctoral thesis, followed by a book on Melanesian cargo cults. What Steinbauer has done is classify again the copious data available about the cargo cults into categories. His classifications are somewhat more manageable than the twelve categories suggested by Kamma. Steinbauer identified five categories or classifications which are:

1. Socio-political movements:

   caused by acculturation and cultural contact related problems.

2. Christian-ethical movements:

   produced by the world view of a particular group and related to the problem of syncretism.

3. Cultural-historical movements:

the result of cultural tendencies and heritage.

4. National-economic movements:

inspired by political and economic conditions.

5. Synoptic movements:

resulting from a combination of the four factors above.

(Steinbauer 1979, 102)

Using Steinbauer's motif, each of the categories may be considered representative of a particular profession or interest.

Socio-political Interpretation

Those who could be identified as defining the movements as socio-political movements are primarily government officials. From this perspective the cargo cults are seen as a hindrance to peace and order in the society and either need to be removed or suppressed. Explanation for the cults and ways to avert cultic activity center upon maintaining order. Government anthropologists like F. E. Williams in New Guinea understood that the loss of traditional tribal values and customs because of new mores being introduced resulted in a feeling of inferiority which was manifested in a defensiveness towards Westerners.

Williams sought to persuade government officials to rekindle traditional tribal and cultural activities to alleviate this loss (Williams 1923). The manifestation of the unusual activity associated with the cults was considered the native attempt of reestablishing traditional native values and rejecting the Westerner. Often the movements took on a nationalistic or revolutionary tone which some colonial governments chose to suppress by force. Lanternari spoke specifically of this kind of suppression and can also be placed in this category as the title of his book, *The Religion of the Oppressed*, seems to suggest. Lanternari viewed the cargo cults as primarily being, "...the product of an agrarian society's reaction to an alien culture" (Lanternari 1963, 185). The socio-political disorganization of traditional Melanesian societies brought on by slavery, colonialization, economic and social exploitation, political and social domination, migration and simple cultural diversity which was not previously known are the mitigating factors behind the cargo cults, from Lanternari's perspective. His contention was that the movements are the expression of oppressed and dissatisfied people who have not been able to withstand the shock of sudden contact with another culture.

Kenelm Burridge has contributed significantly to the understanding of cargo cults from a socio-political premise. His books *Mambu* (1960) and *New Heaven, New Earth* (1969) outline the struggle of Melanesian man to gain a measure of human dignity, along with economic and social equality. From Burridge's perspective, Melanesians seek to create a "new man" who is capable of meeting the needs of changing times and create a "new society" which will be just and meet the needs, hopes, and aspirations of the people. This was the political platform of the charismatic leader Mambu, a Roman Catholic alter boy from the Kanakas tribe in Papua New Guinea. According to Burridge, the need for a new man and a new society occurs as a result of disillusionment with current levels of achievement. This is particularly true as comparisons are made with the Melanesian's own socio-economic condition and that of the Westerner. It was a humbling experience for Melanesians to take orders from white men, which for the Melanesian implied moral dominance. The old man was not sufficient to meet the new challenges thrust upon him by the cultural invader, thus a new man was needed to meet that challenge. The new man took many forms, including turning to Christianity in order to

eradicate the effects of past sins and hopefully learn the secret of success and access to material wealth.

In like manner, the many development projects, government programs and business ventures were undergirded with millennial expectations. These unrealistic expectations were never realized and paved the way for men like Mambu to build his own cargoistic society. The government and mission perception of this activity was that Mambu was propagating a rebellion. Burridge perceived it as not so much a threat to the government and mission as an expression of the people to find an integral place in the scheme of things. What Mambu and others were seeking was full acceptance as human beings and equality along with full access to the means to produce and obtain material goods.

Christian-ethical Interpretation

The Christian-ethical approach is primarily represented by missionaries. There are some distinctions which need to be made when speaking of the Christian-ethical interpretation of these movements. That is, that there are missionary anthropologists like Nida and Luzbetak who could be listed under this category because of their distinctively Christian perspective of the social sciences, but in actuality

they have adopted a more social-political or cultural-historical point of view regarding the cargo cults. The Christian-ethicalist would view the movements as resulting from man's in general, and Melanesian man's in particular, desire for a fulfilled and happy life both now and in the hereafter, which has gone unrealized because of uncontrollable events in the past. Strelan expressed it this way:

> Cargo cults are the evidence of the existence of an awareness that man's present condition is not what it could be or should be, and that things were not always as they are now. The reason for this situation is that in the mythical past, Melanesian man made certain decisions and performed certain actions which altered his status and made him inferior to other men, and deprived him of the means and opportunity to attain that desirable condition, known in theological language as, 'salvation' (Strelan 1978, 67).

The cosmology of the Melanesian would suggest that the way for him to restore his lost position and happiness would be through the mystical and magical powers which are ever present around him. Their 'search for salvation', as Strelan would say, is found in attempts to control these spiritual forces around them through these mystical and magical means. The arrival of Westerners and with them vast quantities of material goods and apparent supernatural powers made it evident that the white man had gained the secret of

obtaining salvation in the present world and in the world to come by virtue of his great wealth.

Herman Strauss echoed this perspective when he said that Melanesians could not be certain that the supernatural powers of their traditional religion were strong enough to bring about the long anticipated Golden Age. Melanesians turned to Christ because it was believed that the *parousia* would usher in the Golden Age for them (Strauss 1970, 140-157). This view sees the cargo cults as a syncretistic movement combining the traditional religion of the tribal people of Melanesia with the Christian message. Strauss thought that the syncretism had led to a distortion of the biblical view of man. The solution to this spiritual confusion can only be found by returning to a Christian view of man. Strelan agreed that the cargo cults are a quest for man's identity and essentially anthropocentric in their tendencies but not necessarily individualistic. The rituals and worship of cargo cultists are primarily directed towards ancestors and always socio-centric (Strelan 1978, 67). Strelan's thesis is that, "...Cargo cults are serious attempts to respond to deep rooted imperatives in Melanesian culture. They are external, ritualistic expressions of genuinely indigenous religious beliefs and hopes which

existed long before the arrival of the gospel" (Strelan 1978, 11). The emphasis of both Strauss and Strelan is based on the belief that the cargo cults are not necessarily the result of the introduction of Western culture and religion upon primal, tribal Melanesian man but rather are part of his cosmology. The irrational behavior often associated with the cargo cults is Western man's perception, not the cargoist's.

Understanding and, if possible, evaluating these beliefs is, however, a major difficulty. As Trompf has observed, "It is now eminently clear that accurate generalizations about Melanesian religions are very difficult to make; it is becoming more palpable that anyone wishing to assess these religions has to first gauge the effect of over one hundred years of prejudice and ethnocentricities" (Trompf 1991, 10). The issue that Trompf has raised is that early contact with the cargo cults by explorers, government officials and anthropologists generally concluded that the chaotic nature of the cults led them to believe that these people, "...did not ever possess anything fine enough to be called a religion" (Trompf 1991, 11). What Strelan, Strauss, Oosterwal, Steinbauer and Trompf have concluded is that the cargo cults are a religion or rather *the* religion of Melanesia. This is not without

foundation; in fact, most ethnographic research also concludes that there is a deep religious connection with the movements.

Cultural-historical Interpretation

The cultural-historical view of these movements is representative of the conclusions of anthropologists and ethnologists. There is a striking similarity between this interpretation and the socio-political view primarily because many of the government officials who reported on the early cargo cult movements in Melanesia were themselves anthropologists like F.E. Williams. The distinctive of the cultural-historical position is that it defines these movements as a kind of disequilibrium which occurred at the point of contact with a different culture. This somewhat disruptive kind of cross-cultural contact in turn drove the native population back to their roots to re-establish the value and significance of their society. The socio-political perspective is that the movements were revolutionary in nature, striving to be independent of Western rule. Both points of view actually see the same causal factors, that of cultural confrontation, but with having different results.

Early anthropologists like Ralph Linton called the movements "nativistic" and categorized them as an attempt by members of the society to safeguard their cultural values which were being threatened and or dying as a result of contact with a domineering foreign culture (Linton 1943). This seems to be the basic thesis which is repeated and further developed by other anthropologists. Anthony Wallace was one that built on Linton's work by defining six stages that occur during the transformation or, as he called it, the revitalization of a culture. Wallace suggested that there is: (1) a time of reformulation or choosing a new life style, (2) a time of communication where there is an exchange of information regarding the new method of living, (3) a time of organization, (4) a time of adaptation, (5) a time of cultural transformation and (6) a time of routinization (Wallace 1956). These stages have been helpful in understanding the contextualization which occurs when two cultures interact. But like Linton, Wallace seems to use the cargo cults of Melanesia as examples which simply underscore particular anthropological suppositions. It wasn't until research done by men like Kamma (1972) and Lawrence (1964) that an indepth study of the cargo

cults was made from the cultural-historical perspective.

Kamma took a somewhat different approach than the standard definition of the cultural-historical position primarily in regard to the cause of cargoistic activity. However, his evaluation of the people in these movements of wanting to return to a historic utopia place him in this category. From Kamma's perspective as a missionary in the Radja Ampat area of Irian Jaya, Indonesia from 1932 to 1942, he concluded that:

> In a survey of the historical factors which could have influenced these movements, it is evident that in the first place the crisis arose from objective data: the geographic environment, sickness and death, but along with them the socio-economic factors of food and ceremonial exchange. At first contact with foreigners did not affect the movements (Kamma 1972, 277).

Kamma strongly discounts the idea that it was Western influence that caused the cargo cult movements. He does say, however, that later many of the positive achievements of Western technology were adopted by the Biak-Numfor people. It was the gap that existed between the ideal world as imagined by the people and told of in their mythology and the reality of life (suffering and death) that caused these people to

always reach back to their past to find meaning and significance in life. Mythology by its very nature must be able to support, stabilize and account for everything that exists. It is for this reason, Kamma suggested, that foreigners were mythologized and that the Christian message was also able to be incorporated or become points of contact for identification in the mythical sphere (Kamma 1972, 279). It was Kamma's view that Christianity was used as confirmation of the truths found in the ancient myths of the Biak-Numfor people and not the reverse. In like manner, other aspects of Western culture are evaluated and incorporated into their mythology. The confrontation with another culture and specifically here a Western culture did not seem to cause unusual cargoistic activity but was rather the normal means of the Irianese to handle such a crisis. Kamma would not actually speak of association with another culture as confrontation or crisis but in the final analysis this is what has occurred. The value of Kamma's research is his suggestion that such cultural confrontation was handled in a normal and acceptable way within the culture, similar to the crisis that was caused through sickness and death.

Peter Lawrence and his experience with the Papua New Guineans in the Madang district led him to conclude that the cargo cult movements there were based on the epistemology of the people. The Papuans, having observed major imbalances between their traditional culture, economy and politics and the culture, economy and politics of the West began to view themselves as inferior. Their value as a people and society had suffered a staggering blow which was most evident in the abundant material possessions of the white man as compared to the seemingly lack of any valuable possession on the part of the Melanesian. Lawrence explained:

> Motivation, or the natives' reasons for wanting Western goods, must be seen as their reaction to the main events of contact in terms of their traditional social values. These reasons were never constant. They varied according to whether the people thought that they were suffering privation and indignity or that they had some hope for improvement. Means, or the natives' conviction that they could obtain cargo almost exclusively by ritual, must be seen as their attempt to control the new situation by the same sorts of techniques as they had always had good cause to assume were effective in the old, very largely because they could not conceive any alternative (Lawrence 1964, 223-224).

In a society which is based on equivalence, reciprocity and ritual, as is typical of Melanesian society, equality of access to material wealth is

enjoyed by all members of society. The material possessions of the people not only have economic and practical value but are also symbols of relationships. Historically there was no equality between Westerners and their goods and the Melanesians and their goods. The reciprocal type relationship which was practiced and enjoyed by the people did not exist with the Westerner and where there was no reciprocal distribution of wealth there could be no harmonious relationships. In the thinking of the Melanesians, (as Lawrence envisioned it), then; if equality could not be achieved through reciprocity then the next viable solution was supernatural and mystical through various rituals.

In the same sense, then, the people are reaching into their past traditions to find answers for the problems they face today. In spite of the advancement of Melanesian society both politically and economically, which was largely due to the coming of Westerners, there was no revolution in the people's basic way of thinking. Lawrence made this observation: "Their experience in domestic service and on the plantations and gold fields rarely if ever gave them new economic values to take back to their villages. Very few of them had any understanding of the purpose

of the work they performed: the industrial value of copra, gold and other commodities they helped produce" (Lawrence 1964, 228).

The lack of comprehension of Western ways is really no measure of the inferiority of the cargo ideological system. It simply expresses that there is a difference of perspective. For Lawrence, the answer of meeting and overcoming the cargo ideology was to introduce social attitudes and ideas which are compatible with those of the West. He understood the economic development of Melanesia as the primary stimuli to accomplish this.

Economic Interpretation

All of the interpretations thus far have developed in them some form of economic motivation on the part of the people who are involved in cargo cult activity. It is difficult to separate the economic motivations from other more esoteric ones simply because in Melanesia "cargo" in some form or another is one of the anticipated outcomes of ninety percent of the movements. It is the sociologist who leans toward this kind of explanation for the existence of cargo cults and Peter Worsley perhaps stands out from the rest as being the most economically-oriented of the

interpreters of cargo cultism. Worsley contended that the movements are a reaction to the oppression and degradation experienced at the hand of foreign invaders. His perspective is developed following World War II at which time a large number of cargo cults emerged. Worsley perhaps carried the economic theme threaded throughout the cargo movements to extremes when he incorporated a Marxist philosophy in his writings. He has been highly criticized for this yet in the introduction of a later edition of his book he made these retractions:

> When I wrote of people desperate for some explanation of the irrational and unjust world in which they lived, desperate for a solution to their problems and for a faith to steer by, I meant a lot more than that men had economic motivations...This was indeed largely due to a Marxist orientation in which there were elements of determinism...from these I now dissent (Worsley 1968, lviii-lix).

Worsley has been the champion of the economic interpretation of the cargo cults and perhaps still is. The value of his view is that it has at least focused attention on the dehumanizing factors of cultural conflict of both colonialism and neo-colonialism as Worsley described in detail the devastation left by both the Japanese and Allied forces after World War II.

Synoptic Interpretation

The synoptic approach is not representative of a particular profession or field of study but rather denotes a neutral analysis of the problem of cargo cults and its interpretation. The goal of the researcher is to impartially review the data and piece together the causative factors behind these movements. The synoptic approach obviously could not have been utilized at the initial stages of researching the phenomenon of the cargo cults since the knowledge base about the cults would have been minimal or nonexistent. At present there are approximately 400 published works on cargo cults from nearly 150 writers. It is from this wealth of information that definite opinions have been established about the cargo cults. Friedrich Steinbauer was one of the initial researchers to make these codifications about the movements. He wrote:

> The problem has been looked at as an exotic curiosity for far too long and it has been treated accordingly. Either one saw expressions of a primitive culture, symptoms of defection from the Christian church, or the outgrowth of political revolutionary action in these movements. In many cases one hoped to remove the arising difficulty by suppression. For a long time one saw only symptoms without recognizing proper causes (Steinbauer 1979, 107).

The synoptic approach adopted by Steinbauer sought to analyze one hundred-eighty six cargo cults in

Melanesia and determine the characteristics of each of the movements. Steinbauer noted one hundred characteristics and by using what he calls a simple computation, came up with an average frequency percent of that characteristic's manifestation in any of the movements studied. His final analysis suggested that it was contact with Western cultures which led to the phenomenon of the cargo cults and that they are the legitimate expression of the Melanesians to cope with the resulting changes. Although Steinbauer classifies himself as a Christian-ethicalist, his conclusions are more closely related to the cultural-historical or socio-political interpretations.

Another researcher who has adopted the synoptic approach is Garry Trompf. He said, "We are now in a better position to assess the usefulness of earlier interpretations and to isolate those key issues and problems which require discussion and resolution" (Trompf 1991, 189). Trompf adopted the typical definition of the cargo cults, alluding to the fact that they are ritualistic attempts of the people to prepare for the coming of goods through mystical and magical means. He also expressed a deep concern that many have ignored the intrinsically religious or

spiritual nature of the cargo cults and suggested a new agenda for the evaluation of these movements.

> In the first place we must set a new agenda for the analysis of cargo cults in terms of the continuing influence of significant elements of traditional religions, elements which have a strong bearing on the relative degree of response to Christianity in particular and colonial intervention in general. In the second place, social scientists are going to have to shift out of those mindsets which disallow religion any explanatory function in the analysis of social change and broaden their concept of religion to incorporate aspects of social life which Westerners too often compartmentalize into non-religious spheres (Trompf 1991, 201-202).

Trompf hit on a major issue when discussing the cargo cults, which is that the movements are religious in nature. They are not primarily an anthropological or sociological problem which perhaps is why researchers who do not seriously consider religious and theological issues relating to the cargo cults have such difficulty in reaching conclusions about the nature of these movements.

Conclusion

In the final analysis virtually all researchers are eclectic in their interpretations. Only the very early observers did not have the benefit of multiple perspectives. At this stage of the research one can

not help but fall into the synoptic category by virtue of the great volume of literature available on cargo cult movements. The following table illustrates the progression which has occurred over the past 67 years.

Year	Socio-Political	Christian Ethical	Cultural Historic	Economic	Synoptic
1923	Williams				
1943			Linton		
1952			Kamma		
1954	Nida				
1956			Wallace		
1960	Burridge				
1963	Laternari		Luzbetak		
1964			Lawrence		
1967		Oosterwal		Worsley	
1969	LaBarre				
1970	Gilson	Strauss	Cochrane		
1971		Steinbaur	Long		
1972					
1973		Oosterwal			
1978		Strelan			
1979					Steinbaur
1980		Hayward			Holmes
1985			Gesch		Schwarz
1988			D'Arcy		Lenz
1989					Strelan
1991					Trompf

However, at this stage the field of opinion has narrowed still further. Kamma began with twelve categories and Steinbauer narrowed it to four, the fifth being the synoptic interpretation. Now, it can be said that there are two major views regarding the origin and manifestation of the cargo cults.

The first is that the cargo cults are primarily a reaction of the Melanesians contact with the West. The view could be called the *cultural conflict* interpretation. This perspective attributes as reactionary the behavior and beliefs of the cargo cultists. Reactionary in the sence that explainations needed to be give to explain the reality of a people and a culture that was different from their own. The normal way for a Melanesian to explain the unknown was through the cargo myth and this involved ritual behavior which is also seen in these cults. Often the western missionary found himself some how involved in the cargo cult movement even if he was unaware of it. The myth of Ataphapkon-Sawapacu from the Auyu and Sawi tribes presented in the following chapter illustrate how the coming of Dutch government and the coming of missionaries are incorperated into the myth as means of vailidating their existence.

The second view which emerges could be called the *religious conflict* interpretation. This is a conviction that cargo cults and beliefs are not necessarily the result of cultural conflict alone but are an expression of deep religious hopes and aspirations of Melanesian people. The difference between the ideal world as envisioned by the Melenesia and the reality of everyday life invoke religious questions which the cargo cultist attemps to answer through mythology. This is evident in the sin and salvation motif of cargo cult mythology. The "blessings" of the material world have become the standard for measuring success in the spiritual. Religious rituals are the key to unlocking the secrets of the ideal world. Rituals permeate every aspect of life for the cargo cultist in order to bring back some of the dignity lost because of preivious, ancestoral sin.

The cultural and religious conflicts observed in Irian Jaya today have expressed themselves in cargoistic tendencies such as certain ritual behavior associated with Christainity like healing, prophecy and visions. Cargo behavior is also observed in activities surrounding the dead. These activities and behaviors exhibit a rational which is decidedly cargoistic but

could not be classified as a cargo cult or a cargo cult movement. The final outcome is a modern society with values based in a cargoism.

Chapter III
Cargo Cult Mythology

Myths and legends form the basis of the cargo cult mentality and present an interesting view into the cosmos of the Irianese. The following four accounts present the myths of the Biak-Numfor tribe, the Hatam tribe, the Sougb tribe, and the Sawi/Auyu tribe. The Sawi and Auyu tribes are located on the south coast of Irian Jaya and the Biak-Numfor, Hatam and Sougb tribes occupy the area known as the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya. All of these myths have been obtained through personal interview and as the result of papers presented in a class on cargoism at the Erikson-Tritt Theological College in Irian Jaya taught by this author. For that reason the Hatam myth and the Sougb myth are in various stages of completeness, since previous to this they have not been written down but have been passed orally from one generation to the next. The Koreri myth from the Biak-Numfor tribe, on the other hand, has been recorded previously in a number of studies. For that reason the myth connected to this tribe is for the most part complete and accurate. The myth from the Sawi and Auyu tribes is a detailed account of their understanding of the origin of their tribe and to the

knowledge of this author has not been previously recorded.

This author is appreciative for the help of Daniel Sukan for information regarding the Koreri myth and to Boy Sayori for the Ukut-Kado myth. Yunus Saiba provided the information for the Tigomang myth and Ruben Kamur related the account of the Sawapacu-Ataphapkon myth.

Koreri
The Biak Cargo Cult Myth

Background of the Myth

Yawi Nushado or Mansar, which means old man, had a garden in the village of Sopen in the south of the island of Biak. One day as Mansar was in his garden he noticed the tell tale signs that a pig had uprooted some of the plants in the garden. This was disturbing to Mansar since he had worked hard to build a fence around his garden for the very purpose of keeping the pigs out. This happened several times to Mansar so he decided to inspect the fence to see exactly where the pig was entering his garden. To his surprise there appeared to be no evidence that the fence surrounding the garden had been tampered with or broken allowing the pig to enter. This greatly surprised Mansar.

The next evening Mansar carried his spear and hid in his garden in order to watch it all night long. In the early morning while it was still dark Mansar heard the sound of a pig uprooting and eating the plants in the garden. Mansar could not control himself any longer so he threw the spear in the direction of the noise and hit his target. To his amazement, however, the pig cried out in pain with the voice of a man and said, "Yamai" which means, "I will stop". When it was light, Mansar left his garden and began following the trail of the pig he had injured with his spear earlier. To his astonishment the trail that he was following was the footprints of a man with drops of blood scattered along the way.

Mansar continued to follow the trail and it finally led him to the entrance of a cave but there wasn't a single person in sight. Mansar entered the cave and began to follow the narrow path which led inside. After he had walked several steps he found his spear, but there was no blood on it. As he went deeper into the cave he began to hear voices, then shouts and the hearty laughter of people. In amazement Mansar looked around, then all of the sudden he heard a voice scoldingly say, "Hey, human where are you going and what are you looking for?"

Mansar became frightened and couldn't speak. The same voice he had heard said, "Take your spear and do as I command. Go back walking backwards and go home."

Mansar then answered, "I don't know the way to go to get to my home."

The voice responded, "Follow as I command, if not, you will slip and fall." So Mansar did exactly as he was told. The same voice then said, "Do you hear those voices and do you recognize them?"

Mansar replied, "I hear and recognize the voices which are singing of happiness, joy and peace." His eyes then were opened and he saw a large village which was very beautiful and in which only young people could be found. Mansar saw and knew them. Several of the people he recognized as his ancestors who had died a long time ago but now they had changed and where young again in this village. Their voices resounded of unspeakable happiness which cannot be expressed by men. For a moment Mansar just reveled in the voices which were so contented.

Then the voice he had heard earlier said, "Your time has not come yet and you may not stay here; because of that, go home! You are still part of the old world, the part of the world with the old skin. What you have just seen is Koreri. Now, take your

spear and go home." But Mansar was afraid to take his spear because a snake was laying across it and watching his spear.

Finally, after Mansar had returned home he began to think about Koreri and all that he had seen. Since his experience in the cave Mansar began to isolate himself from others in his village. As he would work in his garden he would reminisce and daydream about his experiences and the joy and happiness that he saw in the cave. In fact, Mansar spent so much time thinking about his experiences he neglected his own health. The result was that his body was covered in kaskado or armaker, a terrible skin diseases. So now Yawi Nushado became Manarmakeri.

Manarmakeri leaves Sopen

One day the son of the village chief was strolling down the beach with his bow and arrows when suddenly he saw a cassowary bird leaping out from the jungle and head toward the beach. The cassowary then perched on a piece of coral in the water. As the bird was sitting perched on the coral large fish began to be caught up under the wings of the cassowary. The bird then went back to the beach and began shaking his body and wings so that the fish the bird had caught started falling

out on the sand. A young girl the appeared from the jungle and she gathered up the fish that had collected on the shore. The girl then climbed on to the back of the cassowary bird and they both went back into the jungle.

When the son of the chief had watched these events transpire, he went back to the village and gathered together all the men both old and young. The chief's son asked the men to go and catch the cassowary bird along with the young girl because he wanted to make the girl become his wife. He offered his younger sister as a reward for anyone who could capture both the bird and the girl. Everyone in the village made a great effort to catch the bird and the girl but no one could succeed. Manarmakeri followed all the activity in the village of Sopen very closely and he knew that thus far no one was successful in the quest for the bird and the girl. Finally, Manarmakeri made it known that he too would now make an attempt to capture the cassowary bird and the girl which the chief's son so desired.

When the people in the village heard that Manarmakeri was also going to attempt to capture the bird and the girl they began to make fun of him and laugh at him saying, "If we who are young and strong failed to capture the bird and the girl how is it

possible that you, being old and full of kaskado and sickness, expect to succeed? It's just not possible."

Manarmakeri remained calm in spite of the teasing and separated himself from the others in the village in his quest. Manarmakeri then formulated a plan by himself. He hid deep in the jungle and waited not realizing that the other villagers had also begun to search for the bird and the girl at the same time. The place that Mansar had chosen as his hiding place turned out to be the most strategic since it faced the direction in which the cassowary bird and the girl were coming. With his magic spear (the one from the cave) Mansar jumped from his hiding place and tripped the cassowary bird which was running very fast with the girl on its back. Mansar was successful in capturing the girl and bringing her back to the village where he handed her over to the chief's son.

The young man, however, did not keep his promise. Instead of giving Mansar his younger sister as a reward he was given a pig. The pig actually was given to his family to be eaten as a "barapen". Mansar gave his family vegetables from his garden and then went back to work in his garden.

The family gathered firewood to roast the pig and gathered together pumpkins to eat as the vegetable.

When the pig and the vegetables were cooked and ready to eat, all the family and friends came and they finished every bit of it while Mansar was forgotten as he worked in his garden. He never even tasted the meal that was prepared because of his success in capturing the girl. Mansar was mad and he left his family and the village of Sopen.

The Journey of Manarmakeri

Mansar left Sopen and headed towards Maundori. His canoe was old and broken down and the wind was blowing hard from the south which forced him to go ashore at Maundori. There he made a small canoe with his magic spear. He also made a fish pond near the village with his magic spear. While he was in Maundori the dry season hit the village. The villagers complained about being out of water. Mansar saved everyone in the village when, with his magic spear, he made water come out of a coral rock. Today the spring is know as "war Manarmakeri".

Mansar continued his journey to the village of Samber. On the way he caught a big fish and brought it to a family in the village. The family completely ate the fish, not leaving even a single bite for the women of the house. This made Mansar angry and he left that

family and went to Mokmer. As he was traveling along he caught another big fish, like the one he caught before. He gave the fish to a family in Mokmer named Pandawankan. The same thing happened to him at this house as well. The fish was completely eaten with none left for the women of the house. Mansar felt as if he was being taken advantage of so he left there and went to Meoswundi. At Meoswundi he became known as a maker of coconut wine.

Manarmakeri and family at Wundi

One day Mansar's coconut wine was stolen. No one in the village or on the island of Wundi knew who would do such a terrible thing. The thievery happened several occasions. Mansar decided that he would stay and watch his coconut wine and then catch whoever was taking it. The first night Mansar stood guard at the bottom of the tree but he didn't find out who the culprit was. The next night he made a place for himself to sit up in the middle of the coconut tree. He stayed there the whole night but again was unsuccessful. The third night Mansar hid in the coconut palms at the top of the tree.

It turned out that the person who had been stealing and drinking his coconut wine was the morning

star. This time Mansar caught the culprit and swore not to let him go. Mansar said, "I will not let you go unless you give me something."

Finally the morning star gave in and told Mansar the secret of life, that is life after death. The morning star told Mansar to go the beach and wait for a beautiful girl from the village to swim in the ocean. While the girl was swimming Mansar was told to throw some bintanggur fruit into the water. Mansar did as he was instructed to do. The fruit floated in the water and finally reach the girl and touched her breast. This happened three times in a row.

Several days later the girl became pregnant. One month later Insoraki (the girl's name) gave birth to a baby boy and named him Manarbew which means "the Peace Maker". As the boy grew, he lamented and questioned about who his father was. Finally the girl's parents held a dancing party called "wor". Old and young alike were invited to come and dance at the wor. Mansar was not left out and he danced with his magical spear in one hand and held some leaves and grass in the other to shoo the flies away from his sores and kaskado. Mansar finally approached the place where Manarbew and his mother were sitting. All of the sudden Manarbew yelled out, "This is my father!" and he ran and hugged Mansar.

All of the villagers who were at the dance left. They were angry and disgusted at what they had seen and they left Wundi island. It was disgusting that an old man full of kaskado would marry the beautiful young girl named Insoraki. Now only Mansar, Manarbew and Insoraki along with one other fellow were left on the island.

The anger of the villagers was displayed in several ways. For instance, the villagers left Wundi island and went to Yobi island, which is north of Numfor. They filled in all the wells and springs. They destroyed all the canoes. They cut down all the coconut trees as well as other things. They did this so that Mansar and his family would die of hunger on Wundi island. After the departure from the island it was called "Meos Kobur Indi" or "the island which we left". The name then was shortened to become "Meos Wudi",or, Wundi island.

One day Manarbew was crying because he was hungry. "Go and eat your father's sores," his mother told him.

Manarbew told Mansar what his mother had said. Mansar answered, "Go in the house and you will find a lot of food." After he had eaten some of the food he brought a hand of bananas to his mother as proof that there really was food in Mansar's house. Still

Insoraki didn't believe that there was really food and she had to see it for herself. It turned out that it was true and every day they had more than enough to eat (skan ro mob oser).

Manarmakeri leaves Wundi island

One day Manarmakeri (the other name of Mansar or Yawi) set himself on fire. He jumped into the flames which were burning brightly and experienced a transformation. His skin changed and he became young, strong and handsome. When Manarmakeri arrived back home Manarbew told his mother that his father had now returned. "That's not your father. Your father is old and full of kaskado," Insoraki said. Manarbew kept insisting that this transformation was a secret his father had been keeping. At first Insoraki wouldn't believe it was true but later she believed. She then became angry and said, "Why didn't you do this earlier and show everyone in Wundi that you were not really an old man with kaskado? If they could have seen this they certainly would not have left us."

Mansar answered, "You have no reason to be upset. We are leaving this place as fast as we can in search of the villagers who left."

One day Mansar went to a beach and etched a picture of a very large canoe in the sand. The canoe was called "wai mansusu" which was a very large canoe used for war. Mansar stepped on the etching of the canoe in the sand and it became an actual canoe. After this Mansar got into the canoe and left Wundi island.

Mansar wasn't happy, however, with the canoe that he had made so he made another etching in the sand with a different shape which is called "wairon", that is, a canoe used especially to haul large quantities of food for long distances. But this kind of canoe didn't satisfy Mansar either because it was the type of canoe commonly used by the villagers at Wundi. The third canoe that Mansar made was a "karures", that is an medium-sized canoe just big enough for several people. This was the kind of canoe that Mansar and his family used to look for their relatives who had left them.

Mansar goes to Numfor

From Wundi they arrived at Krawi, which is on the north side of the island of Yapen and met up with their family members. Mansar sent word of their arrival to his parents in-law. They were told that if they would come to the beach where Mansar was and lay down in the sand, Mansar would cause his canoe to pass over the top

of them and they would be changed. (That is, they would become young again.) His relatives did not believe Mansar nor did they do what he wanted them to do. Their attitude made Mansar change his plans. He continued his journey to the west towards the island of Numfor.

The weather was hot and Manarbew asked his father if he would be allowed to go swimming at the beach. Manarmakeri threw a "poiru" rock, which is a piece of coral which rises out of the water. From that rock the island of Poiru was created which has very beautiful white sand beaches. This allowed Manarbew to play freely.

When Mansar arrived in Numfor he planted four coconut trees which became the following four families: Rumerpon, Rumansara, Anggardiffu and Rumberpur. These families were each lead by a "Fukawyan", which is the title given to the head of a village.

Manarmakeri's journey to Raja Ampat

Mansar stayed on the island of Numfor with his family for a long time. While he was there he promised to do many miracles for the villagers and meet their needs. All the villagers had to do was obey the commands given by Mansar. First, if someone was to die

there was to be no grieving or mourning since that person would be raised from the dead. Second, if there was a shortage of food they were not to make any sago or try to find food on Yobi Island because they were going to live having all they desired without working.

No one listened to or obeyed the commands given by Manarmakeri. When there was a death the villagers grieved and cried for their deceased friend. When there were food shortages they would go to Yobi Island to try and find food. The disobedience of the people on Numfor made Mansar very sad. He finally made the decision to leave Numfor and go to the West.

Manarbew was still playing on Poiru island so Mansar sent poisonous snakes to that island to scare Manarbew so that he would seek safety in his canoe. To this very day there are a lot of poisonous snakes on Poiru island.

From Numfor, Mansar went to Raja Ampat and then he sailed off in a westerly direction. Mansar promised to return after the seventh generation. He left several commands which were to be adhered to by his followers:

1. Do not eat any pork or pumpkin, because it was pork and pumpkins that made Manarmakeri leave Sopen.

2. Do not eat snakes or crabs because every animal that sheds its skin is related to the change process that occurred in Mansar's body when he changed and became a young man again.
3. Do not shed the blood of others. Wherever there is bloodshed there is not peace and if there is not peace it will delay the coming of Manarmakeri who will bring Koreri, ("kan ro mob oser", which literally means enjoying all luxury without working).
4. Build houses for those who will be resurrected by Manarmakeri.
5. Build storage houses for storing the food which Mansar will be bringing with him from the West.
6. Gather as much firewood as possible because before the day that Mansar returns there will be three days of darkness.

Bapa Ukut-Kado
The Hatam Cargo Cult Myth

Origin of the Myth

The story began the first time somewhere around Wasior about a man named Ukut or Kado which means thick-skinned or kaskado. Kado had a special enaw tree

which he cared for and which produced milk. One day he went to check the bamboo container used to collect the milk from the enaw tree and someone had stolen it. Kado didn't know who had taken his milk from the enaw tree.

Kado Gains the Secret of Etrenal Life

Kado decided that he would hide himself in the leaves of the tree to wait and watch for the culprit to come by and steal his milk. Kado heard the leaves start to rustle in the tree and he saw what appeared to be an angel, all white, climbing down the enaw tree. The angel-like person didn't see Kado hiding in the tree so he took the bamboo container filled with milk from the enaw tree. At that point Kado jumped out of the tree and caught the angel who was stealing from his tree. Kado demanded that the angel pay for the milk from the tree that he had stolen.

The angel agreed and gave Kado one piece of fruit from a tree as payment in full for the loss of the enaw milk. Kado was confused since he didn't know what kind of fruit this was so he asked the angel what the fruit was for. The angel told Kado to take the fruit and find a beautiful young girl who was bathing, then throw the fruit into the water with her.

Kado went to a place where there was water and he hid himself and waited for a girl to come and bathe. Not much time had gone by when finally a beautiful young girl came to bathe in the water. Kado wanted to make this girl his wife so he threw the fruit into the water and it began floating over towards the young girl. The fruit touched the girl's chest and hung there, becoming her breasts. Not long after that, the fruit dropped down and became her womb and she became pregnant. Shortly after this the young girl gave birth to a son who didn't have a father.

The boy would continually cry, asking for his father. No one knew who the father was. The family asked the girl who the father was but she didn't know either.

The family decided to plant a huge garden of about one hectare. They planted bananas, potatoes, taro root, sugar cane and some vegetables.

The garden which the girl's family planted produced a harvest before the other people in the village could harvest their produce. The girl's family decided together to have a big feast and invite the whole village. The villagers already had children, and they brought anywhere between one and ten children each to the feast. The boy who was looking for his father

searched among all that attended the feast and he was unable to find out who his father was. The boy began to cry and all who attended the feast split up and went home.

Since the family was unsuccessful in finding out who the father was from among the younger people in the village, they decided to have another feast. This time they only invited those who were between the ages of forty and eighty years old. They all came to the feast and ate, including Kado. As soon as the boy saw Kado, he ran up and hugged him.

Kado's Miracles

The family, including his own mother, hated the boy because he had said that Kado was his father. The family asked him why he thought that an old man full of ukut or kado (which means thick skin or kaskado) would be his father. They all hated Kado and left him, the girl and the boy alone to live by themselves.

Now Kado went into the house with the boy and his mother but the girl refused to have anything to do with Kado. When the boy became hungry he wanted to ask for some food from Kado but he was afraid, so he asked his mother to give him something to eat. The boy said to his mother, "Mother, I'm hungry".

The mother responded by saying, "If you're hungry, go ask your Kado-father for some of his excretions and urine. Then you can eat and drink." So the boy went to his Kado-father and asked for something to eat. Kado told the boy to go check in the kitchen to see if there was any food on the table. When the boy went into the kitchen, he found the table was full of all different kinds of food. So the boy ate until he was satisfied.

The boy was carrying some food with him and his mother asked him where he got the food from. The boy said, "I got it from my Kado-father." The girl did not believe her son and wondered where a Kado would get food.

The boy got hungry again and asked his mother for some food for the second time. The mother responded in the same way and told the boy to ask his Kado-father for some food. So the boy went again and asked for some food from his father. Kado responded again in the same way and told the boy to look on the kitchen table to see if there was any food there. When the boy looked, he saw that the table was full of food, ready to eat. The boy ate until he was full and he took some food with him again.

This time his mother asked him where he got the food. The answer was the same. He got the food from his Kado father. The mother asked for some this time since she was hungry and from that time on the girl began to trust Kado.

After this, Kado left them at the house for about six or seven days. When Kado came back his skin had changed and he looked like a normal person with normal skin. When the boy saw his father he ran and hugged him. His mother told him, "Don't hug that man; he isn't your father. Your father is a Kado."

The boy became hungry again and asked his mother for some food but she told him to ask the man who had come to see if he had any food. The boy asked his father, who had changed, and the father told him just like before to look in the kitchen on the table to see if there was any food. When the boy looked in the kitchen, he found all different kinds of food, too much for one person to eat.

The father now, who had changed, said he was going to leave on another trip and that he would return in about six or seven days. This time on his journey he peeled off his old skin and put it in a box. His skin had changed again and became white. The father returned again, bringing his old skin in the box and he

himself had changed and had white skin. As soon as the boy saw his father he ran and hugged him but his mother said, "That's not your father. Remember, your father has normal skin now, not white skin."

The girl, however, looked at the white-skinned person and thought he was very beautiful and she became very attracted to him, so that she too ran and hugged him. From that point on the man made the girl and the boy's skin change as well and become white.

The Journeys of Kado

They left that place and began to head towards the beach. At the shore the man drew a picture of a boat in the dirt and then when he stepped on the etching it became a real boat. They set sail and stopped a various islands along the way. At one island they stopped and found a person who couldn't walk because he was crippled. The former Kado man told him to get up and walk and the crippled man was healed. He told them that they should no longer use their boats or their machetes or their nets but that they should throw them all away. Then he changed everyone in that village to become like him with white skin.

After this, the former Kado man and his family set sail and left that place. They stopped at other

islands but what happened at those places, the storyteller did not know.

Tigomang
The Sougb Cargo Cult Myth

All around the Anggi Lakes region there are bare spots in the jungle which are the footprints of Tigomang. From these footprints sprang the Sougb people.

Tigomang had the ability to simply speak and call into existence all different kinds of foods. For example, all he would have to say were the words kasbi, kaladi, ubi, jayar, bete, papaya, tebu, and the food would appear by itself at that place. Many people had seen him do this and sometimes the fruit was so big that his children could not eat it all.

One day Tigomang told his children that he was going to the Un river in order to bathe. He gave strict orders that his children were not to follow him there or watch him as he bathed. His children did not listen to him, however, and just as he was about to bathe in the water his children came. Tigomang was very upset since he did not have a chance to go under the water to change his skin. In order for him to change his skin and have eternal life he had to

submerse himself in the water and then come up again. After completing that process his skin would be changed and he would not die.

Since his children came and prevented him from going through the changing process, he was very angry. He told them that now they all must die and when they did they would not be able to come back to life since their skin would rot.

There was a person who died on the other side of the river, that is Nginding. Tigomang was standing at Anan and called the person to come through the water to the other side. But the people just cried and they would not listen to Tigomang when he called and they would not put the dead person on the water. Tigomang took a piece of dried wood and threw it down. He told the people that the dried wood represented the dead and that because they would not listen to him they would all die and not ever come back to life. If they would have listened and submerged the dead body in the water, it would have come to life again. The people did not listen to Tigomang or do what he asked them to do and because of that they would die and not come back to life.

Tigomang then entered a cave below a mountain and went to sleep and he has not returned yet or come out

of his cave. This story is told to children from generation to generation to this very day.

Sawapacu-Ataphapkon
The Sawi and Auyu Cargo Cult Myth

The Finding of the New World

According to history, all the tribes of the earth were dwelling underground. Underneath the ground was a wide, open place where everyone lived in one community. One day, a man named Kema and his wife went into the forest to look for food. There they began to have sexual relations. The wife looked up and saw a small hole that went up to the surface of the New World. She saw through that hole a beautiful bird sipping honey from a tree. The tree's name was Hapgon and the bird's name was Wangire. (Even to this day this bird is highly esteemed.)

The wife then said,"Hey, don't be so rough. What is that up there through the hole? Take a look."

So then the husband named Kema looked up through the small hole. Then he grabbed his bow and arrows and shot them through the small hole. It hit the Wangire bird. They grabbed a stick with the intent of making the hole bigger so that they both could climb out.

Kema succeeded in making the hole larger. Then Kema and his wife saw a light that was breath-taking and gave them great pleasure. The world on top was beautiful, and they felt so very happy.

But as they looked at the New World, they both fainted for quite a long time. When they gained consciousness, they saw the bright light called Sawapacu-Ataphapkon. Both of them fainted again because they were too weak to look at the light, and the light was too strong.

When they came to their senses, they grabbed two branches of a tree named Hapgon and Asiam. They were conscious for several hours when they started observing the condition of this New Earth which was so wonderful and beautiful.

They saw Sawapacu and Ataphapkon. Ataphapkon said that this world was his creation, as was everything in it. Kema and his wife were not strong enough to look at Ataphapkon because of his great glory. But Ataphapkon said to the two of them, "Come close to me."

Kema and his wife stood up to hear all that was said by Sawapacu-Ataphapkon to them, that ,"...Your efforts are known to me. I know your reasons and your goals. You must listen to me."

So they stood listening to all he was saying to them. Ataphapkon said, "You two must go back to your original place, and tell all the rest of the people or tribe there all I have said. Sawapacu also has determined a day when they all can come out of the darkness they abide in."

And so Ataphapkon gave them only seven days before they would come out of the ground and enter the New World. He established the days as follows:

1. The first day--the announcement
2. The second day--look for food and prepare it
3. The third day--the killing of all their livestock
4. The fourth day--the throwing away of old clothes and the wearing of new clothes
5. The fifth day--the washing of themselves and their tools that they use
6. The sixth day--the coming out into the New World and the singing of two songs
7. The seventh day--they would receive cargo

Therefore, on the sixth day they prepared to come out. Kema and his wife were like the heads of the ranks to lead them out of the ground. Kema took a stick to enlarge the door so that they could get out.

The first people out were the Finders of the New World--Kema and his wife. They began coming out, then jumped to the side and began yelling, "Ha... Suwo... Ha... Paiyowo... Ha... Cinowo... Ha... Yefuwo... Ha... Misawo..." and so on. So all the tribes started calling each other by those names, and that was the beginning of all the families of every tribe in the world.

They finished coming out of the hole. They had forgotten a male dog, so Kema went back down the hole into the ground and began to search for the male dog. He finally found him at the edge of the village.

Meanwhile, the other people had waited long enough and began to make evil plans to shut the door in which they had come out. They chopped some wood to close the door, then they tied it together with some vines. The hole was completely covered; there was no longer a hole in which to get out.

Kema started to grab the male dog and return to the place where they had gone out. Then he said, "Why have you closed the door?" And he began to knock on the door.

But they said, "We have already closed the door and cannot open it again."

Kema said, "Why did you close the door?" Then he began to push so that they could open the door, but they could not. So Kema said, "Fine. Since you did not want to follow my instructions, you will only be allowed to stay in that place for a short time. You shall come back to this place, and I will just stay here in the ground."

So the rest of the tribe that had come out of the ground began to face toward Sawapacu-Ataphapkon. They rested on the seventh day. Then they made tents in which to dwell near Sawapacu-Ataphapkon.

Then a man named Nunas was chosen as the prophet over them, and every tribe was obedient to the laws of Ataphapkon. They began to have a desire to request things from Sawapacu-Ataphapkon. Ataphapkon made many things appear for the entire tribe. This is a list of things he brought:

1. Axe, knife, machete, clothes, etc.
2. Rifle
3. Stone Axe
4. Change of skin
5. Corpse of Death

Each tribe was to choose the things they liked, but all the tribes fought over who would choose death. The thing not chosen by any tribe was the change of

skin. This changing of skin was fought over by the animals and two people, Tafmo and Kida. (They say these two are still alive.) The animals who chose to change their skin were the snake, the crocodile, the shrimp, the sago worm, and so on.

(The Sawi tribe and the Auyu tribe say that the things like the axe, the knife, the machete, clothes and the rifle were chosen by Westerners with white skin. The Irian tribes people chose the stone axe, the bow and other kinds of decorations, and so on. This is the understanding accepted by the Sawi and Auyu people.)

After receiving their things from Ataphapkon, a girl went into the forest to look for firewood. She was bit by a snake, and this girl died. Her corpse was still in the forest, and her spirit came back into the village. The villagers all said, "Yahani naru", which means "Enter the net, enter the net". Then this girl went back to the ground, to the place where they had come out and had closed the door.

Kema said to her, "Why have you come here? For you already shut the door on me, so why should you come here?"

The girl said, "Father."

Kema said, "I am not your father, but your husband, for you are my wife." Then the two of them had sexual relations.

This was the beginning of death, and it continues to spread until now, for from the time the villagers came up out of the ground, they had not experienced death. But when they started disobeying the instructions of Ataphapkon and Kema, they finally experienced death and began sinning. It seems while they were still in the ground, they knew sin and had experienced death. Because of that, they followed their own desires and did not follow the desires of Ataphapkon-Sawapacu.

Ataphapkon therefore chose to send Nunas as a prophet over them, because he was the younger brother of Kema. Ataphapkon sent Nunas to some holy ground to receive a vision from him. Ataphapkon-Sawapacu sent Nunas to pick a coconut, peel it, and then clean it so clean that Nunas was able to use it to write down the vision from Ataphapkon. Nunas wrote the visions as Ataphapkon spoke them. Then the coconut was divided into two parts; Sawapacu took one part and Nunas took the other. He brought it to the village in order to tell the entire tribe about the laws of Ataphapkon-Sawapacu. The drawing or vision is still with us

today. The drawing "Kuno" was written by Nunas as he received it from Ataphapkon. It represents the world and also the human existence on the earth. The three circular triangles represent the dwelling of Ataphapkon, and the six circles are a representation of man's life on this earth.

If all the tribes had not shut the door in which they come out, and if Kema was still with them, positively they would have happiness. But because they shut the door and Kema stayed in the ground, Kema's glory is not known by every tribe. All the tribes demanded things from Ataphapkon-Sawapacu. Then Ataphapkon got angry because they were too demanding for things. He blasted them with a tremendous blast, which was called 'Hotet e garmoho-Ohonar dir gaomahasir".

Each tribe that was there started to go their own ways around the world. They went every direction, some to the south, some to the west, some to the east some to the north, and so on. Only two tribes remained with Ataphapkon--the Sawi and the Auyu tribes. Ataphapkon gave several visions to the Sawi and the Auyu.

Several years after the dispersion of the tribes by Ataphapkon, a new people began to multiply. They

followed their own desires and intermarried. They did not follow the laws of Ataphapkon.

Nunas and the Great Flood

Sawapacu-Ataphapkon sent Nunas to make a canoe. On his canoe he was to construct a house with rooms to hold food, possessions, and all animals to save them from perishing. After Nunas had finished building the canoe with the house, Ataphapkon told him to prepare food and herd all the animals on board the canoe he had made. Lastly, only Nunas' family entered the house. While Nunas was making the canoe and house, many people laughed and made fun of him and his family. But Nunas and his family did not feel embarrassed; Nunas faithfully warned the people about what was going to happen in the future--about the huge flood and fire--but they did not want to listen to what he had to say. Nunas then said to them, "Well, if you want to receive what I say, fine; if not, that is fine also. That is up to you. But later on you will suffer the consequences."

The next day the rain began to fall, along with winds and thunder. Nunas' family were all inside the house, and outside were many people calling for help. But Nunas and his family did not want to open the door. And because they did not want to listen to what Nunas

had to say, the people outside were judged. Therefore, all the people died in the flood except for Nunas' family, which were all saved.

When the water began to rise, Nunas made a mooring line out of rattan. He wrapped that rattan line forty times around the canoe from the bottom to the top. The bottom was then tied to a branch of a bamboo tree because it had strong roots to hold the canoe.

They could not tell whether it was day or evening, except by two birds named Huyame and Hainao. These birds were used during the flood--Huyame in the day, and Hainao as a signal that the flood water was receding. Nunas used these two birds during the flood.

When the flood waters were finally dried up, Ataphapkon arrived on the shore and started a village. He threw a party to celebrate their safety. From Nunas' family originated a new generation of men. These men became many and forgot Ataphapkon's orders for them.

Abu the Prophet

These men began to start new villages and build houses. Several years later there appeared a new prophet named Abu who brought the news of salvation to the Sawi and Auyu tribes. But they were not willing to

listen to him. They said, "Ah...Abu! You are fooling...you are trying to trick us. You want to marry many wives; therefore you are trying to trick us!"

They kept teasing Abu like this, but Abu just kept on broadcasting about the news of the truth to the two tribes. Finally, they became very jealous and killed him. They killed him and cut him into pieces and divided it among all the people. Abu's blood that was poured out was lapped up by two birds, the cenderawasih and the tahaisam (which is almost the same as the cenderawasih). That was the beginning of the tahaisam and cenderawasih birds up until this day.

They left Abu's heart and some flesh which became a man. He ascended into the sky and disappeared in the clouds. Finally all the Sawi and Auyu believed that what had been told them was true.

The War with the Simiki Tribe

After that, they left that place and began to travel along the Senaro and Auh Rivers. There they found a tribe called the Simiki tribe. There arose an enmity with the Simiki tribe which eventually broke out in a war against the Simiki people. (According to the story, this area used to be controlled by the Simiki

tribe.) The tribes started fighting along the Senaro River up to the Auh and Klongker Rivers. The two tribes wanted to cross to the other side of the Auh River, but there was no bridge to use. Then down by the mouth of the Kao River they could see a very tall nibun tree. So they chopped down that nibun tree. It started to fall over the Auh River and they used it as a bridge.

Then they saw a palm frond growing in the mouth of the Kao River, so they took it and used it as a knife to cut some kind of meat. They took the meat to Abu. They all took a break and began eating the meat from Abu. They were using the frond-knife to cut the meat as they took a bite off of it and cut their lips. Suddenly, their language was different! It became the Sawi language. They regretted the fact that their language was now changed. (The frond that cut the Sawi people's lips and tongue is still in existence today.)

The Sawi and Auyu tribes began to move apart, but not for long. They built tents close to each other and then began to fight the Simiki tribe again. After that, they traveled up the Kao River to where it flows into the Sumdup River. There they met the Simiki again. The Simiki tribe had made an idol, but during the attack by the Auyu and Sawi tribes, they had to

release their idol and it sunk in the Sumdup River. Then the Sawi and Auyu tribes overcame the Simiki tribe and destroyed them, so that today there are no remaining Simiki people.

(The idol that the Simiki tribe had made and then had been forced to surrender during the attack of the Sawi and Auyu tribes because of fear, sank in the Sumdup River. This same idol was found by the Sawi tribe in 1991.)

The Division of the Tribes

After the war, the Sawi and Auyu tribes began traveling the length of the Klongker and Auh Rivers, then came back to the area between the Sumdup and Kao Rivers. There they started a village and dwelt there. At that time, Imai became the chief and general. He reigned as long as they lived there.

One day, this head of the tribe stood up in the middle of the longhouse to give orders to all the people to go collect sago. When they had finished collecting the sago, they came back to the village. There was a dog standing in the middle of the longhouse which started vomiting. No one wanted to clean it up. Then the head of the tribe, Imai, cleaned up the dog's vomit. But he was angry and broke down every wall of

the Sawi tribe into seven pieces, one piece for each Sawi village. Their names are: Kamur; Comoro; Wiyagas; Esepbawor; Hainam; Yahuwi; and Senep.

These seven villages began dividing up to start villages in new locations. This happened all along the Sumdup and Klongker Rivers, until now there is a Sawi village at the mouth of each river. (At that time the Kamur and Seremit were one tribe and functioned as one organization.)

Several years later, the Seremit people caught a pig. The pig died at the edge of the mouth of the Sumdup River where there is bamboo and a kendari tree. The chief, Imai, now called Manemawi, came back to the village and gave a message only to the Kamur family. He said, "Let's go over there and take a kendari tree."

So the Kamur family went with him to the spot. Then Manemawi told them to build a new village there. They started constructing a longhouse and also made twenty tongs for the fire, one for each of the Kamur family. Then they picked up the pig and they began to cut it up. Manemawi divided the pieces up among them with the tongs.

Then Manemawi stood up in the middle of the house and looked from one end to the other. He saw it was very nice. Then they went back to their village where

they had a party that lasted until early morning. The head of the Kamur family was Manemawi, and he separated the Kamur family from the Seremit family. These are two tribes which have experienced tribal separation.

The Kamur and Seremit tribes became enemies until finally in the next few years the Kamur family moved again to a spot on the Auh River at Kohoban. They named the place Intete at Kohoban-Auh. They began once again to meet up with the Auyu/Yefu Sagaren tribe, who, in actuality, were living at Kohoban-Intete.

The two tribes made peace at Kohoban-Intete according to their customs. They began to intermarry between the Kamur and the Auyu-Yefu people. From the Kamur side, a daughter of Gigo (Ruben Kamur's father) from the Yefu tribe and a daughter from the Kamur tribe from Hado Yod (the father of Marten Yod) were exchanged in marriage. Paulus' daughter's name was Targon from Wage. When Ruben's father saw that the daughter dwelt alone in Kamur, Gigo moved to Kamur and married again there. His descendants are: Kohai, Fadae, Kai, Ruben, Mesakh, and Obare. (They still live in Kamur.) This was the first time these two tribe made peace.

Several years later, they moved again to their original place by the Klongker River and started a village between the points of Yagami and Kamur. Then

they built a new village and stayed there for several years. But in 1955, the Dutch government entered the area and started the village of Pirimapun. This became the main government outpost.

After a while, the Dutch government began to explore the Klongker River with the intent of making money on crocodile hides. They did not bring the Gospel with them; they only took profits from the Sawi people's jungle.

The first time the Kamurs met with the Dutch government men, they were afraid because they had never seen anyone with white skin. Then they remembered Sawapacu-Ataphapkon. They were wary that he might come back, and they began to make preparations for his return, but it did not happen. The Dutch government had an Auyu man who came with them and acted as their means of communication between the Sawi and the Dutch government. These are the members of the Sawi tribe to first meet with the Dutch government: Gigo (because he was an expert on the Auyu language since he was from the Auyu tribe), Numu (also Auyu), Hado from Kamur as a witness, and Sadih from Kamur as another witness.

So these four chiefs were promoted to become "heads of their villages", a term given them by the Dutch government. These four men represented the

foundation of the acceptance of the Dutch rule when they arrived in 1955. Then in 1958, the government left. The Kamur people went back to the upper Sumdup River and named the place Taufadon.

Four years later (1962), a servant of the Lord from the United States of America, Reverend Don Richardson, arrived. He was sent to Irian Jaya to bring the Gospel and the Word of God. Those who lived according to the word "Eklesia" (those who are called) became the "gereja" (church). This is stated in Romans 10:14 and John 3:16. These were the key verses Rev. Don Richardson used in the struggle to bring them out of darkness and into the light. Then the Sawi tribe accepted the Gospel up until this time.

The Promise of Ataphapkon

Ataphapkon gave a promise to the Sawi and Auyu tribes concerning five periods of time. Those time periods that he established are still regarded in this generation. They believe that what he promised would happen in the future--that is their belief. These are the five time periods Ataphapkon established:

1. The first period begins with their coming out (of the ground) up until the great Flood occurred.

2. The second period begins with the great Flood up until the change of language occurred.
3. The third period begins with the change in language up until the war of the Simiki tribe with the Sawi and Auyu tribes.
4. The fourth period begins with the Simiki war up until the murder of Abu.
5. The fifth period is counted from Abu up until this time.

Ataphapkon promised that when the fourth period was over and the fifth period begun, he would return. He did not give a specific feeling or time. One thing he did promise, though, is that Ataphapkon's return would be sudden. That is one of Ataphapkon's promises. And also, another thing he promised is that in the fifth period people are going to intermarry--that's a sign that Ataphapkon's return is soon. So at this time, the people now are very careful because of Ataphapkon's promise.

Therefore, at this time there is going to appear a person who is going to give birth to a baby boy who is short with big teeth, and also a long beard. This means that the time is near. This is one thing that they are carefully watching for today.

Proliferation of the Myths

One of the unique and mystifying phenomenon of the cargo cults are the harmonious mythological themes which run through each one. As Oosterwal has noted, once you have become acquainted with one of the cargo cult myths they all sound familiar (Oosterwal 1967, 470). It could naturally be assumed that the similarity is due to acquired knowledge which is indicative of culture. It might be supposed that the similarities found in the cargo cult myths can be attributed to the culture of Melanesia. Culture, in this sense, is not viewed as some innate knowledge that people possess but rather as acquired knowledge. This acquired knowledge may be tacit knowledge that a cultural insider may use but cannot necessarily explain or it may be explicit knowledge which can be discussed and described. Normally people having a common culture have been able to share this acquired knowledge with other members of the community at large which further expands into the society at large.

The cargo cult myths present unique problems to this understanding of culture; the single amazing aspect being that although people groups have lived in virtual isolation from one another, their mythologies have a uniting thread. Tribes which live not more than

twenty miles from each other have developed languages as different as Russian is to English and yet the mythology is similar.

Perhaps one explanation for this comes from the macrocosm of the myths themselves. "Mythologies are narratives which sacralize the accepted cosmos, showing in memorable form and suggestive phrases how various parts of the world came into being or, how everything came to be as it is now" (Trompf 1991, 18). Mythologies by their very nature must be kept current since they provide an understanding of the cosmos. As new information and knowledge is acquired there must be ways to explain how this knowledge fits into the existing cosmos. These myths explain from the very mundane (such as how the pig got it's flat nose) to vital sociological information, such as explaining why a people have lost a privileged place in society, as seen in the cargo cult myths.

As the ability to travel and expand one's world view increased, it is possible that these mythologies could take on a similar bent. Such is obviously the case for the Biak-Numfor and Hatam myths. However, this does not explain how similar themes crossed the vast expanse of the ocean throughout Melanesia. How did the Sawi and the Auyu tribes in the dark interior

of Irian Jaya have access to the same mythological theme found among Fiji Islanders? The answer has to do with the acquired knowledge of culture, but where did this cultural knowledge come from?

Another possible explanation of the similarity of the cargo cult myths found in Melanesia is suggested by Don Richardson and his concept of redemptive analogies (Richardson 1974, 1981). Richardson has worked as a missionary in the jungles of Irian Jaya and is acquainted with the cargo cults, having dealt with them first hand. He theorized that God has uniquely prepared the people of this world to understand and receive the Christian message though their culturally-based mythologies. According to Richardson, the mythologies found in the cultures throughout the world contain themes which lend themselves to accepting the Messiah of the Bible. He wrote;

> Redemptive analogies, God's key to man's culture, are the New Testament approved approach to cross cultural evangelism. And only in the New Testament do we find patterns for discerning and appropriating them, a pattern we must learn to use. Some redemptive analogies stand out in the legends of the past: Other redemptive analogies have been found hidden away in cultures of the present--dormant, residual, waiting: the Sawi *tarop* child and the words of *remon; nabelan-kabelan*, the Dani tribe's deep seated hope for immortality; the Asmat new birth ceremony. Still others are the places of refuge and the legends of the fall of man, of

> the Deluge, and of a ladder connecting the earth and the heaven. How many more are yet waiting to be found, waiting to be appropriated for the deliverance of the people who believe them, waiting to be supplanted by Christ, that they may then fade from sight behind the brilliance of His glory, having fulfilled their God-ordained purpose? (Richardson 1974, 288).

This is an intriguing theory but has many unacceptable and irreconcilable differences from a theological perspective.

The idea that God has placed within human beings and within human culture the profound beginnings of understanding Him and His salvation is not the surprising factor in this theory since these are defined in the Scriptures. However, chapter one of the book of Romans aptly illustrates what has happened to this understanding. According to this passage any redemptive analogy given has been lost in a fallen human race.

> For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who suppress the truth in unrighteousness. Because that which is known about God is evident within them; for God made it evident to them. For since the creation of the world His invisible attributes, His eternal power and divine nature have been clearly seen, being understood through what has been made, so they are without excuse. For even though they knew God, they did not honor Him as God, or give thanks; but became futile in their speculations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing to be wise they became

> fools, and exchanged the glory of the incorruptible God for an image in the form of corruptible man and of birds and four-footed animals and crawling creatures (Romans 1:18-23).

Two things become evident as a result of the Romans one passage. The first is that the rejection was deliberate. The knowledge that men had about God should have evoked a response of praise and gratitude for His person. The glory that should have been given to God as a humble and obedient response to His majesty has been suppressed. The second point which is clearly defined in this passage is that the rejection of God or the failure to give Him honor as God was degrading to man. The failure of man to respond positively to His revelation resulted in religious perversion. The mythology of men has tended to distort the truth that has been revealed rather than clarify it. This is perhaps the case also with the cargo cults.

The similarity of a sin to salvation message found in all cargo cult myths makes the redemptive analogy theory appealing and yet the distortion of the gospel as a result of the myths makes one wonder about the true origin of the message proclaimed within the myth. For the tribal people in Irian Jaya it is not Christianity which represents the reality of the cosmos, but the cargo cult myth. To the degree that

the Christian message agrees with and can be contextualized into the myth, it is to that degree that the Christian message is accepted.

The mythology of the Biak-Numfor people, for example, has many similarities with parts of the Scriptures. The edict left behind by Manarmakeri not to eat pork is similar to the Jewish civil law found in Leviticus. On the basis of this similarity and others, the Bible is considered reliable since it confirms the truth of the Koreri myth. To say that the injunction of Manarmakeri not to eat pork and the Jewish civil law which requires abstaining from pork depict some type of superintending on the part of God which would guide the Biak-Numfor people in their understanding of Him is stretching the concept of redemptive analogies beyond acceptable limits. Even the Sawi people with whom Richardson has worked have not been able to put aside the cargoistic mentalities which gave him the opportunity to share the Christian message. The result has been that Richardson himself was mythologized by the Sawi people as illustrated in the Sawapacu-Ataphapkon myth.

Perhaps a more acceptable explanation of the thematic proliferation of the cargo cult myths across geographic barriers is a shared cognitive orientation

among the Melanesian cultural group. The acquired knowledge which has been shared with this distinctive cultural group is an event common to all cultural groups and all of mankind. The event is outlined in Genesis chapter three and has been described in theological terms as the Fall of Mankind into Sin. This catastrophic event in the history of mankind is seen through darkened hearts in the cargo cult myths. It is possible that in a culture with a strong oral tradition and history that this cataclysmic part of man's history has been passed down from one generation to the next. This is similar to the redemptive analogies presented by Richardson but with the major difference being that these myths do not make the historical event of the Fall clear to these people. The opposite is true since the myth has replaced the true account and has become the standard by which new ideas are incorporated into the mythology. This is especially seen in the Sawi and Auyu cargo cult myths which closely follow the biblical theme of the Fall and Flood. It is not possible to know at this point in history if these myths followed these themes before the introduction of Christianity. There is a strong case, however, that the cargo cult tradition has existed

before contact with the West and Christianity (Kamma 1972).

Mythological World View

The Melanesian understanding of the cosmos is directly related to their mythology. The important questions of life, death and the hereafter are answered in the myth. "Melanesians have usually explained their successes or failures in terms of a 'retribute logic'; that is, each culture has a repertory of reasons to explain why a death has occurred, why sickness has struck, why one family is more prosperous than another, why trouble has arisen between two parties, and the like" (Trompf 1991, 21). Much time is spent developing these reasons and stories or myths to explain past, present and future events.

The Melanesian mythologies from Irian Jaya presented here reflect the people's remarkable affinity with the environment coupled with the supernatural forces which affect and control it. Thus mountains, islands, rivers, ponds, clearings, beaches, gardens or any other place in the environment can take on special supernatural meaning. The environment-consciousness of the people stem from preternatural forces found in it. The explanation as to why a place is considered

significant or sacred or why certain rituals are practiced within the tribe is found within the myth. This kind of perspective on the world has often been called animism. Even today in Irian Jaya certain locations are considered sacred, like the stagnate pools of water or a particular place in the mountain side in the Anggi lakes region. Certain foods like pork and pumpkin remain taboo for some within the Biak-Numfor tradition of Koreri. The myth still has an important role in the life of the Sawi and Auyu tribes as they not only can trace the origin of their tribe through the myth but relate current events to the myth and incorporate these events into it.

If there is a distinguishing factor in these myths and with the animistic religion and world view which shape them, it is their emphasis on the material results of ritual activity and of relationships with individuals who are superhuman. Spiritual blessing is obtained through an abundance of pigs, food and other material possessions or valuables. The way in which one receives these "blessings" is detailed in the ritual activity, as illustrated in chapter one with the people in Mambramo Tenggah.

This is far different from Western Christianity which seeks for an inward peace of the soul and

spiritual blessings based on the assurance of salvation through Jesus Christ. The tension that exists between the Western world view and the Melanesian world view is illustrated in the comparisons made in the following example adapted from Henry Box (Box 1982, 44-46).

WESTERN WORLD VIEW

Absolutes

In a real world there are absolutes. There is a categorical difference between the reality of the natural world and the fantasies created by our minds and between history and myth, fact and fiction, truth and error, right and wrong. A person experiences reality most accurately when he is awake. Dreams and inner visions are illusions, and those who lose touch with the realities of the external world are considered mentally ill.

Naturalism

There is a sharp distinction between the natural and supernatural worlds. The natural world is experienced directly through the senses and can be studied by means of Supernatural experiences, on the other hand, are, for all practical purposes, confined to inner feelings, which cannot be empirically tested, which are not seen as common ordinary experiences and are, therefore, somewhat suspect. Few people, even those who are religious, live with a constant awareness that the world around them is inhabited by spirits that directly influence their everyday experiences. It is this living in a 'natural' world which is the basis for Western secularism.

Linear Time

Time, like other dimensions of the world is

linear. It extends along a uniform scale into the future and past without repeating itself. Since a person has only one life to live, he must make the most of it: the religious man by preparing for heaven, the secular man by enjoying himself. There is a sense of finality about this life, which must be lived without the benefit of a dress rehearsal, without a practice run. Tends to be future-oriented.

Individualism

The individuality and worth of each person is taken for granted. It is assumed that all men have inalienable rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Applied to society the stress on individualism leads to an idealization of freedom. Communism, socialism, and other economic systems, which are thought to restrict in favor of free enterprise and capitalism. Democracy, in which a man has the right to choose his rulers, is the ideal form of government. With regard to the individual the emphasis is on self-realization. On earth this is expressed in a search for identity and praise for the self made man, in heaven in the ultimate self fulfillment of the individual.

Competition

In an individualistic world, all forms of life compete for resources and dominance. Therefore, people must be aggressive in their relationship to nature. Humanity 'conquers space' and 'beats the heat'. The allopathic system of medicine is aimed at killing germs and overcoming disease. In the social order, individuals must compete for status. Their station in life should be determined not by birth, but by ability or effort.

Achievement Orientation

Personal achievement, not illustrious background, is the measure of an individual's worth and social position. Hard work, careful planning, efficiency, and saving of time and effort are intrinsically good. In a predictable world, the individual is ultimately responsible

for failure...Achievement is closely tied to social mobility. People should be allowed to rise to their levels of ability and not be tied down by their kinsmen or their past. The results, in part, are shallow social and geographical roots and insecurity.

MELANESIAN WORLD VIEW

Relativism

Although there is a certain amount of 'absolute' experience, much of the Melanesian experience is relative. Myths of the past merge imperceptibly into histories. Dreams and visions are as much a part of a man's experiential world as his 'awake' life, and are treated with much greater significance. Right and wrong, good and bad, are interpreted according to the clan and its values and needs.

Supernaturalism

There is no sharp distinction between natural and supernatural. Gods and spirits are as real in everyday experiences as natural objects. Natural and supernatural explanations are freely interchanged in rationalizing daily occurrences. This blending of the supernatural and natural realms into a single framework lies at the heart of the Melanesian animistic orientation.

Event-Oriented Time

The past and the ancestors are in focus--but not on a linear, day by day, year by year basis, rather according to significant events or people. The future has a place, too, but usually in relation to the past or present.

Interdependence

The clan or the group is more important than the individual. A balanced system of reciprocal obligations within the kinship system reinforces the concept of interdependence.

Co-operation

> People are encouraged to help the other people in their group. They are not to strive against one another or try and show themselves superior in any way. There are exceptions to this, but in most things it is important to strive for group achievement rather than individual.

Ascription Orientation

> Security and meaning are found in the groups to which one belongs and in the relationships one has with others. A constant goal is to achieve harmony with people and with spirits.

An Irianese wanting to receive "blessing" will ask what ritual must be followed in order to obtain the blessing. The idea conveyed by the term "blessing" will not be the same as the Western Christian concept of spiritual blessing. Perhaps the right word to describe the concept envisioned by the Irianese is "cargo".

The way in which the Irianese perceive blessing or cargo and how it has affected their Christian beliefs can be seen in the reaction of the Hatam tribe to the completion of the New Testament. Upon completion of the Book of Revelation, those who received a copy stayed up all night to read it because the answer to the cargo question was not found in any of the other books, so, some reasoned, it must be recorded in the

last book (Saiba 1993). Upon the publication of this New Testament copies were purchased and enthusiastically worn around the neck as a type of necklace, very similar to the fetishes that once occupied that place. This kind of ritualistic use is indicative of a cargo cult mentality which is now seeking a new means of obtaining the desired "blessings". Trompf adds some insight to this kind of ritual usage when he wrote:

> As my own and others' oral and historical investigations have revealed, basic alterations in ritual usage are known to have been accepted by whole tribes - such changes occurring independently of white contact or else only the vaguest knowledge of the 'white phenomenon' on the horizon. Such shifts in practice, as well as belief and outlook, needed to be vouchsafed by contact with extra-mundane dimensions. Dreams, visions, numinous encounters and other special occurrences, then, were of determinative importance in taking a group in new directions (Trompf 1991, 26).

It is perhaps too early to draw negative conclusions regarding this activity surrounding the completion and distribution of the New Testament in the Hatam dialect or to suggest that this is the beginning of another round of cargo cult fervor. Yet there is evidence in this kind of activity which suggests that the Hatam understanding of the Biblical record is not the same understanding as the missionaries who produced it. This should not be considered as a criticism of the missionaries who painstakingly translated the Bible into the Hatam language or of the Hatam people. This is an example of the contextualization process in an incomplete stage.

Chapter IV
The Contextualization Process

The Development, Usage and Meaning of Contextualization

In the milieu of theological terminology it is quite easy to get caught up in the type of thinking which prompted Alice's rabbit in the classic to say, "The word means exactly what I want it to mean." The same seems to be true with the concept of contextualization.

In order to grasp the full meaning of the term, *contextualization,* and the shift that has occurred within this concept, it is necessary to go back nearly one hundred years to the writings of Emile Durkheim, specifically his work, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912). Durkheim is known as one of the founders of the study of sociology as a separate academic discipline, that is, separate from the study of psychology. His antiutilitarian views formed the basis of the concept of society as a moral construct which is developed and maintained through a collective consciousness-conscience (Durkheim 1961). His view explained religion as a function within society which provided the key to the relationship of an individual with the society. Thus, Durkheim is also known as the

father of the relative social contextualization of religion. Religion was seen as a significant contributor to the well-being and effectiveness of a society by providing sanctions and limitations from a sacred source. The rituals, beliefs and religious practices of a society are irrevocably linked with the culture of that society. After Durkheim, anthropologists could include a chapter on religion as being one of the factors of culture in a given society without fear of ridicule in the post-Enlightenment era.

Contextualization in the terms of the social scientist has always referred to the relationship of various domains and taxonomic features which make up the culture of that society. Religion or religious beliefs are considered to be one of the contexts involved. Within this structure of contextualization truth or error, right or wrong, or in other words, absolutes are not issues. It is simply noted that certain beliefs and practices played an important role in the development of a particular culture. As anthropologist G. Linwood Barney observed, "Cultures were presented as organic wholes with various interdependent parts which all contributed to the whole" (Barney 1982, 173). Barney continued, "This development in anthropology caught the attention of

missionaries who then pursued studies in anthropology and applied these insights to missionary principles and practice" (Barney 1982, 173).

In spite of the obvious benefits to the missionary to have a working knowledge in the fields of sociology and anthropology, there is a gnawing inadequacy with a strictly social scientific view of culture and contextualization. The question of the supracultural, that is, an absolute which comes from God, remains unanswered. Can God, who is above culture, communicate with man who is a part of culture? Or, can the supracultural find meaningful forms of expression in any culture?

The answer to these questions is *yes,* and the term coined by Barney to describe the process is *inculturation*, "...that process or state in which a new principle has been culturally 'clothed' in meaningful forms in a culture" (1973, 57).

> God is absolute, underived and unchanging. But consider the following implications. The Gospel is given of God. Therefore it is derived. It cannot be absolute. Is it therefore relative? If so is it changeable... We need another conceptual category between absolute and relative. It would seem that the term 'constant' might meet this need. Constant refers to that which by nature does not change, though it may be derived...Then it follows, God is absolute. That which he initiates and affirms to man in his covenant and redeeming

> acts is constant; however, the forms in which man responds to God are tied to his culture and therefore are relative. The absolute and the constant are supracultural but man's response is relative and thus can vary from culture to culture as each society expresses the supracultural in forms peculiar to its own cultural configuration. Thus a relevant expression of the God-man relationship can preserve the integrity of a culture but in no way needs to compromise the essence and nature of the supracultural (Barney 1981, 173).

The social scientific version of contextualization has value for the missionary particularly in understanding how change has occurred as the result of his or her presence in a country. However, it does not adequately explain the relationship of the supracultural message of the gospel.

Contextualization, as the term was used at the 1971 Ecumenical Institute of the World Council of Churches in Bossey, Switzerland, and the term's popularization by the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches in 1972, presented the idea that theology should take into account aspects of culture, such as social and economic concerns, which had previously been neglected by the term "*indigenization*". The dialectic envisioned at the time has found many applications in neo-orthodox and liberal theologies as well as among a group which Bruce Fleming calls the "context-indigenizers" which represents

evangelical theology (Fleming 1980, 45). Fleming provided an understanding and background of the diverse interpretations of what it means to contextualize.

For many evangelicals, contextualization is simply a more popular way to inculturate the Christian message in the context of culture. The basic difference between evangelical thought and neo-orthodox and liberal approaches to contextualization is that for the neo-orthodox and liberal, the context becomes part of the content of the message. This view follows more closely the sociological understanding of contextualization. The evangelical would see the message as unchanging yet relevantly communicated into the cultural thought forms and language of a particular people group. This view follows the inculturation aspects of the contextualization process.

McGavran also followed an inculturation understanding on what contextualization is in his book *The Clash Between Christianity and Culture*. He asked, "Is there one way or many ways to God?" (McGavran 1974, 27). His answer attempted to define the issues involved, and then he proposed three possible answers to the question. The problem is more than just a question of dress, housing and language, but an issue of moral and ethical right and wrong. Like Fleming,

McGavran took a high view of Scripture and exhorted that there is "a right way" based on what is said in God's Word. His approach is similar to Niebuhr's concept of Christ as the transformer of culture (Niebuhr 1960).

There are aspects of every culture which may be called "lifestyle" which clash with the message of the Bible. In such cases the authority of God's Word is held higher than cultural authority. The Christian, then, is called upon to change his lifestyle to conform to the message of the Bible. Conversely, there are also aspects of culture which cannot be categorized as right or wrong. In other words, there are cultural practices which the Christian community in that culture need to evaluate for themselves. On this issue McGavran said, "Let's leave room for differing opinions" (McGavran 1974, 69).

Fleming especially and also McGavran approached contextualization from a theoretical perspective. McGavran peppered his ideas with some practical examples but Marvin Mayers in *Christianity Confronts Culture*, provided the best of both the theoretical and practical (1987). Mayers approached the change process that occurs when two individuals or cultures meet from four perspectives; the trust bond, social structure,

the validity of distinct societies, and effective ministry. These perspectives or models, as Mayers called them, are viewed in theory as principles in cross-cultural communication in the first section and then viewed again in the form of case studies in the second section.

Mayers proposed a lifestyle which hastens the cohesion process in contextualization. This is an anthropological study relying on accepted knowledge from the behavioral sciences to help the communicator of the Christian message. The emphasis is on practice.

For the technical side of the communication of the Christian message across cultural boundaries, Eugene Nida and William Reyburn wrote *Meaning Across Cultures*. There are two important issues that affect anyone involved in cross-cultural ministry. The first is the issue of misunderstandings that can develop because of differing cultural backgrounds, especially as these relate to differences between the cultural preconceptions and values of biblical times and those of the present. The second issue is adaptation and restructuring cultural preconceptions and values of biblical times so they are accurate and relevant in present day cultures. Whereas Mayers' focus is broad, encompassing the whole of contextualizing when two

cultures meet, Nida and Reyburn concentrate on the unchanging message of the gospel and how it can be contextualized (made relevant) in other cultures.

This author's view of contextualization is a combined version of both the social scientific understanding of contextualization and the inculturation approach to contextualization. It is not possible to ignore the change that occurs within a culture when new information is received into that culture. That process of change is the process of contextualization. However, it is not only the missionary who is bringing change and cross-cultural interaction. A host others, such as CNN and the BBC through powerful satellite connections, are reaching the remotest parts of earth with their transmissions, forever changing and expanding the world view of the common man. The only certain thing is change, and the biggest change is change itself. It is important for anyone involved in cross-cultural relations to be aware of the rapid contextualization which is occurring not only in the Christian community or as a result of the proclamation of the Christian message but in secular society as well. When two cultures or world views meet there is an assimilation that occurs one with the other

and eventually a cohesion develops, forming a new--somewhat the same and yet different--culture.

The Christian message fits into this process of contextualization on the supracultural level. Using Barney's terminology, it is a constant. The Christian message needs to be proclaimed in such a way that it is clearly understood, not simply a Western understanding, but understood within the particular culture. This does not assume that this is an easy task. Bruce Nicholls noted that,

> Throughout the history of Western Christian theology the truth of the gospel has suffered an unconscious assimilation of conflicting tenets and practices. Augustine was unable to completely free himself from neo-platonism. Aquinas synthesized biblical faith and Aristotelian philosophy. Modern liberal theology in the West has been deeply influenced by the philosophies of the Enlightenment, evolutionary science and existentialism, and in the East by the philosophies of Hinduism and Buddhism (Nicholls 1979, 30).

The fact that contextualization occurs when the message is proclaimed should not compromise the supracultural status of the message. The real danger occurs, as Nicholls has illustrated, when culture and philosophies resulting from culture assume a supracultural understanding of the Christian message. This form of contextualization is easily seen in American Christianity which identifies biblical principles with

the "American way of life". Many American congregations seem unaware that their lifestyle is more closely related to the consumer principles of capitalism than to the realities of the New Testament.

Henry Lazenby likewise focused on this problem of the supracultural being too closely related to a particular culture when he posed these thought-provoking questions:

> ...How will Western forms be separated from the 'biblical principles' when it is only by using the Western forms that any 'biblical' principles were discerned? If the Western forms are removed does this not necessarily lead to some degree of change in the principles? ...by introducing already determined 'biblical principles' into the African setting, (for example), nothing can occur except assimilation. The principles are being assimilated into the culture in order to make the culture reflect those 'biblical principles' held authoritative by the Western missionary. But since these principles are inextricably connected to the thought forms and values of the Western culture, the African church will of necessity only reflect a Western form of Christianity (Lazenby 1992, 12).

Lazenby's questions emphasize the fact that there is a fine line between having an ethnocentric form of Christianity and one which questions whether it is possible to know with assurance what the message is that God has revealed.

After nearly twenty centuries of examination of the Christian message one cannot assume that nothing is

known about it. A Western understanding of the Christian message is at least an understanding. On the other hand, what is known should not be held in such high regard as to assume supracultural status. David Hesselgrave and Edward Rommen reasoned that;

> The missionary's ultimate goal in communication has always been to present the supracultural message of the gospel in culturally relevant terms. There are two potential hazards which must be assiduously avoided in this endeavor: (1) the perception of the communicator's own cultural heritage as an integral element of the gospel, and (2) a syncretistic inclusion of elements of the receptor culture which would alter or eliminate aspects of the message upon which the gospel depends (Hesselgrave and Rommen 1989, 1).

Hesselgrave and Rommen have highlighted an important point in the communication of the gospel, but it only emphasizes one aspect of what it means to contextualize. Context-ualization occurs not only on the part of the sender of a message, making that message relevant but in the broader and more practical sense it occurs after a message has been received and incorporated into the world view and culture of a people.

A true picture of contextualization includes two components. The first is based on the social scientific model which views contextualization as a process of change by which contexts interrelate and

join together, forming new contexts which likewise interrelate and form still other contexts. The second is the inculturation model which seeks to relay the Christian message within a context in culturally appropriate ways so that the information is understood and applied. In attempting to combine the social scientific concept of contextualization along with the inculturation approach, this definition emerges;

> *Contextualization is the ongoing process of change by which the constant of the Christian message unites different contexts together in genuinely cohesive and compatible ways.*

Issues in Contextualization in Irian Jaya

There are three major issues which face the contextualization of the Christian message in Irian Jaya. The first is a belief system which is based on an animistic mentality. Animism is defined as: Human beings' efforts to understand, control and manipulate ancestors along with the personal and impersonal spiritual forces which influence and affect the society in order to be successful and live in harmony with them. The goal of the animist is to be in harmony with his environment which not only includes living human beings, but also ancestors, spirits, plants and animals. The forces which affect the harmonious inner

workings of the culture must be dealt with in appropriate ways. This includes the introduction of the Christian message which must be harmonized with the rest of the environment. The results can be seen in Irian Jaya and other parts of Melanesia in various cargo mythologies.

The second issue is the experience of past and present colonization in Irian Jaya. Most of Melanesia can relate to the past experience of colonization but in Irian Jaya colonization is a current, though sensitive, issue. The inner aspirations of Irianese people are reflected in passive-aggressive behavior towards the neo-colonialist Indonesian government. The longing for independent rule, though, is tempered by the desire for the material benefits which have come as a result of being a part of the Indonesian government. The ensuing love-hate relationship has resulted in an unstable political environment and has been the cause of social distortion among the Irianese.

The third issue which effect the contextualization of the Christian message is a preliterate, preindustrial cognitive orientation which requires the use of symbols and imagery in communication. "Life and reality are seen pictorially in terms of active emotional relationships present in concrete situations.

The concrete relational thinker tends to express, inform and persuade by referring to symbols, stories and events rather than to general propositions and principles" (Hesselgrave 1989, 223). Irianese operate in this cognitive sphere which requires the de-emphasis on abstract, analytical and linear approaches to communicating.

Illustrations of the Contextualization Process

In Irian Jaya the government program of tranmigration allowed the author to see one example of the context-ualization process in a tangible way. The government built houses for participants in this program and would give full ownership of the house and land to the participants after an agreed period of time. This is very similar to the American Homestead Act. For many Irianese, this was a curious proposition of taking land that had always belonged to them and then saying that if they maintained it well it would again belong to them. The Irianese contextualized this situation by dismantling the houses built by the government and using the materials in ways more useful to them and in locations more suited to their culture. These houses, then, have been contextualized. The basic materials used in their construction have found

uses though not in the form in which they had been conceived. The Indonesian government took building materials, put them together in a certain way on a particular location and told the people that this is how they should live. The Irianese, on the other hand, saw the example and for all practical purposes understood the concept, but thought the materials would have better uses elsewhere. The zinc roofing material remains a corrugated sheet of zinc but has found a more practical use as a fence to keep the pigs out of the garden. The question arises, then, as to what is the correct use of a corrugated sheet of zinc: Is it better suited for a roof or a fence? A more penetrating question would be: Is it right to take a corrugated sheet of zinc off of the roof and make it into a fence?

The basic character of the corrugated zinc did not change in the process of using it for a roof or for a fence. This illustrates, however crudely, what happens when the constant of the Christian message is proclaimed in a culture other than the culture of the sender.

Figure 2 further illustrates the process of contextualization. When two cultures or even when two concepts interact, a change will occur in perspective, attitude and orientation. In the case where a

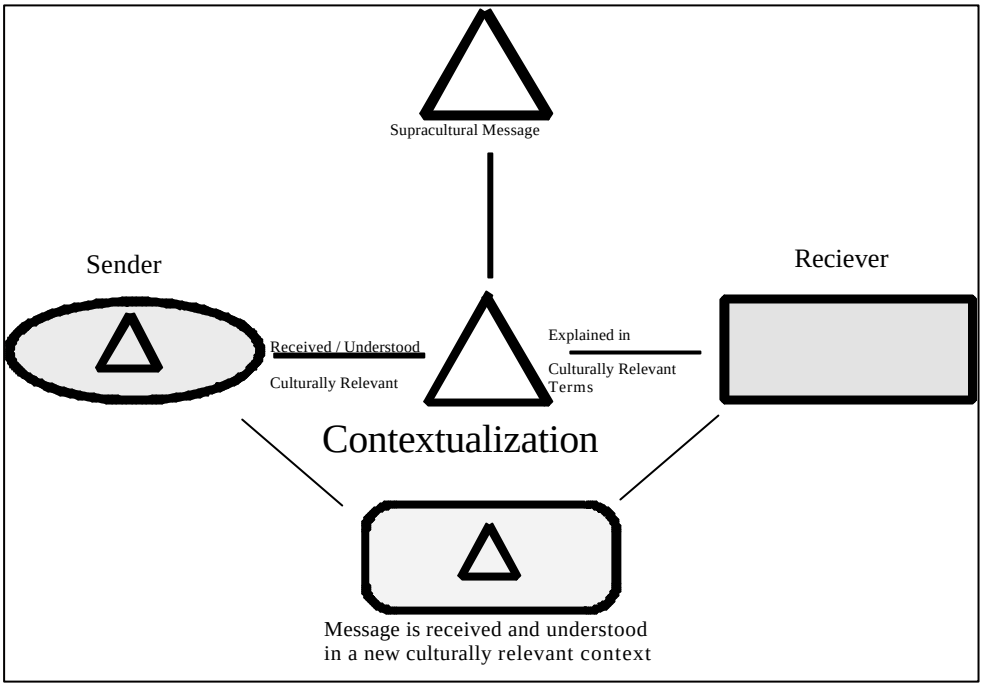


Figure 2

supracultural message, that is, the Christian message, is communicated, contextualization is both the process of making the message culturally relevant and the socio-cultural process which occurs in both the sending and receiving cultures.

While the sending culture's understanding of the incarnational truth of the Christian message may precede the understanding of the receiving culture, it does not invalidate or supersede the receiving culture's understanding. There is a common message, revealed by God, inscripturated, expressed in cultural terms and received in cultural terms, which is universally normative in the Christian experience.

This issue of mediating between the supracultural and the incarnational aspects of the Christian message are at the forefront of the missionary effort. The dangers of this process lie, as Hesselgrave and Rommen pointed out earlier, in falling into the error of ubiquitous ethnocentrism, assuming that our understanding of the supracultural is capable of being transplanted or falling into the error of universalism which accepts any cultural expression of the Christian faith as valid. "Some might feel that the intensive investigation of generations of Western theology must surely have produced by now a once-for-all set of theological understandings that can simply be passed on from culture to culture. Those of us involved in contextualizing Christian theology in non-Western cultures have not, however, found this position to be entirely accurate" (Kraft 1978, 33). Contextualization of the Christian message is not so much a product that is passed from one culture to another but it is a process of learning about God's revelation on the part of both the sender and receiver of that message.

The Church in the Contextualization Process

It would be impossible to present a profile that would be representative of all churches in Irian Jaya

since the character of the church is largely determined by the ethnic background of its members. There is one church in the city of Manokwari which can at least be used as a model for the contextualization process, both positively and negatively. The church presents a uniquely diverse population and that in itself is reason enough to use it for this model.

Location, history and size of present church membership

The Erikson-Tritt Church is located in the coastal town of Manokwari, Irian Jaya, Indonesia. The church is named after the first two TEAM (The Evangelical Alliance Mission) missionaries to come to Irian Jaya in 1951. Walter Erikson and Edward Tritt began survey work in the Bird's Head region of Irian Jaya in 1952. On their last trip to the interior of the Bird's Head region they were chopped to death with machetes by their own carriers. This may sound like a dismal picture to paint for the beginnings of a church, but the Lord used the deaths of Walter Erikson and Edward Tritt as the stepping stone for many more missionaries to come to Irian Jaya. As a result, not just the Erikson-Tritt Church but many churches were established largely because of an increase of missionary activity.

At the present time the Erikson-Tritt Church has approximately 140 members.

Population, economy, ethnic/racial character of community

Manokwari is a port city with a population of 128,207 people, according to the 1990 census. One long time resident has said that the economy of Manokwari is based on chickens. What he meant was everyone raises chickens so that at least if other food sources run out you can always eat your chicken. Other than the chicken-based economy, Manokwari exports approximately 93,000 cubic meters of wood per year, 218 tons of chocolate, 35 tons of fish oil and approximately 40 tons of scrap metal per year. It is interesting to note that the scrap metal industry is not self-propagating but is based on equipment discarded following World War II. These export products provide almost no economic significance for the average person except for a meager wage. For a hard day's work a person can expect to make anywhere from $.90 - $3.00 and that is not much to live on. Most profit, if there is any, is also exported out of Irian Jaya.

Ethnically, the city is divided three ways: 1) Coastal tribal, 2) Interior tribal and 3) Ethnic

Malay/Chinese. There is a large amount of animosity between these ethnic groups based on the ethnocentrism of each group. This tension between ethnic groups is prevalent in most daily activities and fosters much prejudice.

Denominational affiliation/type of church government

The Erikson-Tritt Church is part of a fellowship of churches called The Bible Christian Fellowship Churches of Indonesia. This fellowship is a unique combination of Congregational and Presbyterian forms of church government. Each church in the Bible Christian Fellowship Churches of Indonesia is autonomous yet bound together through Area Councils and a General Council.

Ethnic background/racial composition

The racial and ethnic composition of the Erikson-Tritt Church reflects the diversity of the city of Manokwari. The largest single tribe in Manokwari is the coastal Biak people and they also comprise the majority of the church members.

Biak Tribe	:	65%
Ethnic Malay	:	15%
Arfak Tribe	:	10%
Chinese	:	7%
Westerners	:	3%

Educational level of the majority of the membership

The majority of the church members have completed grammar school or grades 1-9. There are a growing number of high school and college students which are now attending church. The low educational level is reflective of society as a whole. The Erikson-Tritt Church is perhaps the best educated gathering of believers in the Bible Christian Fellowship. The pastor is a college graduate, three members are college teachers and one is a high school teacher.

Economic status/occupation of majority of the membership

The Erikson-Tritt Church is mainly comprised of unemployed people. These people are unemployed in the sense they do not earn a regular wage. Most have gardens and/or catch fish for daily sustenance. Although this is the majority, there is a growing number of store owners and government employees who are now starting to attend the church. What we have then is a few very wealthy people and many poor people worshipping together. This is also reflective of society as a whole.

Political views of the majority of the membership

All the church members are part of GOLKAR or the Labor Party with very few exceptions. This is the government political party and is the mainline conservative party. Two other political parties exist mainly to prove to the Western world that Indonesia is a democracy.

Sunday morning worship service format

The liturgy for Sunday morning worship has not changed for years. Every Sunday is, with few exceptions, the same. The order of worship is as follows:

Sing choruses
Opening Prayer
Hymn
Scripture Reading
Hymn
Vocal Groups
Pastoral Prayer
Hymn/Offering
Prayer
Hymn
Message
Closing Prayer
Announcements

Services provided during the week

Youth Service : Tuesday Night
Family Bible Study : Wednesday Night
Women's Bible Study : Thursday Night
Men's Bible Study : Thursday Night

Community involvement by church

The Erikson-Tritt Church is involved in the community by helping sponsor an Elementary School, grades 1-6 and supporting a local college student in ministry to the nearby Transmigrant Camps. Another strong ministry to the community is through hospital and jail visitation. In most cases the church is the recipient of community development projects rather than the implementor.

Upon examination of this church by means of this profile there is very little difference noted between this and a congregation of believers in any North American city, except perhaps with the exception of education and income levels. This does not mean that contextualization has not occurred. The contextualization in this model has simply been dominated by the Western context. This really should not be too much of a surprise considering that most of the business world and governments have primarily adopted a Western model for their operations as well.

What this profile does not do, however, is let one see beyond the superficiality of how a church conducts it worship and functions within a community. For example, elders' meetings are called and yet business is carried out in a combination of Western, Asian and Melanesian contexts. In this sense the church is

thoroughly familiar with the contextualization process since each time the church meets there is a need to be open to and assimilate other contexts. This is true for all the people involved including the Western missionaries in attendance.

Some would argue that there needs to be less of an emphasis on the Western context especially as it relates to worship and religious activities. Most missionaries in Irian Jaya would agree with that and yet the tradition of the Western-dominated context has nearly a one-hundred and forty year footing on which to stand. It is now the accepted norm for many congregations in Irian Jaya.

This very Western-appearing model can be deceiving. The pastor of the Erikson-Tritt church was suffering from some kind of stomach ailment. He could find no relief from the problem through the means of modern medicine so he turned to a "dukun" or traditional healer in the community. The "dukun" is perceived to have a special gift from God to perform various acts of healing as well as retributive activity when necessary. In this case the diagnosis was that foreign objects where obstructing the stomach and needed to be removed through a mystical type of surgery, extracting the objects without the

complication of making any incisions. Nails and various other metal obstructions were removed and the pastor fully recovered from his physical problem.

This inside view of the perspective of the pastor and some of the church members does not fit the Western context yet it has been contextualized into the practice of some of the church members.

Another example of non-Western contextual models can be observed in a case involving the forced burning of sacred fetishes. Each year the evangelical Christian churches in Irian Jaya celebrates the arrival of the first missionaries to Irian, which was in 1855. In 1990, the celebration included a dramatic presentation of the arrival of the missionaries coupled with a burning of the instruments of black magic still adhered to by some of the interior tribes. The fetish burning was done partially symbolically, to represent the difference a commitment to Christ made for the tribe, and partially as a means to rid the people of the fetishes that were still being used.

All the area churches were invited and the fetishes were burned. One week later the pastor of one of the churches who attended the fetish burning ceremony approached me with a problem in his church. It seems that one of the elders of the church had

killed this pastor's daughter using black magic. This was the accepted cause of death by all who accompanied this pastor to my house. The elder had even confessed to doing this. In repentance however, the offending elder had offered one of his daughters to the pastor to make up for the one he had killed. The questioned which I was asked was; should the pastor accept the offer of the elder to replace his daughter?

There is a vast difference between how a Westerner would handle a situation like this and how a tribal person would. This offer seemed completely legitimate and in fact very much appealed to this pastor. The only problem which the church board could see was that in accepting the offer of this elder he would also gain acceptance back into the church. The issue was clear: Could a person practice black magic and still be an elder in the church?

These kinds of questions are not the norm in North American churches. They do illustrate quite clearly, though, that the apparent Western form in the church profile is not necessarily the true character of the church. The Western context is clearly seen in the form but the Melanesian context is the norm in practice.

Irianese theology has developed the same type of Western facade as can be illustrated in the operations of the church. John D'Arcy May has made this observation:

> The prime event for Melanesia was not (as we theologians imagine) the preaching of the Word or the content of the gospel, but the arrival of white people. For the Melanesian community, myth and ritual provide renewal, assure life's fulfillment and even establish identity. Thus, 'Melanesian theology' though not always explicitly in the Christian sense, is already a hundred years old. It is narrated in the evenings around the fire, in peoples' homes, on the street, during canoe trips or while hunting. The themes come from Melanesian culture and are interwoven with Christian ideas: community, including ancestral spirits; festivals, which represent and call people to life's all-encompassing fullness; anxiety, which comes from the dark world of witchcraft; desire, which includes the longing for peace with traditional tribal enemies (D'Arcy May 1988, 27).

The themes which D'Arcy May has suggested are the real issues in Irianese theology as well. Practiced in secret, not spoken about in the presence of a missionary, these beliefs form the backbone of practical theology.

A typical illustration of the practice of theology is the ritual of sacred water found among certain church members of the Biak tribe. If a member of the congregation is ill or even has suffered some type of calamity in the family, a common practice is to hold a

Bible study or prayer meeting at the member's house. This is a means of strengthening the brother or sister who is suffering and is a fine expression of Christian love and concern within the body of Christ. Further strength or healing may be obtained by placing a glass of water on a Bible and consulting an ancestor through a church member with the gift of communicating with the dead. After a prayer and the quotation and sermonizing of various passages of Scripture, the suffering person is asked to drink the water for healing and strength.

The Risk of Syncretism

These examples represent the contextualizing of traditional animistic beliefs with the practice of Christianity. The negative term used to describe this kind of contextualization is syncretism. Any attempts at contextualizing theology run the risk of syncretism and yet any theological system which does not attempt to be contextualized runs the greater risk of irrelevance.

There are two major concerns in contextualizing theology. The first is the attempt to use Christian terms to express animistic or cargo cultic ideas. This was illustrated in the example of the blessing earlier. It is also seen in the attempt to call the meetings

where spirits or ancestors are consulted, prayer meetings or Bible studies. New terms don't change the character of the symbols involved in such meetings and the charge of syncretism can rightly be leveled against such activity.

The second concern is primarily directed towards the agent of contextualization, which is the bringer of the Christian message. As in New Testament times the risk of being a Judaizer is always present. A Judaizer held on to the Hebrew forms of religion and tried to make them fit into the new emerging forms based on the revelation of Jesus Christ. The kind of contextualization made by the Judaizers is found in Acts chapter fifteen: "And some men came down from Judea and began teaching the brethren, unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved." The Judaizers concept of salvation included a contextualization of the Christian message with the Hebrew religion. This was unacceptable to the Apostle Paul in the First Century, and this kind of contextualization remains unacceptable. "The greatest risk of syncretism today, as in Jesus' day, comes not from those who are attempting to discover ways of expressing Christianity in non-Western cultures (though there is a great risk there). It comes, rather, from

those who try, like the Pharisees and Judaizers, to preserve the foreign expressions of God's message" (Kraft 1978, 36).

Positive Contextualization

The examples so far of the contextualization process have been negative. It is perhaps easier to pick out those things which don't fit into our cognitive frame of reference. Amidst the negatives, though, will emerge a positive form of contextualization, ordained by God and relevant to the Irianese people who have put their faith in God. These types of positive examples are already occurring and more are sure to follow as the Holy Spirit leads Irianese believers into His truth.

One example that is evident among the interior tribes of the Bird's Head region of Irian Jaya is the contextualized form of expressing the Word of God in their language. The Hatam, Sougb and Meyah tribes all make it a practice in their worship services to chant/sing the Word of God. This is a traditional way of storytelling which has been successfully contextualized into worship.

Chapter V
Research Design

Introduction

Scholars in general would identify three major categories of knowledge: 1) the Natural Sciences; 2) the Humanities; 3) the Social Sciences. The Natural Sciences are concerned with the nature and study of the physical world and include such disciplines as biology, medicine and physics, etc.. The Humanities involve more of an interpretation of life in the physical world and include literature, art and music, etc., as disciplines. The Social Sciences, on the other hand, have focused on life with other people in groups and encompass a broad selection of disciplines from anthropology to psychology, education to history, and geography to government, to name a few.

Because the Social Sciences press for understanding in people and the relationship of people in groups and society, it becomes an important area of study for the research done in this study. As the Christian message is communicated in different cultures, it is essential that we have some understanding of the nature of people and groups. For such help we can, without hesitation, turn to the Social Sciences.

The Social Sciences and the Scientific World

As with any science, the Social Sciences gain legitimacy through the use of the scientific method for determining what is truth. Paul Horton and Chester Hunt point out in their sociology text that truth has been derived from several main sources in the past: 1)intuition, 2) authority, 3) tradition and 4) common sense (Horton and Hunt, 1976, pp.3-7). To this we add the scientific method. It is almost ironic that a study of the cargo cults in Irian Jaya would use a scientific method to research how Melanesians and Irianese have come to formulate their understanding of the Christian message knowing that intuition, authority, tradition and common sense are the primary methods for determining truth in that society. The scientific method, however, best fits the approach of this study. This approach of using scientific methodology, held to strictly in the realm of the Natural Sciences is also useful as an information-gathering tool for the research done in understanding the relationship of the Christian message to the Cargo cults. To arrive at truth through the scientific method, several steps must be followed. First, the problem must be stated, defined and delineated in the form of an hypothesis.

This hypothesis, then, must be tested. The second step is to gather all possible data relevant to the hypothesis. This data is then to be analyzed and categorized. Finally, conclusions should be drawn from the data to either verify or negate the hypothesis. This is the basic methodology used in this study of the cargo cults.

One must remember that scientific truth is objective truth; that is, verified by criteria outside the person seeking it. It is tentative truth; that is, the current level of human understanding of the issue. And it is relative truth; that is, it changes with the addition of new facts. This is not to say there is no absolute truth; sometimes it is absolute and sometimes it is relative. It is important that we understand how conclusions are drawn in the area of the sciences so that proper application of such knowledge can be made.

There is a major line of demarcation between the understanding of a secular social scientist and a Christian social scientist. This demarcation begins with their respective world views. Milton Reimer in *Christian Perspectives on Sociology* remarked, "The secular sociologist is almost always committed to a random/chance view of humanity" ((Reimer, 1982, p. 21). This allows men like Horton and Hunt to say that a

person becomes human as a result of socialization and that through socialization a person becomes either a man or a woman; a person becomes oriented either toward the opposite sex or to his own sex (Horton and Hunt, p. 88). Conclusions such as these are based on "scientific evidences", that is, an hypothesis was made, data gathered and analyzed and truth discovered.

Although the scientific method was employed, many Christians would disagree with the conclusion. This is because there is a difference in world view. The Christian social scientist begins with the presupposition that there is a God; the secular scientist begins with the presupposition that there is no God. A Christian metaphysicist would state that ultimate reality exists in the Person and program of God. His epistemology would view God's Word and His Creation as the basis for discovering ultimate truth. His axiology would be based on the standard of God's revealed truth. Finally, his anthropology would view man as made in the image of God though fallen and in need of a Savior. It is important that we make these distinctions because although we may use the same scientific method, we will not reach the same conclusions because of the differing world views between secular and Christian social scientists.

One further distinction needs to be made before making some application of the Social Sciences to this research and that is the distinction between science and scientism. According to *Webster's Third International Dictionary* scientism is "...a thesis that the methods of the Natural Sciences should be used in all areas of investigation including philosophy, the humanities and the social sciences" (Webster, 1972). This, then, makes scientism a world view and one primarily held by the secular social scientist. Another reference from Horton by Milton Reimer says, "Scientism divides all thought into two categories--up to date scientific knowledge and nonsense" (Reimer, p. 16). Men like Holton would debunk any conclusions not based on scientism but in doing so he limits his world view to only areas that can be tested in a laboratory, and this is a severe handicap. One is not limited to scientism in the study of the social sciences but can say confidently as Arthur F. Holmes suggested, "All truth is God's truth" (Holmes, 1977). As this research seeks to relate truth about the cargo cults understanding of God and the Christian message within their particular context, the Social Sciences and the Scientific method are useful information-gathering

tools and should add some additional knowledge to this field of study.

Presuppositions of the Research

This research is based of certain preconceived ideas about reality or presuppositions which form the basis of the world view of this researcher. It is through this particular world view that all the compiled data will be evaluated and conclusions drawn.

Metaphysics--Nature of Reality

For the Christian, ultimate reality exists in the eternal person of God. Any philosophic system must begin with certain presuppositions and the existence of a personal eternal God is the presupposition of the Christian. We must hasten to add that there is good reason for such a presupposition, but even a casual reader of the Bible will note God never makes an issue of proving His existence. Men do not require proof of their own existence nor the existence of material things; likewise God, although unseen in His Person has made Himself evident in man and through what has been created (Romans 1:19,20). To deny the existence of God is to deny any rational explanation for all of creation. Because God created all things (Genesis

1:1), all reality rests on Him and the things He is doing in, through and with His creation.

The cargoist would not dispute this metaphysical understanding of the universe in which he lives. His explanations for why things exist the way they do and how they came into existence corresponds closely to the sin and salvation theme found in the Bible. This was illustrated in the mythology of the cargo cults presented in chapter three. The Christian message is readily accepted on this level.

Epistemology--The Nature of the Truth

It is only natural after determining what is real to ask what is true. Obviously, ultimate truth would have to be based on what is ultimately real. The fact that the eternal God would seek to reveal Himself is not only reasonable but a necessary part of His creation. Likewise, it is natural for man to seek to learn something of the Creator and His creation.

Truth is not an esoteric variable which is determined by man or discovered within man but is based on the revelation of an ultimately real and eternal God. Essentially, there are two areas of God's revelation which constitute the nature of truth. The first is special revelation. This is contained in the

sixty-six books of the Bible. The written Word of God reveals ultimate truth about God, man and nature. It is the standard of truth for building an epistemology that is Christian. We may trust the truth but as Gaebelein observed, "We have fallen into the error of failing to see as clearly as we should that there are areas of truth not fully explicated in the Scripture and these, too, are part of God's truth" (Gaebelein 1954, 21).

The second part of God's revelation is natural revelation. It is this area which Gaebelein detects some weakness. However, in recent years the concept of all truth being God's truth is considerably popular. The wonders of the physical universe which God created are open for discovery and it is thrilling to learn more of God's creative wisdom through nature. Although within the realm of nature we find truth, ultimate truth, concerning our eternal destiny is not revealed in nature but rather in the truth of God's Word.

Truth for the cargoist, on the other hand, does not appear to be an important issue. Truth is what metaphysically exists. This not only includes the physical realm but also what exists in the spiritual realm. Numerous examples can be gathered from the actual experiences of the cargoistic society. One

example of this occurs when messages are received from the dead. The communication happened, it exists and is considered true. Another example which is more closely related to the acceptance of the Christian message is if a story exists about the beginning of a tribe that is accepted as the truth. If another story exists which is contradictory to the first story then we would assume that one of them is true and the other is false. The validity of one story over another we would attempt to verify based on history. This does not appear to be the case in Melanesian society. If both stories exist then they are both true, historicity is not a concern. The cargoist would attempt to put the stories together. This is essentially done with the Christian message. There is no hesitation to embrace God's revelation as truth. It is just as true as any other story that exists within the tribe. Attempts are made to make as many connections as possible between the "truths that exist".

Anthropology--The Nature of Man

The popular belief in a secular society is that man at his core is generally good. This view, nurtured during the Enlightenment by such men as Hume and Rousseau, was the catalyst for developing such

humanistic thinking as "man is the measure of all things", and the concept of autonomous freedom.

The Christian view of anthropology, however, takes just the opposite view. We say that man at his core is depraved. The fact that man was made in the image of God does not negate the distinctiveness of his sin nature. A threefold summary of the view can be stated as follows: 1) Man was created in the image of God (Genesis 1:25); 2) Sin entered the human race through Adam, and God's image in man became marred (Romans 5:19); 3) God provided the means of restoring man to fellowship through the death and resurrection of His Son Jesus Christ (I Corinthians 15:22). Because man possesses a sin nature and is depraved in God's eyes no way reflects on the value a man had to God. The tremendous value that God places on man can only be described in His grace towards man. His love and mercy in sending His Son clearly state the type of worth God places on the consummation of His creation.

A view of man, that he has value to God yet is fallen in nature and totally depraved, does not mean man can do no social or moral good. What it means is that he does not meet with God's standards. As a totally depraved person, man is in need of a Savior to restore his broken relationship with God. This is

found in the person of Jesus Christ (Romans 5:18,19). It is God's desire to see all who have come to faith in Christ conformed to the image of His Son (Romans 8:29). It is through the Spirit of God that this is accomplished as the Spirit of Truth teaches us (John 14:26), and guides us into all truth (John 16:13). The relationship which we have with God because of Christ through the ministry of the Holy Spirit is of primary importance in understanding the Christian message.

Irianese have a low view of themselves. They have no problem accepting the doctrine of total depravity, in fact they are the first to put the blame on themselves or their ancestors for their current condition. How a cargoist can rectify this problem and see himself as valuable within his society is tied up with the possession of material goods. The concept of a person having intrinsic value in not easy to communicate nor is it easily accepted in this society.

Axiology--The Nature of Values

The standard by which a person measures values state clearly his basic philosophy. Very few would be so bold to say they have no convictions or values regarding their existence and purpose in life. However, when pressed, our modern secular society has

no standard consistently on which to base such convictions. In this antinomian view it is popular to say that all things are relative and values are determined by a society's norm.

The Christian view of axiology takes a considerably opposite stand. Values are based on what is ultimately true, which for the Christian, means God's Word. The Bible is the consistent standard which allows the Christian to say because there is absolute truth there can also be absolute values based on that truth. James 4:4 illustrates the truth behind making such a break from secular reasoning when the text records, "Friendship with the world is hostility toward God." Simply put, antinomianistic philosophy has no place in a Christian axiology. The standard of right and wrong is based on either direct statements in Scripture or principles which can be observed in the character of God.

This is not to say there are only absolute values and no relative values. Relative truth does exist but all truth is not relative; the truth which the Christian can base his axiology on is true truth found in God's revelation. In applying this axiology, one has the freedom in Christ to do what is right according to the absolute standard of God's Word. This is a

hierarchal approach to values which is revelation-based.

Values as expressed in the cargoistic societies of Irian Jaya are decidedly antinomian. Acceptable standards of conduct are based on tribal law or "adat" rather on moral or natural law in the Aquinian tradition. Tribal leaders have a great deal of freedom in setting the tone for the moral and legal direction of their tribe. There is a certain lack of consistency when values are based on societal norms but most Irianese don't really concern themselves with these type of axionomic issues. If the tribal leader does it, it must be the right thing to do, would be the basis for their axiology.

The basic components of developing a world view are the foundation on which one can begin to grow and mature. If the issues revolving around metaphysics, epistemology, anthropology and axiology have not been established, especially in scientific research, true development will not occur. These issues form the spring board upon which a life long process may begin in developing an understanding of who we are and how we fit into the sociological matrix of culture. Of the four issues presented, only on the metaphysical level is there some agreement between an Irianese world view

and the Christian message as understood from a western evangelical perspective. Bringing cohesiveness and mutual understanding in these foundational issues is the task of the cross-cultural communicator of the Christian message.

The Social Sciences in Relation to Missiological Research

Of the many disciplines within the realm of the social sciences, seven stand out as being the most applicable to missionary work. These include anthropology, sociology, psychology, philosophy, homiletics, history, and religion. This is not to say that law, political science, geography, etc. are not important, but rather in gaining an understanding of people groups the previous seven disciplines are most helpful.

Foremost in this list is the discipline of anthropology, or more literally, "man-study". Margaret Mead has provided us a glimpse of the all-encompassing study of man by referring to anthropology as 1) a natural science, in that it studies the biological nature of man; 2) a social science in that it studies human behavior; 3) a historical discipline, in that it seeks to reconstruct sequences in cultural development,

and 4) a humanity, in that it studies art, folklore and oral tradition (Mead, 1966, p.3). This broad construct of anthropology is sufficient enough for the application to missionary work and it will used as the main comparison.

Anthropology is a comparative approach to the study of humanity. As Frank Vivelo said, "It attempts to see human beings in the broad view, not just isolated societies or societal traditions. It compares society with society and tradition with tradition" (Vivelo, 1978, p. 4). It may be stated that anthropology is a holistic system of the study of human kind.

The usefulness of this approach for the missionary may be found in the various ethnographic studies which result in the holistic study of anthropology. The anthropologist would compare and contrast ethnographic studies in an attempt to conclude something about human kind. The missionary uses ethnographic studies to gain insight into the societal structure and habits of a particular group. Ethnology is defined by *The American College Dictionary* as "...the science that treats the distinctive subdivisions of mankind, their origin, relations, speech, institutions, etc." (American, 1955, p. 413). Therefore the missionary, by making use of

ethnographic studies or by doing an ethnographic study, prepares himself for entering that particular society. Likewise this study makes use of current anthropological research in gaining an understanding of the cargo cults and in formulating the hypotheses.

Research Hypotheses

There are three factors which contribute to the overall beliefs in the Christian church in Irian Jaya. The three factor are: cargo cult beliefs, animistic beliefs and a tribal mentality. All of these factors have influenced, in some way, the type of Christianity practiced in Irian Jaya today. The purpose of these research hypotheses is to determine the extent of the relationship that exists, if any, between these factors.

Primary Hypothesis:	There is a difference between cargo cult beliefs and the Christian message as practiced in Irian Jaya, Indonesia.
Secondary Hypotheses:	There is a difference between animistic beliefs and the Christian message as practiced in Irian Jaya, Indonesia.
	There is a difference between a tribal mentality and the Christian message as practiced in Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

Null Hypotheses

In order to reject the null hypotheses the survey instrument will attempt to establish that there is a difference between cargoistic beliefs, animistic beliefs, a tribal mentality and the Christian message. The null hypotheses are:

Primary Null Hypothesis:	There is no difference between cargo cult beliefs and the Christian message as practiced in Irian Jaya, Indonesia.
Secondary Null Hypotheses:	There is no difference between animistic beliefs and the Christian message as practiced in Irian Jaya, Indonesia.
	There is no difference between a tribal mentality and the Christian message as practiced in Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

Definition Of Terms

Cargo cults as observed in Irian Jaya by very definition include animistic beliefs and portray a tribal mentality. It is for this reason that the primary hypothesis for this research is looking for a relationship between cargo cults and Christianity. Affirming that there is a relationship between cargo

cults and Christianity will likewise affirm the secondary hypotheses.

In addition to the material already presented in this dissertation about the cargo cults, a working definition for further understanding of the term as used in this research will be:

> *A belief that societal status which is embodied in the possession of material goods, political freedom, economic freedom, technological advancements, social equality and anything else perceived to be necessary to live a fruitful and abundant life, has in some way been taken away as a result of the sins or foolishness of ancestors. These rightful possessions will someday be restored by a messianic figure if the members of the society will faithfully perform certain culture specific rituals as proclaimed by prophets within the society.*

Animistic beliefs which extend from an animistic world view are foundational to maintain cargo cultic beliefs. In the animistic world view, there is no separation between the natural, empirical world and the supernatural world of spirits and ancestors. Elaborate taxonomies differentiate the role of the living and dead as well as personal and impersonal spirits. It is the role of living human beings in this mono-cotic sphere of existence to learn how to control, if necessary, and live in harmony with ancestors as well

as personal and impersonal spirits. For this research animistic beliefs will be defined as:

> *Human beings' efforts to understand, control and manipulate ancestors along with the personal and impersonal spiritual forces which influence and affect the society in order to be successful and live in harmony with them.*

In Irian Jaya as well as in other parts of Melanesia the social structure is made up of two levels; those who provide and those who are provided for. This societal structure is called a debt society. In this structure it is advantageous to be obligated to those who can provide for your needs since the larger your debt the more secure the relationship. The provider will not break the relationship off simply because the debt cannot be paid. The return, in loyalty and availability to work whenever necessary far exceed any monetary gain. Those who are able to provide for the needs of others either as a result of a family lineage or other resources attempt to portray themselves as benevolent father figures. The more who are indebted, the more important the person becomes. This style of leadership in a tribal setting has been called the *Big Man* (Cochrane, 1970) style of leadership. In the tribal areas of Irian Jaya the encompassing vernacular term is *kepala suku* which means

"tribal or ethnic head". The tribal head by virtue of what he can provide for his people gains the unquestioning loyalty of his followers. A working definition of a tribal mentality for this research is as follows:

> *The co-dependent relationship established between a benefactor and his dependents which requires unquestioning loyalty and deference in return for a certain amount of stability and security in life.*

To define Christianity in all its practical aspects is beyond the limitations of this research. However, the term *Christianity* is being used in this proposal as a standard by which cargo cult beliefs may be evaluated. To define Christianity in terms of doctrinal beliefs as embodied in the great historical documents of the Church such as the Apostle's Creed or the Westminster Confession would provide the ridged standard necessary to validate the hypothesis but would neglect the cultural dynamic involved in both Christianity and the cargo cults. It will be necessary for this research to define Christianity in terms of what was offered by Jesus and the apostles, and the requirements to be considered part of the movement as recorded in the Bible. The doctrinal distinction, now so prevalent in Western churches, is the result of careful study and interpretation of the original

documents and the people who formed Christianity. It would be naive to think after twenty centuries that these issues could be approached *tabula rasa*, however, in an effort to fairly evaluate the validity and acceptability of cargoist beliefs into Christianity and visa-versa, the original dialogue by Jesus and His disciples as recorded in the Bible will have primary consideration. For the purpose of this research, the Christian message will be defined as:

> *The original offer of Jesus to become His follower, as presented in His words and practices, and as advanced by His disciples, the record of which is found in the Bible.*

Assumptions Of The Research

It is assumed that the conclusions established based on this research will be valid and acceptable. This assumption is made on the basis that each individual component of the research is also valid and acceptable. It is assumed that the problem has been accurately identified and explained. It is assumed that the hypotheses can be validated by the research methodology chosen. It is assumed that the sample chosen will be representative of the population studied.

Scope And Limitations Of Research

This study is limited to discovering if cargo cult beliefs have been contextualized into Christianity as practiced in Irian Jaya, Indonesia. The research will give some insight on what it means to be a Christian in Irian Jaya. Determining the validity of such beliefs in conjunction with Christianity is beyond the scope of this aspect of the research although some initial conclusions will be drawn. It is hoped that these initial conclusions as a result of this study will form the basis for further investigation and provide some insight for the growth and development of the Church in Irian Jaya.

Research Methodology and Descriptive Data

Data for this research was collected from a survey given to a random sample of church members in the Manokwari district of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Two hundred surveys were distributed and 194 were returned. Four tribal groups participated in the survey. Of the 194 responses, 49 were from the Biak-Numfor tribe, 51 were from the Meyah tribe, 45 were from the Sougb tribe and 49 surveys were collected from the Hatam tribe. All of these tribes are located in the Bird's Head region of Irian Jaya.

The survey was administered for validation purposes to eight people, at random, in the city of Manokwari, Irian Jaya, Indonesia. Approximately two weeks later the survey was administered again to the same eight people. The resulting correlation coefficient was .903 which validates the survey. Ninety-five percent of the responses were the same. The survey along with the English translation is appended as appendix I and appendix II.

The survey attempts to test the relationship of these various elements with established cargoistic beliefs. The following tables illustrate the four factors of the survey along with the number of positive responses and percentage of positive responses to the questions among the four tribal groups tested.

There are four components which make up the survey. These components are based on characteristics which form the basis of the cargo cult beliefs found in Melanesia.

These beliefs are supported by various Christian elements as well as animistic beliefs and a tribal mentality which have become an established part of cargoism.

(1) Christian beliefs (Table 1).

These questions relate to belief and behavior of those who identify themselves as Christians. The belief aspect centers around the respondent's acceptance of the Christian message and ensuing relationship with Jesus Christ as well as his or her trust in the Biblical record.

Table 1

Christian Beliefs	Biak	Meyah	Sougb	Hatam	Total
Most people in your community are Christians.	45 91.8%	48 94.1%	43 95.6%	47 95.9%	183 94.3%
Most people in your community believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.	46 93.9%	47 92.2%	43 95.6%	48 98.0%	184 94.8%
Most people in your community are church members.	33 67.3%	44 86.3%	35 77.8%	43 87.8%	155 79.9%
You personally believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.	49 100%	50 98.0%	42 93.3%	49 100%	190 97.9%
You are a church member.	46 93.9%	47 92.2%	32 71.1%	49 100%	174 89.7%
Is the Bible respected and revered as God's word to man in your community?	45 91.8%	51 100%	42 93.3%	49 100%	187 96.4%
Do you personally respect and revere the Bible as God's word to man?	49 100%	49 96.1%	41 91.1%	48 98.0%	187 96.4%
Most people in your community believe that God created the heavens and the earth.	47 95.9%	41 80.4%	42 93.3%	49 100%	179 92.3%

You personally believe that God created the heavens and the earth.	49 100%	50 98.0%	42 93.3%	49 100%	190 97.9%

(2) Cargo cult beliefs (Table 2).

These questions focused on the main issues of cargoism which are the return of ancestors and a revival of traditional, mainly animistic, beliefs. Steinbauer (1979) and others have identified hundreds of practices and tendencies of cargo cultists which have emerged from the thousands of cases of cargoism within Melanesia. From among these various practices, six beliefs stand out as being foundational for a cargoistic mentality to be maintained.

These characteristics are:

- Belief in the cargo myth.
- Belief in the return of the dead.
- Belief in the return of a messiah figure.
- Belief in economic equality and prosperity.
- Belief in the restoration of traditional ways.
- Belief in political freedom and unification.

Table 2

Cargo Cult Beliefs	Biak	Meyah	Sougb	Hatam	Total
Most people in your community want to return to a traditional lifestyle.	32 65.3%	3 5.9%	7 15.6%	6 12.2%	58 29.9%

You personally feel that a traditional lifestyle is better and simpler than life now.	10 20.4%	8 15.7%	13 28.9%	3 6.1%	34 17.5%
Most people in your community believe in traditional legends and myths.	28 57.1%	21 41.2%	18 40.0%	13 26.5%	80 41.2%
You personally can attest to the truth of traditional legends and myths because you have witnessed their validity.	3 6.1%	14 27.5%	17 37.8%	6 12.2%	40 20.6%
Most people in your community believe that one day all black people will become white and all white people will become black.	8 16.3%	17 33.3%	6 13.3%	7 14.3%	38 19.6%
You personally feel that someday through miraculous means there will be equality among ethnic groups.	10 20.4%	15 29.4%	20 44.4%	7 14.3%	52 26.8%
Most people in your community believe that the teaching of the Bible can guarantee success if followed accurately.	25 51.0%	47 92.2%	35 77.8%	33 67.3%	140 72.2%
You personally believe the teaching of the Bible can guarantee success.	33 67.3%	49 96.1%	38 84.4%	32 65.3%	152 78.3%
Most people in your community are hoping for the return of an ancestor to bring about equality and enrich life in general.	7 14.3%	6 12.2%	9 20.0%	7 14.3%	29 14.9%
You personally are anticipating the return of your ancestor to bring equality and enrich your life.	0 0%	4 7.8%	3 6.7%	7 14.3%	14 7.2%

(3) Animistic beliefs (Table 3).

The animistic beliefs presented in these questions project the negative aspects of such a belief especially as it relates to the return of ancestors and occultic powers. These aspects were chosen because they reenforce the basic cargoistic tendencies. There of course are other aspects involved in animism but these that were questioned in the survey have the most direct effect on the cargo cults.

Table 3

Animistic Beliefs	Biak	Meyah	Sougb	Hatam	Total
Most people in your community believe that the dead can return to this world and either disturb or help those who are living.	22 44.9%	3 5.8%	5 11.1%	44 89.8%	74 38.1%
You personally have witnessed the dead return to the realm of the living.	5 10.2%	1 2.0%	1 2.22%	1 2.0%	8 4.1%
Most people in your community believe that the dead or spirits can control nature and affect people.	26 53.1%	5 9.8%	8 17.8%	16 32.7%	55 28.3%
You personally have seen the dead or spirits control nature and affect the living.	6 12.2%	2 3.9%	2 4.4%	2 4.1%	12 6.2%
In your community is there a person known as a "healer" or someone who can communicate with the dead and spirits?	20 40.8%	2 3.9%	7 15.6%	37 75.5	66 34.0%

If there is such a person in your community, does he or she use the occult?	35 71.4%	8 15.7%	17 37.8%	33 67.3%	93 47.9%
If there is such as person in your community, is he or she a church member?	31 63.3%	10 19.6%	25 55.6%	12 24.5%	78 40.2%
Most people in your community usually ask for help from the "healer" when they get sick.	35 71.4%	23 45.1%	22 48.9%	9 18.4%	89 45.9%
You personally have visited the "healer" and ask for help when other means have not helped.	13 26.5%	9 17.6%	18 40.0%	7 14.3%	47 24.2%
Most people in your community are afraid of the occult.	31 63.3%	15 29.4%	18 40.0%	20 40.8%	84 43.3%
You have personally observed the power of the occult.	11 22.4%	1 2.0%	11 24.4%	5 10.2%	28 14.4%

(4) Tribal mentality (Table 4).

The question relating to a tribalistic mentality reflect the respondent's willingness to have other authority figures speak for them and on their behalf. Thus the decision or choice of a recognized leader becomes the decision or choice of the tribe member because the leader is assumed to be acting on the best interest of all tribal members.

Table 4

Tribal Mentality	Biak	Meyah	Sougb	Hatam	Total
Is there a person in your community considered to be the leader of your ethnic group?	41 83.7%	49 96.1%	40 88.9	47 96.0%	177 91.2%
If there is an ethnic leader, does he or she have the power to speak on your behalf?	44 89.8%	49 96.1%	39 86.7%	49 100%	181 93.3%
If there is an ethnic leader, is he or she a church member?	39 79.6%	49 96.1%	31 68.9%	47 96.0%	176 90.7%
If there is an ethnic leader, does is he or she trustworthy and have the respect of the community?	39 79.6%	48 94.1%	41 91.1%	49 100%	177 91.2%
Is there a person or persons in your community known as pastor?	42 85.7%	48 94.1%	34 75.6%	49 100%	173 89.2%
If there are pastors in your community, do they have the power to speak on your behalf?	22 44.9%	48 94.1%	38 84.4%	49 100%	157 80.9%
If there are pastors, are they trustworthy and have the respect of the community?	45 91.8%	50 98.0%	40 88.9%	48 98.0%	183 94.3%

There is a danger that the respondents may not have answered the questions truthfully and precautions were taken to assure an accurate response. The method used, asked for two responses from the respondent. The first response is general and relates to their community as a whole. The second response is personal

and directed at the respondent as an individual. Tribal people are not as intimidated with personal religious questions if they are afforded the opportunity to evaluate and speak for their ethnic group. Simply asking a personal question would not normally get an honest response. The tendency for a tribal person is to give the response which is most favorable to them regardless if it reflects the actual condition. If the response is in connection with established norms in the community, then the percentage for an honest response is higher. This method is effective but not without the possibility of error. The norm in the community is usually the norm of the person responding regardless of the response to personally directed questions. In other words, if a tribal person is pressed to respond he or she will usually follow the norm of the group rather than seek independent alternatives.

Analysis of the Data

The entire survey consisted of 36 questions in four different categories. Nine questions related to the respondents Christian beliefs, 10 questions related to cargo cult beliefs, 11 questions related to animistic beliefs and 7 questions related to a tribal

mentality. The T-test for indepentent samples was used test the null hypotheses. The Friedman ANOVA, Kendal Coefficient of Concordance and the ANOVA chi square were also used as a means comparing the relationship of all the variables.

Primary Null Hypothesis Results

The primary null hypothesis stated that; There is no difference between cargo cult beliefs and the Christian message as practiced in Irian Jaya, Indonesia. When applying the T-test to the data collected from the survey it is possible to reject the null hypothesis at the .05 level of significance. The T-test produced these results:

🗀 christ	🗀 cargo	S christ	S cargo	df.	T-value	T-table
93.288	32.820	5.682	24.199	17	7.297	2.110

Based on these results it cannot be concluded that all Christians in Irian Jaya also practice cargoism. This, of course, is not surprising and leads to the further question of how many actually hold Christian

beliefs and cargoism on the same level. The percentages of positive responses in the survey towards cargoism reveals some interesting facts about what it means to be a Christian in Irian Jaya.

The issue of what it means to be a Christian in these communities is reflected in the responses to the other variables tested in the survey. In relation to cargo cult beliefs, 41.2% positively endorsed that most people in the community believe in traditional legends and myths. This includes the myths presented in chapter three. It cannot be stated that in this population there is no difference between cargo cult beliefs and the Christian message, yet 41.2% of the population represents a significant number of people who hold tradition legends and Christianity on the same level. On the other hand, only 14.9% of the respondents were anticipating the return of an ancestor to bring equality and enrich life. This indicates that although there is a healthy respect for the legends and myths which form the foundation of cargoistic tendencies, relatively few (14.9%) actually follow through and put their faith in the myth as a means of "salvation". It could be said, then, that these are nominal cargoists. It would be interesting to compare the results of nominal cargoism with the results of a

test on religiosity to see if both a nominal form of Christianity and a nominal form of cargoism are practiced.

Secondary Null Hypothesis Results

A secondary null hypothesis stated that; There is no difference between animistic beliefs and the Christian message as practiced in Irian Jaya, Indonesia. The T-test was also applied to this secondary hypothesis and expectedly had similar results to the primary hypothesis. The null hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance, with these results:

🗀 christ	🗀 anim	S christ	S anim	df.	T-value	T-table
93.288	26.650	5.682	16.474	15	11.433	2.131

This accurately reflects the data received as a result of the survey but in general seemed at variance with the practice of an animistic society. The animistic beliefs which form the world view of the Irianese and likewise "fuel the fire" for cargoistic beliefs received modest endorsements. This is

surprising in one sense and yet an expected response to a highly sensitive issue among the people. For hundreds of years Westerners have ridiculed these animistic tendencies, debunking the supernatural and creating the impression that anyone who would give credence to spiritual realities is not of the intelligentsia. In the West the tide has once again turned and more people are looking for meaning in life through the spiritual realities of New Age philosophies, but in Irian Jaya, although the world view accepts the spiritual nature of animism, the stigma of the Enlightenment era remains, especially if a Westerner is asking the questions. Still, 38.1% of the respondents endorsed the idea that the dead could return and affect the living. The ability of an ancestor to return from the realm of the dead is foundational for cargoism. Other animistic tendencies also fair moderately, such as seeking the advice of a "dukun" for help in healing; 45.9% of the respondents would seek such advice even though 47.9% thought the "dukun" used occultic powers. It is interesting to note that 40.2% of the respondents said that the "dukun" was a member of the local church.

Another secondary null hypothesis stated that; There is no difference between a tribalistic mentality

and the Christian message as practiced in Irian Jaya, Indonesia. In this case the null hypothesis could not be rejected. The T-test produced these results:

🗀 christ	🗀 tribe	S christ	S tribe	df.	T-value	T-table
93.288	90.114	5.682	4.399	14	1.218	2.145

The tribalistic mentality was strongly projected in the responses to the survey. This is a significant factor for initiating any kind of change in the society, both positive and negative. In exchange for a certain amount of security and stability in life the tribal person is willing to give considerable loyalty to an authority figure within the tribe. Expectedly, 93.3% of the respondents have such a relationship with an ethnic leader within their respective tribe. Additionally, 80.9% of pastors in the within the population group were given the same deference as an ethnic leader.

The real significance of these results is found in the virtually unquestioned authority given to leaders who have established themselves within the tribe. This concept works well when the ethnic leader is benevolent

and truly concerned for the welfare of his people, but the opposite is true when greed, lust and pride become part of the agenda. The propensity to be led was evidenced in the amount of trust a community had towards such leaders: 91.2% trusted their ethnic leader and 94.3% trusted their pastor. Although the potential for misuse of power exists in any society, a tribal society is much more susceptible to being led in a detrimental way.

Among the Asmat tribe on the south coast of Irian Jaya, an ethnic leader was given the opportunity to visit the capitol of Indonesia. When he returned to his village, he reported the many wonders of a world class city like Jakarta and added that the place was actually not a city in this world but was the place of the dead. If fact, he had visited with many of the people's ancestors and there appeared to be an overwhelming need for money among those who were living there. He felt it was his duty to return and bring with him as much money as possible for the friends and relatives of these tribal members, which he did. Money was collected from the unwary Asmat villagers and the ethnic leader has not been seen for a long time.

This represents one example of how the authority of an ethnic leader coupled with an animist belief can

allow those leaders to take advantage of tribespeople. This is also true when cargoistic movements arise because a trusted figure initiates such movements. The strong tribal mentality has the power to persuade even those who would normally question the validity of myths and legends. The stigma of "going against the flow" is greater than any faulty logic presented on the part of the tribal leader. The case of the Asmat tribal leader is a prime example this type of mentality can affect the whole tribe to their detriment.

If, for example, a tribal leader or pastor should suggest that Jesus will return if certain rituals are performed, as was the case in Mamberamo Tenggah, the results are the same. The strength of the leader's view, however incongruent, outweigh other opinions in or outside the tribe. Even a missionary trying to change the perspective of the tribe will have a difficult time if there is opposition from the tribal leader. This concept of tribal leadership and the correlation that exists between it and Christianity allow cargo cults to emerge and thrive, the only necessary component being the belief of the tribal leader. Even if only 41.2% of the people (as the survey indicated) support cargo cult beliefs, if the tribal leader does, then the shame associated with

going against his view is too much to bear and a passive acceptance will result.

The survey also revealed that there was not a significant difference at the .05 level between cargo beliefs and animistic beliefs. This is significant because it represents the respondent's clear understanding of the similarity between these two factors as they relate to their current world view. This understanding effectively strengthens the conclusions made about the contextualization of these beliefs. The relationship between the two similar factors, that is, Christian beliefs with a tribal mentality and cargo cult beliefs and animistic beliefs was not as strong. Nonparametric statistics were used to determine the relationship between these factors. The Friedman ANOVA and Kendall Coefficient of Concordance procedures established these results:

Friedman ANOVA and Kendall Coefficient of Concordance
ANOVA Chi Square (N=7, df=3) = 17.91429 p < 0.00046
Coefficient of Concordance =0.85306
Average rank r = 0.82857

Variable	Average Rank	Sum of Rank	Row Mean	Std. Dev.
CHRIST	3.857143	27.00000	92.77143	6.24759
CARGO	1.428571	10.00000	24.35714	9.06989
ANIMIST	1.579429	11.00000	28.40000	16.97194
TRIBAL	3.142857	22.00000	90.11428	4.39903

Table 5

Table 5 summarizes the data from the entire survey. All (100%)of the respondents indicated that their religion was Protestant Christian. Of those, 97.9% believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and they believe that they live in a Christian community, (94.8% positively endorsed the statement that: "Most people in the community believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God"). By comparison, the Province of Irian Jaya is approximately 75% Christian and Indonesia claims a Christian population of just over 5%. The individual communities in which the respondents live reflect a higher than average percentage of Christians.

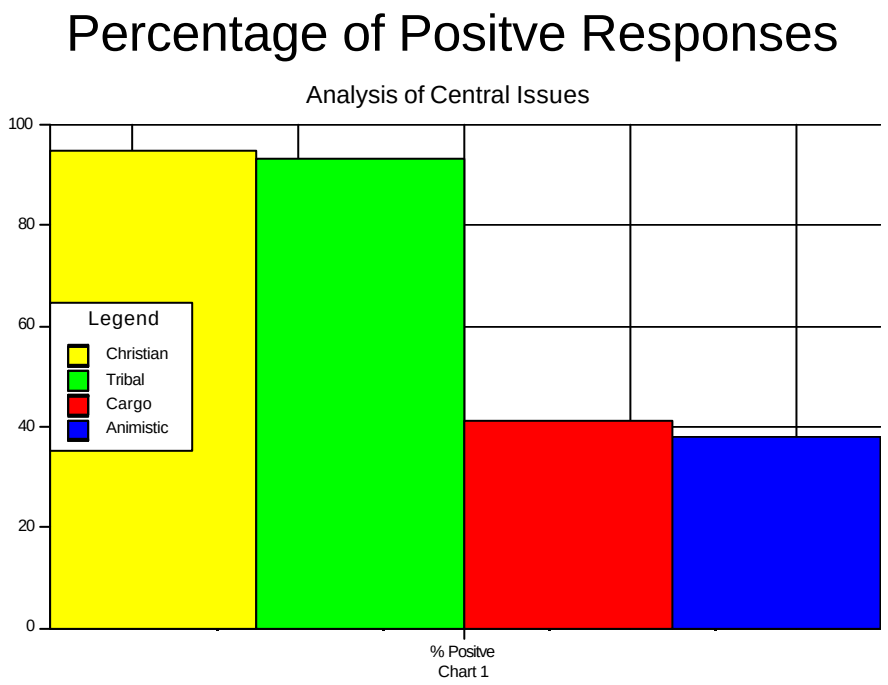


Chart 1

The positive endorsements of the central issues questioned in the survey, illustrated in Chart 1 is a representation of how the four components of the survey interrelate. It also illustrates the correlation that exists between Christian beliefs and a tribal mentality as well as the correlation that exists between cargo cult beliefs and animistic beliefs. The central issues are those questions in the survey which most strongly represent the belief being tested. These beliefs are considered to be the central issues:

Relating to Christian beliefs; Most people in your community believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.
Relating to cargo cult beliefs; Most people in your community believe in traditional legends and myths.
Relating to animistic beliefs; Most people in your community believe that the dead can return to this world and either disturb or help those who are living.
Relating to a tribal mentality; If there is an ethnic leader, does he or she have the power to speak on your behalf?

When examining the central issues relating to beliefs in each of the variables tested in the survey the same pattern emerges, (illustrated in tables 6-9) with the exception of the Hatam tribe which endorsed

animistic belief stronger than did the other tribal groups tested.

Table 6 Biak Tribe
Friedman ANOVA and Kendall Coefficient of Concordance
ANOVA Chi Square (N=442, df=3) = 821.6959 p < 0.00000
Coefficient of Concordance =0.61968
Average rank r = 0.61882

Variable	Average Rank	Sum of Rank	Row Mean	Std. Dev.
CHRIST	3.846154	1700.000	89.36790	6.55123
CARGO	1.638009	724.000	42.29637	21.00750
ANIMIST	1.796380	794.000	55.52532	11.13427
TRIBAL	2.719457	1202.000	76.35569	16.88228

Table 7 Meyah Tribe
Friedman ANOVA and Kendall Coefficient of Concordance)
ANOVA Chi Square (N=456, df=3) = 1058.066 p < 0.00000
Coefficient of Concordance =0.77344
Average rank r = 0.77294

Variable	Average Rank	Sum of Rank	Row Mean	Std. Dev.
CHRIST	3.041667	1387.000	91.08466	6.65749
CARGO	1.958333	893.000	35.03814	29.69722
ANIMIST	1.219298	556.000	19.06381	16.31700
TRIBAL	3.780702	1724.000	94.92455	0.98557

Table 8 Sougb Tribe
Friedman ANOVA and Kendall Coefficient of Concordance
ANOVA Chi Square (N=458, df=3) = 1167.453 p <0.00000
Coefficient of Concordance =0.84967
Average rank r = 0.84935

Variable	Average Rank	Sum of Rank	Row Mean	Std. Dev.
CHRIST	3.829694	1754.000	91.62447	6.35723
CARGO	1.624454	744.000	33.99170	24.22259
ANIMIST	1.375546	630.000	26.96026	15.04921
TRIBAL	3.170306	1452.000	85.16022	5.32692

Table 9 Hatam Tribe
Friedman ANOVA and Kendall Coefficient of Concordance
ANOVA Chi Square (N=482, df=3) = 1310.156 p <0.00000
Coefficient of Concordance =0.90606
Average rank r = 0.90586

Variable	Average Rank	Sum of Rank	Row Mean	Std. Dev.
CHRIST	3.207469	1546.000	96.54939	4.41236
CARGO	1.207469	582.000	27.27676	21.08304
ANIMIST	1.792531	864.000	50.62034	26.87926
TRIBAL	3.792531	1828.000	99.20331	1.59916

Graphically, these results can be seen in the positive responses to among the tribal groups in chart 2.

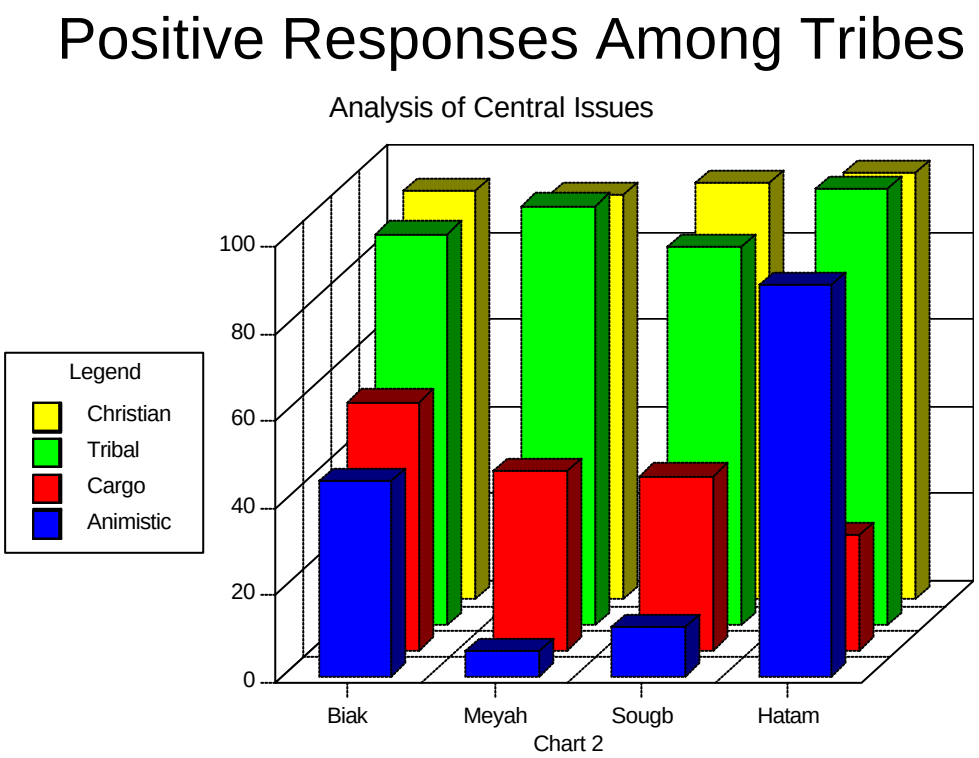


Chart 2

The picture that emerges from the analysis of this data is an illustration of the contextualization

process that the church is going through among the tribal groups tested. If a scale existed of modernity among the tribal groups it would probably indicate that the Biak tribe was the most culturally adapted and adaptable to the Western or at least to the Indonesian cultural perspective. The Biak tribe is the only coastal tribe tested and is the largest tribe in Irian Jaya. The Meyah, Sougb and Hatam tribes all are interior tribal groups with a similar cultural background and tradition. By comparison, the interior tribes are less advanced and seemingly more likely to hold to animistic and cargo cult tendencies. It was surprising to see that the results of the survey actually indicated that the Biak tribe was more prone to cargo cult beliefs with 57.1% believing in legends and myths. By comparison, 41.2% of the Meyah tribe held such beliefs, 40% of the Sougb tribe and only 26.5% of the Hatam tribe. It would appear that Western sophistication and adaptability is not an indicator of the strength of these beliefs. The Hatam tribe has one of the strongest and most organized churches by comparison with the other groups. Ninety-eight percent are Christians (according to the survey). A high percentage, however, held to animistic beliefs; 89.8%

positively endorsed such beliefs. The Meyah only registered 5.8%, Sougb 11.1% and Biak 44.9%.

Knowing and living with these people for seven years leads this author to the conclusion that the Hatam tribe's response is most representative of the population. There are certainly negative connotations with such beliefs, as was explained in an earlier section, which is cause enough for a tribal person to want to present a more positive view. It is just ironic that the strongest church organization would have such a positive response to the animistic question and the weakest, which is the Meyah tribe, would virtually have no animistic tendencies.

The strongest correlation for all the tribal groups existed between Christian beliefs and a tribal mentality. This mirrored the results of the entire survey with again the Hatam tribe having the most positive endorsement, 100% indicated a tribal mentality and 98% endorsed Christian beliefs.

Implications for the Church and Mission

The "church" is a broad and expansive term and could mean anything from the entire collective body of Christ to an individual member of that body. When reference is made to the church in Irian Jaya, there is

at least a geographical designation but this does not guarantee any kind of a consistent understanding of what is meant by the "church". The church in Irian Jaya is a particularly broad topic because of the social diversity of the people who live on this island. There are many commonalities among Irianese people but on the other hand just as many diversities. People living in the costal towns are different from those living in the interior and likewise the church in those areas are different. It is therefore necessary to have a definition of what is meant by the church within this context. The population tested in the survey was meant to be representative of the Christian population of Irian Jaya, or, the church. Because of the limitations of time and money only four tribal groups out of an estimated 250 tribal groups were tested. Because of the diversity that exists among the tribes in Irian Jaya, the implications of this study will more directly relate to the tribal groups tested. This does not mean that the results of this study or the implications presented here will have no bearing on other tribal groups or are not representative of them. It simply means that a replication of this study among other tribal groups would be advantageous and should be considered for further study in understanding the

relationship that exists between Christianity and cargo cults.

There are 3 implications gleaned from this study.

1. The church in Irian Jaya is not a cargo cult. This does not mean that cargo cults do not exist in Irian Jaya nor does it mean that cargoistic tendencies do not exist in the church. After nearly 140 years of missionary activity the proliferation of cargo cults within the church is not as strong as when the Christian message was first presented and there were no converts to the Christian faith.

2. Cargo beliefs and animistic beliefs exist and still form the world view of church members. Not all of these beliefs are in opposition to the Christian message. There are certainly differences in a western approach to theology and an Irianese approach. These differences need to be taken into account in evaluating the validity and acceptability of these beliefs before God. One factor in this equation is understanding the content of God's revelation. It is difficult for a church member to accurately evaluate his belief if God's revelation remains esoteric. Ministry activity which emphasis teaching the content of the Bible in a consistent manner should be a paramount concern for churches and mission agencies working in Irian Jaya.

3. The church in Irian Jaya is a tribal church. This does not come as a surprise to anyone but it should affect the way ministry is conducted in this context. Combining a tribal church which has cargoistic tendencies and apparently wealthy western missionaries is a structure which will foster an unhealthy dependent relationship and keep the cargoistic fire burning. Western missionaries should concentrate on theological education and community development which includes health care and allow the church in Irian Jaya to break free from unhealthy dependent relationships. Placing missionaries in a tribal setting for extended periods of time create an environment not conducive to true spiritual growth and maturity within the church.

Factors in Perpetuating and Overcoming Cargo Cults

There are two main factors which have perpetuated cargo cult beliefs among Irianese people. Answers to these perpetuating factors are the beginnings of finding a solution for the positive contextualization of the Christian message.

1. Something for nothing

The first is the ubiquitous desire of wanting something for nothing. Westerners can certainly relate to this desire, as seen in the proliferation of

gambling casinos, various lotteries and other such means of gaining something for nothing which have catered to the desire of the average man to beat the odds and strike it rich. Fortunately, for North Americans the Protestant work ethic has kept these desires in check, until recently.

As far as can be determined, the Irianese have no means for keeping this desire for gaining material possessions without working in check. In fact, these desires are maintained and encouraged through their mythology and as current events are interpreted to support the "something for nothing" proposition. The perspective of the Irianese is that they actually deserve to receive the wealth that has been so bountifully bestowed on the West. When a cargo barge containing a shipment of cars broke loose from its mooring recently near the island of Biak and went aground on Wundi island, there was much speculation that this was merely the beginning of a steady stream of cargo that would be coming their way. The rightful owners of these vehicles came and took them away, which is the plight of the Irianese. The cars should have been theirs, but someone else received them. Someday, however, their ship will come. This is one example of the cycle of hope and despair that the Irianese

feel. The Westerner has discovered the means to this great wealth and someday they will discover it also.

A typical theological response from missionaries has been to direct the thinking of the Irianese away from material possessions and recognize the spiritual "goods" and blessing which they have in Christ. (see discussion on this in chapter three). The rationale for this argument comes from the Protestant work ethic which suggests that material wealth and prosperity come from the hard work of capable men. The dichotomy which allows the Westerner to separate material and spiritual blessings is not present in the Irianese cosmos. Blessing both material and spiritual come from the same source. In fact, in observing Westerners the Irianese world view is reenforced. The typical missionary does not work, that is, does not have to tend a garden in order to get food to survive, nor does he have to hunt or fish. Instead, whatever is desired is ordered and delivered or purchased at the store with no visible means of where the money keeps coming from.

In one sense, the Irianese world view has the advantage regarding the source of blessings. There is just one source and He rains down blessings on both the good and evil (Matt. 5:45), a concept which is perhaps

difficult for Westerners to reconcile in their world view.

2. Leadership styles

The second factor which perpetuates cargo cult beliefs are the current acceptable styles of leadership found both in the tribal society and demonstrated by the government and mission organizations. This style of leadership fosters dependence on the leader to provide for the needs of the group. The cargo cult mythologies foster the idea that someday a messiah-like figure will return to them and restore the tribe to its rightful place in society. The messiah will not return empty-handed but will bring with him all the material possessions that the people want and need. For many Irianese, the mission and the government have become that messiah. It was the mission that perhaps was first perceived as the messiah, especially in the early days of missionary activity in Irian Jaya. The missionary was considered the sole sustainer of the local economy. Mission stores were established; the mission airstrip was built so that mission goods could be flown in on mission planes. The only way for an Irianese to take part in the many material benefits which came to his area as a result of the mission was for him or her to become part of the mission.

In many ways, with the surge of government projects in Irian Jaya, the government has replaced the missionary as the means for obtaining material possessions. What has not changed, however, is the mentality of the Irianese to gain these material possessions by ritualistically following the messiah figure. The dependent relationship that has been established based on these styles of leadership is not a healthy one for developing strong self-propagating churches. The tension caused by this relationship is too much to allow even a nurturing of the church to flow smoothly.

An experience that a fellow missionary had in Irian Jaya illustrates the point. Thoroughly disgusted with the dependent relationship that existed between him and other believers, this missionary decided that he would give whatever was asked of him. His next encounter was with a man who asked for a shirt. Faithful to his promise and in obedience to the Biblical mandate to "give to him who asks of you" (Matt. 5:42), this missionary took off his shirt and graciously gave it to the one who had asked. Seeing that he had gained some kind of advantage over the missionary, the man then asked for the missionary's pants. If the missionary would have complied, the

requests would have kept coming until nothing was left of the missionary's personal possessions.

In this example, the missionary had become the "provider", or in cargo cult terminology, he was the "messiah". That kind of relationship which results from "acts of kindness" foster a dependency which is likely to turn resentful. The ideal is as Ted Ward suggested, to develop a relationship of reciprocity where both parties offer themselves in mutual respect to the needs of the other. (Ward 1977). The Apostle Paul put it this way:

> Do nothing from selfishness or empty conceit, but with humility of mind let each of you regard one another as more important than himself; do not merely look out for your own personal interests but also for the interests of others. (Philippians 2:3-4).

The relationship envisioned here is reciprocal, that is, in order for it to work both parties must agree to do it. As long as the mission is perceived to be the provider and without needs, reciprocity cannot be achieved. The Irianese require a reciprocal relationship. It is as Trompf said, "...the heart-beat of Melanesian religion" (Trompf 1991, 19).

Successful contextualization of the Christian message means that both contexts, sender and receiver, are willing to change and enter into a reciprocal

relationship. In this sense "acts of kindness" are only kind if they can be paid back in some form. One possible solution is for missions to adhere to strict financial policies in fostering a reciprocal relationship. See appendix III for a detailed discussion on financial policies which would encourage church growth in a cargoistic tribal society.

Conclusion

Although the Christian church has been established in Irian Jaya for 139 years, the level of Bible knowledge, that is, a grasp on the content of the Bible is minimal. One reason is because the Scriptures has yet to be translated into the more than 225 languages found in Irian Jaya. The low literacy rate is also a contributing factor. The standard means for conveying the kind of information found in the Bible is through storytelling, theatrical dance, tribal discussions and oration. These methods are not precise, yet form the basis of many Irianese people's understanding of the Scriptures.

The sin and salvation theme is easily understood since the same motif is present in their cargo mythology. As the Irianese become more familiar with God's revelation they have the same privilege as the

Western churches to interpret and make applications which are acceptable within their world view. If we believe that God is concerned with this process of how His Word is understood and interpreted and believe that He has guided us in that process, then the same should be true for the church in Irian Jaya. Those who are involved in the process of contextualizing sometimes find it difficult when new ideas emerge based on the presuppositions of other cultures and world views. This process, however, has not taken God by surprise and He is fully in control of and leading us and the Irianese towards a better understanding of who He is and what He has accomplished through His Son Jesus Christ.

"For now we see in a mirror dimly, but then face to face; now I know in part, but then I shall know fully just as I also have been fully known" (I Corinthians 13:12).

Appendix I

Survey

Anda telah dipilih sebagai orang yang dapat mewakili pendapat dan perasaan masyarakat di Irian Jaya dan oleh karena itu kami mohon pertolongan anda untuk menjawab pertanyaan-pertnayaan yang berikut dengan sebenarnya. Informasi yang kami peroleh dari pertanyaan-pertanyaan ini akan digunakan dalam sebuah skripsi tentang masyarakat di Irian Jaya.

Titiklah (✍) kotak yang berlaku.

Kelamin anda: ❽ Laki-laki ❽ Perempuan

Status Perkawinan: ❽ Sudah kawin ❽ Belum kawin ❽ Bercerai

Umur anda: ❽ 18-24 ❽ 25-34 ❽ 35-45 ❽ 46-59 ❽ 60 keatas

Agama anda: ❽ Kristen Prot.❽ Kristen Katolik ❽Islam ❽Budha ❽Hindu ❽_____

Pendidikan anda: ❽ SD ❽ SMP ❽ SMA ❽ ST/Universitas keatas

Pekerjaan anda: ❽ Petani ❽ Nelayan ❽ Ibu RT ❽ Pemerintah ❽ Swasta ❽_____

Anda berasal dari suku yang mana?_____

Jawablah pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang berikut dengan jawaban "Ya", "Tidak" atau "Tidak tahu". Titiklah (✍) kotak (❽Ya) bila anda setuju dengan pertanyaan; atau kotak (❽Tidak) bila anda tidak setuju dengan pertanyaan; atau kotak (❽Tidak tahu) bila anda tidak tahu atau belum berpengalaman dengan hal yang ditanyakan.

❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda percaya bahwa orang mati dapat kembali dari dunia orang mati untuk menggangu atau menolong orang-orang yang masih hidup.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri pernah melihat atau menyaksikan orang yang sudah mati.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda percaya bahwa orang mati atau arwah atau roh-roh lainnya dapat mengendalikan alam atau mempengaruhi orang yang masih hidup.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri pernah melihat atau menyaksikan orang mati atau arwah atau roh-roh lainnya mengendalikan alam atau mempengaruhi orang yang masih hidup.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Di kampung anda apakah ada orang yang terkenal sebagai "dukun" atau orang yang mempunyai kuasa untuk menghubungi orang mati atau arwah atau roh-roh lainnya.

❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Bila ada dukun di kampung anda apakah dia menggunakan obat-obatan dan kuasa kegelapan?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Bila ada dukun di kampung anda apakah dia termasuk sebagai anggota gereja?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda biasanya minta pertolongan dari dukun bila mereka menjadi sakit.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri biasanya minta pertolongan dari dukun bila anda menjadi sakit dan tidak disembuhkan dengan cara yang lain.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda percaya dan takut akan obat-obatan dan kuasa kegelapan.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri pernah melihat atau menyaksikan kuasa dari obat-obatan dan kuasa kegelapan.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda ingin menghidupkan kembali tradisi atau adat orang tua.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri merasa kehidupan sesuai dengan tradisi atau adat orang tua lebih baik dan lebih sempurna dari pada sekarang.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda percaya akan dongeng-dongeng dan cerita-cerita adat.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri dapat membenarkan dongeng-dongeng dan cerita-cerita adat sebab anda pernah melihat atau menyaksikan kebenaran dari pada dongeng atau cerita itu.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda percaya bahwa nanti mereka semua akan menjadi sama seperti orang kulit putih dan sebaliknya, orang kulit putih akan menjadi sama seperti orang kulit hitam.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri percaya bahwa nanti akan terjadi perataan sosial dan ekonomi secara ajaib sehingga kita semua sama rata.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda mengharapkan kedatangan nenek moyang mereka untuk meratakan atau memperkayakan hidup mereka masing-masing.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri mengharapkan kedatangan nenek moyang anda untuk meratakan atau memperkayakan hidup anda.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda beragama Kristen.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda percaya bahwa Yesus Kristus adalah Anak Allah yang tunggal.

❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda beranggota pada salah satu gereja.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri percaya bahwa Yesus Kristus adalah Anak Allah yang tunggal.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri beranggota pada salah satu gereja.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Di kampung anda apakah ada orang yang disebut Kepala Suku?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Bila ada Kepala Suku di kampung anda apakah dia mempunyai wewenang dan kuasa untuk berbicara atas nama masyarakat di kampung itu?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Bila ada Kepala Suku di kampung anda apakah dia termasuk sebagai anggota gereja?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Bila ada Kepala Suku di kampung anda apakah dia dapat dipercayai dan dihargai oleh masyarakat?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Di kampung anda apakah ada orang atau beberapa orang yang disebut Gembala Sidang?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Bila ada Gembala Sidang di kampung anda apakah dia mempunyai wewenang dan kuasa untuk berbicara atas nama masyarakat di kampung itu?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Bila ada Gembala Sidang di kampung anda apakah dia dapat dipercayai dan dihargai oleh masyarakat?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Apakah di kampung anda Alkitab dipercayai dan dihargai sebagai Firman Tuhan kepada manusia?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Apakah anda sendiri mempercayai dan menghargai Alkitab sebagai Firman Tuhan kepada manusia?
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda percaya bahwa Tuhan Allah menciptakan langit dan bumi.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri percaya bahwa Tuhan Allah menciptakan langit dan bumi.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Kebanyakan orang di kampung anda percaya bahwa ajaran dari Alkitab dapat menjamin kekayaan kalau ditaati dengan seksama.
❽Ya ❽Tidak ❽Tidak tahu	Anda sendiri percaya bahwa ajaran dari Alkitab dapat menjamin kekayaan kalau ditaati dengan seksama.

Appendix II

Survey

You have been chosen as a person who can represent the opinions and feelings of your community in Irian Jaya. Because of that we are asking for your help in answering the following questions accurately. The information obtained from this survey will be used in a paper about the people of Irian Jaya.

Check ☞ the box that applies

Gender: ❽ Male ❽ Female

Marital Status: ❽ Married ❽ Single ❽ Divorced

Age: ❽ 18-24 ❽ 25-34 ❽ 35-45 ❽ 46-59 ❽ 60 and up

Religion: ❽ Christian Prot. ❽ Christian Cath. ❽ Islam ❽ Buddhist ❽ Hindu ❽__

Education: ❽ Elementary ❽ Junior High ❽ High School ❽ College/University

Work: ❽ Farmer ❽ Fisherman ❽ Housewife ❽ Government ❽ Private ❽_____

What is your ethnic background?_____

Answer the following questions with "Yes", "No" or "Don't Know". Check (☞) the "Yes" box if you agree with the statement or the "No" box if you disagree with the statement or the "Don't Know" box if you don't know or you are not familiar with the matter questioned.

❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community believe that the dead can return to this world and either disturb or help those who are living.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You personally have witnessed a dead person return to the realm of the living.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community believe that the dead or spirits can control nature and affect people.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You personally have seen the dead or spirits control nature and affect the living.

❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	In your community is there a person known as a "healer" or someone who can communicate with the dead and spirits?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	If there is such a person in your community, does he or she use the occult?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	If there is such as person in your community, is he or she a church member?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community usually ask for help from the "healer" when they get sick.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You personally have visited the "healer" and ask for help when other means have not helped.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community are afraid of the occult.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You have personally observed the power of the occult.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community want to return to a traditional lifestyle.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You personally feel that a traditional lifestyle is better and simpler than life now.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community believe in traditional legends and myths.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You personally can attest to the truth of traditional legends and myths because you have witnessed their validity.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community believe that one day all black people will become white and all white people will become black.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You personally feel that someday through miraculous means there will be equality among ethnic groups.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community are hoping for the return of an ancestor to bring about equality and enrich life in general.

❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You personally are anticipating the return of your ancestor to bring equality and enrich your life.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community are Christians.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community are church members.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You personally believe that Jesus is the Son of God.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You are a church member.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Is there a person in your community considered to be the leader of your ethnic group?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	If there is an ethnic leader, does he or she have the power to speak on your behalf?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	If there is an ethnic leader, is he or she a church member?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	If there is an ethnic leader, does is he or she trustworthy and have the respect of the community?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Is there a person or persons in your community known as pastor?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	If there are pastors in your community, do they have the power to speak on your behalf?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	If there are pastors, are they trustworthy and have the respect of the community?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Is the Bible respected and revered as God's word to man in your community?

❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Do you personally respect and revere the Bible as God's word to man?
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community believe that God created the heavens and the earth.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	Most people in your community believe that the teaching of the Bible can guarantee success if followed accurately.
❽ Yes ❽ No ❽ Don't Know	You personally believe the teaching of the Bible can guarantee success.

Appendix III

Western Finacial Aid to Non Western Churches

It isn't surprising that a possible solution to the problem of the cargo cults would be centered around financial policies and practices of those who would bring renewal to the church. This is just one suggested proposal as to how the knowledge gained through an understanding of the contextualization process can be applied to the church in Irian Jaya.

Westerners and Western churches give billions of dollars every year to mission agencies and missionaries to initiate, continue and eventually complete various programs and projects around the world (Barrett 1993:23). Great efforts and expenditures are made, by the evangelical community for example, because of a belief that it is only through explaining and understanding the significance of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ that a person may truly know God and enter heaven when he dies. The sending of representatives in the form of missionaries or pastors to explain the significance of who Jesus Christ is has become a priority for this particular group of Christians. In Irian Jaya, Indonesia, TMF (The Missions Fellowship), an organization formed to provide

assistance to evangelical mission agencies, administers nearly three million dollars in funds given by Western churches to support various programs in Irian Jaya (TMF Annual Report 1992). Likewise other groups, including the U.S. government, for humanitarian and economic reasons, provide significant amounts of financial assistance to developing nations.

It is admirable that Westerners in general and specifically Americans tend to be very generous with not only their surplus income but with actually budgeted amounts of money given to causes which they deem worthy. These worthy causes are generally intended to, in some way, improve the conditions, the understanding, or the capability of people who are considered less fortunate or in some way unable to improve on their own. The question which this essay is going to deal with is: How does this financial assistance best help the people it was intended to help? This issue will be dealt with on the level of financial aid which is intended to enable people to understand or better understand the significance of who Jesus Christ is.

It is the assumption that a better understanding of the significance of who Jesus Christ is will result in the coming together of like-minded people to form

churches and other institutions designed to propagate the forming of more churches. This seems to be the basic thrust of most evangelical mission agencies. Most of these mission agencies would call themselves "church planting missions". This does not imply that these mission agencies are not involved in social work on one level or another. The fact is that in most developing nations unless the social needs are attended to, the primary purpose of the church planting mission cannot be accomplished. The exception would be agencies formed solely for the purpose of providing humanitarian aid as a result of natural disasters or extreme indigence.

Many theories have been devised outlining strategies to accomplish the goal of a church planting mission. One of the early theories which has been widely accepted by the evangelical community was put forth by Henry Venn, Secretary of the Anglican Church Missionary Society in 1854. He said, "The aim of the mission is to call into existence self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating churches. Once this is accomplished, the mission should die out and missionaries should go on to other unreached regions, leaving the church to function by itself" (Neill 1964:259,260).

There are many variations and adaptations of this principle currently being used by evangelical church planting missions. The Evangelical Alliance Mission's handbook for Irian Jaya, for example, includes an adaptation of Venn's strategy in its purpose statement (TEAM Handbook 1992). Mission agencies generally adapt the three self principle, as it is called, but often leave off the part where Venn says the mission, program or project should die out and missionaries should be reassigned to other regions. This important ingredient of the three-self principle is usually forced on the mission agency and missionaries either through government restrictions or by specific requests from local people who feel they have received the full benefit of the missionary's presence. Governments who do not agree with the ideology of missionaries have sometimes dramatically called for the immediate deportation of missionaries, as during the Cultural Revolution in mainland China. Other more subtle forms of the suppression of missionary ideology occur in countries like Indonesia and India which place restrictions on visas and work permits.

The lack of a missionary presence does not mean the demise of an established church. One example of this is found in the Lutheran Batak Church of

Indonesia. As early as 1899 the Kongsi Batak (Home Mission Society) of the Batak people in Indonesia was formed to do evangelism among their own people and to continue the philanthropic work previously done by the Rhenish Mission (Nelson 1976:48). The evangelistic effort and the strength of the Batak Church is known throughout Indonesia and remains an example of how indigenous efforts can succeed and carry on without Western financial support. Batak Christians took the example given to them from missionaries and began supporting their own evangelistic efforts. This makes the Batak church financially independent and allows them to own their programs.

Another example of a church that has succeeded in fulfilling the three-self principle is the church in Korea. Bong Rin Ro, Executive Secretary of the Asia Theological Society attributes the success of the Korean church as a whole to following the Nevius principle of missions. John Nevius was a missionary to China, who in 1890 visited Korea and left behind four simple principles which Korean Christians diligently applied. The four principles are:

> *First*, to let each man abide in the calling wherein he was found, each was to live for Christ in his own neighborhood, supporting himself by his trade. *Second*, to develop church methods and machinery only so far as

> the native church was able to take care of and manage the same. *Third*, as far as the church was able to provide the men and means to set aside those who seemed better qualified to do evangelistic work among their neighbors. *Fourth*, to let the natives provide their own church buildings, which were to be of native architecture, and of such style as the local church could afford to put up (Nelson, 22).

The Nevius method is nothing more than an expanded version of Venn's three-self principle stated in other words. Ro wrote, "Korean Christians began by learning how to support the churches with their tithes and offerings and how to govern themselves and how to propagate the Gospel of Christ by themselves. The Korean Christians learned to be independent from Western missionaries" (Ro 1976:4). The Korean church is often sighted as evidence of the success of following principles which foster indigenization but with over 12,000 indigenous Korean churches and 18 indigenous mission agencies sending 259 missionaries it cannot be denied that this is a good source (Nelson, 23). The reason the Batak church and the Korean church have had such strong growth is that the mission agencies and missionaries involved with starting these churches allowed them to take responsibility for their own development.

When mission agencies or missionaries extend their support both physical and financial beyond the limit which would encourage independence at least two things occur. The first is a paternalistic attitude begins to emerge both on the part of the local people and the missionary. The people become dependent on the missionary and the missionary develops a certain amount of satisfaction and security by being depended upon. This symbionic relationship has the tendency to deteriorate over time. The second problem develops when a missionary stays too long, and the dependency of the local people becomes an addiction which both sides know needs to be treated but neither the national Christian or the missionary is comfortable with radical action.

Some national Christians have suggested very radical treatment programs such as when John Gatu read his paper entitled "Missionary Go Home" at the Mission Festival '71 of the Reformed Church in America. Gatu suggested that in order for the selfhood of the national church to develop both missionaries and mission funds needed to be withdrawn from many parts of the Third World (Nelson, 25). Gatu wanted a radical application of the three-self principle which mission experts agreed with in principle but were not ready to

apply. Peter Wagner responded to the "moratorium on missions" very diplomatically when he said, "To the degree that a moratorium on missionaries facilitates the fulfillment of the Great Commission of our Lord it should be supported by Bible believing Christians" (Wagner 1975:165).

The outcome of the moratorium was a partnership mentality on the part of many mission agencies. Rather than abruptly pull out of a project the partnership model allows the missionary to stay on task but with increasing responsibility given to national Christians until total independence is reached. Harold Fuller has diagramed this mission-church dynamic in four steps of development which moves from pioneer to parent, then partner and finally the mission becomes a participant in the program of the national church (Fuller 1980).

One difficulty that has emerged when a church and mission have a partnership or participant relationship is the decreasing amount of mission funds released to support various national church programs. This issue has caused endless tension between mission agencies themselves and mission agencies and national churches. It is imperative, however, for the continued independence and indigenization of national Christians that strict financial aid policies be made and kept.

This may involve the immediate halting of financial aid or a missionary presence from a project. This will be especially traumatic for Christians who have learned to "live off the missionary", but perhaps a necessary step in gaining independence. It may be that with such radical actions churches will flounder and fail as has happened to some churches on the south coast of Irian Jaya. However, this only strengthens the argument that churches need to be self-supporting in order to survive since unending missionary presence and finances do not exist. It may be advantageous for new missionaries starting new projects to determine a time when the work will be finished and make that time public knowledge.

There is a tendency for well meaning mission agencies and Western Christians to support the concept that it is a much more efficient use of funds to give financial aid directly to national missionaries or pastor rather than supporting a Western mission agency. This concept, rather than moving a national church towards independence and indigenization, actually encourages further dependence on Western funds as well as creating a plethora of problems for national Christians. A national pastor or missionary supported directly with Western money has a tendency to be more concerned about pleasing the source of his livelihood

rather than concentrating on the needs of his congregation. The resulting paternalism weakens the congregation since they are not directly involved in the support of their ministers. The usual result is apathy on the part of the church since in effect it becomes just one more service that the Western world is providing for developing nations.

The tragic result of this philosophy of ministry can be observed in the Bird's Head region of Irian Jaya. A Western agency is involved in the financial support of pastors who are considered to be immoral drunkards by the community. They can put on a good show when the Western agency comes by for an inspection but they do not have the respect of the community and are an embarrassment to other Christians in the area (Mayor 1992). However, if these pastors or missionaries are supported by the congregation directly, ownership occurs. This means the pastor and congregation are directly responsible to each other for whatever program or project they want to involve themselves in and a true indigenous church is the result. In the case of these pastors in Irian Jaya, they would not have their positions if it were not for Western finances since their congregations would not support them.

The Batak and Korean churches were and are successful because they held to the principle of self-support. Western financial aid which is intended to help developing nations and in this case developing churches must be administered by responsible mission agencies whose purpose is to move on to the next project when one is completed. The continued Western support of established churches only leads to the mentality of continued dependence. If the church in Irian Jaya is to grow out of a cargoistic mentality it will require an independent church, one which can set its own direction and develop its unique and culturally appropriate understanding of the Christian message.

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