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More Blessed to Give

*A Pentecostal Mission to Bolivia
in Anthropological Perspective*

Göran Johansson

More Blessed to Give

A Pentecostal Mission to Bolivia in Anthropological Perspective

by Göran Johansson

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ABSTRACT

The intersection between Mission and native church is the focus of the thesis. The argument centres on the consequences for this encounter of an inevitable ageing of the mother system, the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. An elaboration of the concept of commitment system (*hångivenhetssystem*) is the theoretical foundation of the study. Such a system is identified by the free choice of entrance and a coherence by mutual experience rather than cultural consensus. It is also characterized by a natural process of increased differentiation, socialization rather than conversion of the second generation, and changing concepts of holiness and sin.

Fieldwork was done during twelve months in the period 1987-89. Participant observation, mainly at Bolivian Pentecostal services, was the chief method.

The representation is defined as a kind of **cultural critique**, and the fundamental question is put in the following way: *Which are the forces, the restraints, the drives, the needs, the fears, in short, the movement dynamics, at the bottom of the fact that the Mission continues to exist as a separate and independent body in the mission field?* Decade after decade the Mission, in its various manifestations, avoids to be absorbed by and integrated into the Bolivian spiritual reality to which it has given rise, and which, according to the Mission, is growing at an amazing speed. Why is it that no fusion is taking place?

A breach of ritual logic is made when the missionary is ordained (*avskiljs*) to his assignment. The ordainment ideally should imply a separation from the out-sending congregation, and a subsequent re-integration into the Bolivian church, in the mission field. The missionary, however, rather enters an elevated position within the home church, though spatially separated from it.

This elevation causes a pragmatic hierarchy, a **significant difference**, between missionary and convert. This difference complicates the relations in the mission field, since it hinders missionary and convert to be mutually transformed in spiritual renewal. Parallelism and asymmetry in experience and social exchange tend to create labile native congregations characterized by a premature ageing. In a close equivalence between mission, teaching, and donating, the **"blessed giving"** generally tends to replace spiritual experience as the driving force in the system.

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Abbreviations

ADB	<i>Asamblea de Dios Boliviana</i> (The Brazilian branch of the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement)
ADN	<i>Acción Democrática Nacional</i> (Political party headed by the former president, general Hugo Banzer)
ANDEB	<i>Asociación Nacional de Evangélicos de Bolivia</i> (Organization of some sixty evangelical movements in Bolivia)
IEP	<i>Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal (Calle Uruguay)</i> (The largest Pentecostal congregation in Bolivia, founded by Swedish mission)
MI	<i>MissionsInstitutet</i> (The Mission Institute connected to PMU)
MSLB	<i>Misión Sueca Libre en Bolivia</i> (Swedish Free Mission in Bolivia)
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development
PMU	<i>Pingstmissionens U-landshjälp (PMU Inter Life)</i> (The development agency of the Swedish Pentecostal Mission)
SFM	<i>Svenska Fria Missionen</i> (The Swedish Free Mission) (Ideologically co-ordinating mission agency)
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SMF	<i>Svenska Missionsförbundet</i> (The Mission Covenant Church of Sweden)
SMR	<i>Svenska Missionsrådet</i> (The Swedish Missionary Council)
UMU	<i>Ungdom med uppgift</i> (Youth with a mission)

Mission map The Bolivian field

Foreword

This is a study of the workings of a Swedish commitment system, a case of Pentecostal external mission. The argument is largely built upon an extended example, a study of the Nordic Pentecostal Mission to Bolivia. This missionary project started back in the 1920s and seems not yet to have reached its culmination. In the years 1987-1989 I spent twelve months of field research in Bolivia, visiting a variety of church activities throughout the country, and trying to talk to missionaries and converts. It was, for me, something of a reunion. I spent my youth as a regular intercessor (*föredjare*) on behalf of Swedish Pentecostal missionaries. The times are uncounted when, as child and teenager, on my knees, I asked God to bless and protect the missionaries in their hard but successful struggle against "Heathendom", "Mohammedanism", and "Catholicism". The missionaries were the super stars of my childhood. My respect and admiration for them were immense. When I went out myself to the "mission field", after too long an interval, I was a backslider and, what is more, I was an unfledged anthropologist, a point of departure and a combination which did not make my self-imposed task easier, namely, to study the missionary enterprise.

My purpose and my relationship to the Mission were formulated, unintentionally, by my young Quechua teacher, Luis Morato Lara. In a break (Luis' institute was run within the walls of his parental home) he depicted some peculiarities within the Catholic Church in Bolivia, when his mother suddenly asked, with sternness and concern in her voice: "*Estás hablando mal de la iglesia?*" "Do you speak ill of the church?" "No, no", Luis assured her, "*solamente estoy hablando de sus errores*", "I speak only about her mistakes". The answer left the mother puzzled as to whether she should feel relieved or

perhaps get seriously annoyed. My position is almost similar. I should like to elucidate some (structural) mistakes, problems and deficiencies, as I see them, within the Nordic Missionary Enterprise to Bolivia. I thereby also hope and believe that my account will harm neither the Mission nor its innermost purpose. I shall characterize my way as representing a kind of cultural critique.

The missionaries, eminent members of "my tribe", often told me that what I intended to write, however it turned out, could not possibly be a fair picture of their enterprise. I had to agree, but I attempted anyway to legitimize what I was doing by saying that, whatever I wrote, it would not be possible to characterize as "unfair". Not completely fair but not, in its imperfection, totally wrong. I still have the same purpose, namely to produce a not unfair reflection on the Swedish Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia. I have tried, throughout my text, to acknowledge my strategies, both of method and rhetoric. I have also tried not to misrepresent the situation, but to realize, of course, that my text cannot be the whole truth.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank all the missionaries that I met in Bolivia and elsewhere. I am grateful that, in spite of everything, they tolerated me and let me have my way. Of the many missionaries I should like to mention three who were special. The first is AnnGerd Nilsson, whom I would like to thank for her extraordinary hospitality and a milieu of discussion that, for too short a time, made me realize what "perfect fieldwork" would have been like. The second is Reijo Ahtela. It is evident from my text that he made it easy for me to be an anthropologist. The fact that I always acquired a lot of material in his company did not depend on my ability but on his openness and generosity. Had I ever become a missionary I would have tried to be like him. The third one is Ronnie Strömgren, who, in his prudent way, always encouraged my work and who has read an earlier version of this text and given me valuable criticism.

I could mention many more of the missionaries but I shall limit myself to emphasizing that they all played very important parts for me, in various ways. I willingly admit that I often long to return to the mission setting. Its atmosphere of "expansion of the self" made me sometimes exhilarated and often envious.

Jan-Åke Alvarsson, through one of his books (1980), set me on the track.

For many years he has been an indefatigable critic, adviser, and inspiration. His firm position in both cultural science and missionary commitment has made him indispensable to me. Gunnar Swahn has from the very outset of the project been an attentive listener and a tough critic. Lena Boberg has, for years now, listened patiently to my ideas and has always impressed me by her knowledge and wisdom.

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Ulf Björklund has been my supervisor throughout the whole protracted process. He has encouraged me when the road has seemed too long and arduous. Ulf has delivered the kind of criticism that, after a moment of downheartedness, has always given me inspiration to set about working again from a new angle of approach. I admire his persistence in refusing to accept irrelevant or badly shaped material, though I would not say that he has been one hundred-per-cent successful. His telling-offs have been parsimonious and often not more detailed than to enable me to feel that the improvements, properly speaking, have been my own idea.

Mrs Margaret Cornell has carefully corrected my English. The fieldwork was financed through a grant from the Swedish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR).

Introduction

The focus of this study is the point of intersection between Mission and native church. The ultimate purpose of my inquiry is to understand what happens at this juncture. The local congregation is the ideal and biblical outcome of any missionary striving.

From the beginning my focus was different. In my original research programme it was "the Mission, as concrete phenomenon, in the shape of individuals, groups, everyday activities, constructions, equipment, and as an abstract and symbolic system in the shape of ideas, conceptions, theories, dreams, plans, strategies, disappointments and so on".

I obviously reckoned on whole-hearted assistance from the missionary collective. That was naive. My initial bold questions to the missionaries soon changed into a desperate questioning of my own strategy. The missionary board soon dissociated itself from me and my study. Systematic inquiries into the inner function and structure of the missionary enterprise and its dependent congregations were precluded.

What had happened? Why did the missionaries suddenly turn away from me and my project? These questions could generate material for yet another book, or even a novel. My tentative answers so far turn out to have historical as well as personal and methodological aspects.

The missionaries' initial reception of my humble person, dropping down in the mission field without sufficient previous warning, was welcoming and

hospitable, however. I was shown around, invited to lunch, brought along to meetings. Even some "problems" were frankly discussed with me. (Only one missionary maintained a firmly negative attitude towards me and my project, from the very start. Born an Englishman, and for the moment president of the missionary association, Keith Frampton saw what the rest did not yet see, a wolf in sheep's clothing.)

During this first benign period one of my main questions to the missionaries was: Why are you still here? Everything seems to be so well organized, so why don't you just hand it over to Bolivian hands and go somewhere else? Their answer usually was that they were working on it, but that the time was not yet ripe. I had to be pushed out of the missionary fold to discover, eventually, the true complexity of my questions. The continuous missionary presence was, for instance, more understandable when I saw their enthusiasm for the social work, for the teaching at the Bible Institute, etc. The missionary fulfilling himself in social rather than spiritual work generated other questions, however.

The forum still open to me was the public services of the Bolivian Pentecostal congregations. Circumstances thus brought me to the arena where, on second thoughts, the Mission's most important encounter is to be fought; the creation and establishment of a native church. The many biblical letters to the churches of Asia Minor and elsewhere show that what is really in the melting-pot is the true life of the congregations. There the result of the missionary effort is inexorably revealed.

I took part in about 120 services of different kinds, in about 20 different places. My omnipresence raised a number of new questions in my mind. How was it, for instance, that the adherents, in some places, behaved in such a heterogeneous manner during the service? As if each was seeking a form of service of his own. Moreover, I often looked in vain for the typical 'Pentecostal fire', which was characteristic of the services of my own childhood. The urban congregations at least, who were more closely linked to the Mission, showed no overwhelming, effervescent, spiritual life. Where was the 'revival' of the mission field, so often officially reported back home? Where were the spontaneous testimony, the instinctive personal vocal prayer, the speaking with tongues, the endless talk about the Kingdom of Heaven and Jesus' sudden return?

Each public act of worship presents its own true image of the inner life of a Pentecostal congregation. That was my own actual experience. In its soul-winning venture it might have only one chance. I do not suggest that the Mission *problématique* only occurs in the public service. Most of it is probably

enacted elsewhere. The service, however, epitomizes the overall interactive attitude. I do suggest that the missionary problem might have its origin and perhaps even its solution right there, in the spiritual community of the emerging congregation. That which cannot be veiled at the open worship should be worth heeding.

I was well aware that much had changed in the Swedish Pentecostal Movement after I left. The Pentecostal revival had apparently vanished and had partly been compensated for by an increasing organization and differentiation. But it was reported that the revival was still expanding in the mission field. New congregations were constantly being created out there.

Eventually the picture became clearer. To my mind, the congregations seemed unstable and inclined to fission and inner splits. They often appeared joyless and they suffered from a high degree of backsliding. Few members wanted to take full responsibilities in the church. Those who did ran the risk of being accused of abusing the confidence entrusted to them. The financial position would have been disastrous if the Mission had not supported them. The image emerged of already ageing congregations but without the firm organization and fundamental stability of a typical mature Nordic Pentecostal church. How had this come about?

To understand the situation of the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement I had to look into the ageing process of its mother movement in Sweden. I had personal experiences of this dynamic and my inquiry into it plays a role in my argument.

It should be pointed out, as an explanation of the expected revival in the mission field, that mission, as far as I can remember, was considered perhaps the most efficient device for reform and renewal. To send out a member as a missionary, in order to light the fire somewhere else, was supposed infallibly to renew the parent group through some kind of spiritual feedback.

Could there be a connection between the ageing of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement, a process which I consider quite normal and entirely to be expected, and the seemingly premature ageing of the Bolivian congregations? One aspect contributed to such an explanation, namely, an unexpected missionary absence from the somewhat hesitant Bolivian process of spiritual renewal.

The ageing of a system like Pentecostalism is directly attributable to its generational succession. I was told that almost all of the currently most dedicated Pentecostal leaders in Bolivia had converted in the 1960s, when the famous "Bolivia-farers" and a few other missionaries had found their feet. I

knew that all these missionaries belonged to the first generation of Swedish Pentecostals.

Could it be that the "blessed giving", in its varied and unilateral forms (teaching, material gifts, social work, etc.), kept the enterprise going despite the fact that the missionaries, to a great extent, seemed to refrain from spiritual experiences together with their converts? This would be all right if it were of little significance to the most important element in the missionary venture, the evangelical congregation.

However, what I am trying to do, in short, is to demonstrate that mission, characterized more by a blessed giving than by a mutual spiritual experience, may produce premature congregations, in other words, incomplete, undeveloped, systems. If that is so, then there is no wonder that the missionaries are still there.

The questions which I am ultimately trying to answer, and the inquiries which I intend to carry through, were not plain and lucid in my own mind when the project started. They have slowly crystallized in the course of the venture. On the other hand, they all tend to boil down to just one big speculation: *What are the forces, the restraints, the drives, the needs, the fears, in short, the movement dynamics, underlying the fact that the Mission continues to exist as a separate and independent body in the mission field?* Decade after decade the Mission, in its various manifestations, has avoided being absorbed by and integrated into the "national" spiritual reality to which it once gave rise, and which, according to the Mission, is growing at an amazing speed. Why is it that no fusion is taking place? What would happen if it came about? I believe that this question, in some way, contains the "secret" of the modern missionary enterprise.

I am aware that the Mission's ultimate goal is to "go further". This, however, does not always happen. So again: What are the dispositions and tendencies, making it possible for the mission enterprise to expand, in personnel and giving activity, without being capable, or willing, to merge in some sense with its spiritual host?

It is perhaps apparent that I shall place this lack of mutuality at the core of my inquiry. The rhetorical nature of my writing may be more obvious than is usual in anthropological texts. I do not hide the fact that I should like to persuade the Mission to work in a more mutual mode. In any case, I need to fashion my argument on a relevant cultural system, in its ideal shape.

Pentecostalism - a commitment system

The Pentecostal Movement is special but not unique. It is rather a variant of a fairly common kind of movement or system, which strives towards a close and primordial relation to the pristine sources of Christianity, as presented in the New Testament. To characterize it I have adopted the concept of a commitment system, introduced by Peter Stromberg in his *Symbols of Community: The Cultural System of a Swedish Church* (1986). The church which Stromberg studied is Immanuel Church in Stockholm, part of *Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF)* (The Mission Covenant Church of Sweden). *SMF* was formed, as a denomination, by separation from the Swedish state church in 1879. My Swedish word for the phenomenon is *hängivenhetssystem*.

The withdrawal, or expulsion, from an existing and allegedly ageing, i.e. stagnating, and institutionalizing movement, like a "state church", is characteristically the starting point of a new commitment system. Stromberg emphasizes that the commitment system is a "sort of culture that is of tremendous significance in modern society" (1986:4). His book is largely about the idea of grace (*nåd*). The old-fashioned conversion, the centre of church life in the early years, is remodelled into the "less clearly defined" encounter with grace (ibid.:51).

My argument will depend on the inevitable maturing process of the system and its general consequences for the missionary enterprise. The transformation of the original and dramatic conversion experience into something diffuse and almost commonplace is a good instance of systemic ageing. In order to clarify the ageing process of the commitment system, and to elaborate the dynamic of it, I have begun with an opening chapter on *The Commitment System*, which is rather extensive and might be perceived as somewhat peripheral to my argument. It is included because it represents a necessary step in my own understanding of the missionary enterprise and is an attempt to elaborate on Stromberg's term. Suffice it for the moment, however, to list the main general characteristics of the still vigorous commitment system.

At least the initial adherents have formed and accepted the tenets of the system of their own *free will*. The founders will, in many cases, have broken out or have been thrown out of already existing but ageing systems. This revival phase ideally attracts a lot of proselytes.

The *commitment* itself comes up before, or in connection with, the individual choice and subsequent "fusion" with the system's central symbols of

faith. The fusion has a "physical" and effervescent character, achieved in collective ritual (social consensus). The devotee typically "experiences" the symbol.

No debate on *cultural consensus* is required. The coherence of the system is based on *mutual experience*, more than on explicitly mediated and shared meanings and norms.

Intermittent joint renewals of the fusion between symbol and believer cause the adherent to experience new possibilities in life (*self-fulfilment*). The believer *uses* the elements of his faith. The culture *works*.

The system implicitly aims at a repeated (symbolic) subversion of the present order in society, and the continuous establishment of *new social orders*. The commitment system usually has, in other words, a soul-saving purpose, a missionary compulsion.

The mission command (*missionsbefallningen*) is the general driving force behind the Christian missionary enterprise.¹ The most common formulation is found in the Gospel according to Matthew 28:18-20.²

Then Jesus came to them and said, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age".

It is my argument that the ageing of the Swedish Pentecostal system plays an important part in its missionary venture in Bolivia. The ageing, in my terms, largely means growing away from the primordial values of the commitment system. The growing away has a demographic basis.

For those who are not acquainted with the ideal values of Pentecostalism I offer the following brief introduction. A few hints are dropped about the evidence of ageing.

The ideal model

Five implicit values, identified by Spittler, himself a Pentecostalist, meet with a response in my own past experience as a believer. As a whole these values "control the beliefs and the practices, the spirituality and the missionizing found in Pentecostal tradition" (1988:411).³

The Pentecostal movement in Sweden is now approaching the end of its third generation. While some of the more recent charismatics have been more

or less absorbed by their respective mainstream churches, the Pentecostals, in the early 1900s, were "disenfranchised" (ibid.) and had to form their own denominations.⁴ The adherents of the "primitive" Pentecostal revival in the United States were called "holy rollers". Their physical behaviour, in connection with conversion and spiritual renewal, caused a good deal of wonder.

The involuntary jerking, twitching, running, writhing, rolling on or beating the floor, shouting, shrieking, or clapping of hands, while in the emotionally exalted state is merely evidence of the "spirit" working within. (Holt 1940:741)

The *first* value of Pentecostal spirituality, consequently, is *religious experience*.

Nothing matters more to Pentecostals than their own "personal experience with God," their individual encounters with Jesus, their experience of the Holy Spirit. Often accused of an excessively emotional religious style, Pentecostals do indeed measure the genuineness of meeting God by the conspicuous presence of deep feeling. Tears are taken to accredit a true encounter with God.... Expressiveness is the norm. Religion is physical, whatever else it is. (Spittler 1988:412)

Turner and Turner suggest (1978:7) that the Christian "pilgrimage is exteriorized mysticism". I would say that Pentecostalism, at least in its revival stage, regularly exteriorizes *all* its mysticism. The mystical as such has no great place in Pentecostalism. Any experience should ideally be seen by the collective, to the mutual edification.

The most prominent religious experience for a Pentecostal is the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Unlike the baptism in water, the Spirit baptism has an intermittent character. The merging between believer and symbol (the Holy Spirit) ideally manifests itself in "speaking with tongues" (glossolalia) and constitutes a "spiritual bath", in which the believer loses his self-control and may become a tool as well as a user. The irregular infilling with the Holy Spirit is the archetype of manifested metanoia, i.e. of spiritual renewal, betterment, and sanctification.

In the 1950s the use of glossolalia was still widespread in Sweden and could be heard in almost every service. Now its public use is sporadic in Swedish Pentecostal congregations. Spittler reports a Gallup poll (1979) in which 62 percent of evangelicals, who considered themselves Pentecostals or charismatic, *never* spoke in tongues (1988:412). Hine has reported similar observations and indicates the reason: socialization.

We found that the second generation Pentecostals in our sample (those who had been socialized to accept glossolalia as a valued experience) spoke with tongues less frequently than those who had been converted from denominations where the practise was either ignored or devalued. (Hine 1969:221)

The *second* value is a preference for *oral communication*.

By this is meant a religious style that relies on interpersonal speech, with far less place accorded to study documents, to the academic enterprise, to university training, to rational argument. Instead, personal stories abound in the form of narrative "testimonies" of personal Christian experiences. (Spittler 1988:413)

Classical Pentecostalism has brought about very little which could be characterized as "serious academic theology". No formal education is required for the ministry; "what counts is evidence of true Christian and Pentecostal experience and clear conviction of a divine call" (ibid.:414). Ministerial education is now a subject of heated discussion in the Swedish Movement. Many senior pastors regret that they did not acquire a deeper theological knowledge early in their careers.

The *third* Pentecostal value is "spontaneity in personal conduct as well as in corporate worship" (ibid.:409).

... the Holy Spirit, now "within and upon" each believer (to use a Pentecostal phrase), may sovereignly guide that believer in corporate worship and in personal ministry. ... a tacit agreement that the Holy Spirit is in charge in any Pentecostal service of corporate worship. Prayers are composed instantly, on the spot - rarely read or recited.

A "message in tongues," for example, comes unplanned, unprogrammed. So does a prophecy. It may occur between verses in a hymn, following pastoral prayer, even at a stopping point in a sermon. There is, in Pentecostal spirituality, an overarching sense of the direct relationship of each worshiper with the Holy Spirit. And the Spirit is allowed - more so, encouraged - to surprise the gathered Christians whenever and however... (ibid.:415)

The "Spirit-born spontaneity" is fighting the "creeping organizational routinization" (ibid.). In the modern Swedish Pentecostal service the Holy Spirit seems to be held back. Spontaneous prayers are rare, and my father, a first-generation Pentecostalist, complains loudly about the fact that he no longer dares to raise his hand and shout "hallelujah", when he feels like it.

The *fourth* Pentecostal value is an "otherworldliness as the root of cultural pessimism, ecclesiastical separateness, belief in spirits and demons, and the

eschatological urgency of the return of Christ" (ibid.:409). Even this value seems to have met with some corruption. The Nordic Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia emphasizes social work as an important part of the fulfilling of the great commission. Back home the Pentecostals now co-operate closely with denominations, whose members I, as a Pentecostal child, was told to consider as not-fully-saved and not self-evidently bound for heaven.

The *fifth*, and most stringent Pentecostal value, is *biblical authority*.

Even biblical *inspiration* must be seen as a derivative of the authority of Scripture. ... much of their understanding of Scripture reflects a well-developed tradition about what Scripture teaches. Ministerial candidates are not asked what a given passage may mean or how it may be applied homiletically. They are quizzed to see if their understanding of Scripture accords with the commonly accepted views. (Spittler 1988:419)

These "commonly accepted views" are a sort of gate-keeper, protecting the Pentecostalist from discovering the underlying lack of cultural consensus. Homiletics is largely for the Holy Ghost to provide.

The concept of renewal occurs frequently throughout my text, a consequence of the alleged incongruence between Pentecostal ideal and reality. It is important to remember that renewal in this context refers to an ideal primordially, not to any new and adapted interpretation. Renewal, in other words, applies to the individual believer, not to the doctrine as such. The Pentecostalist needs to be intermittently renewed in his spiritual being, in order not to corrupt the message. To be renewed is to reject the continuous contamination of the pure and simple.

Outline

Throughout the period of fieldwork, in my more or less benign contacts with the Mission, a slightly rhetorical question was often heard or was implicit from the missionary side: "*Why is it so hard to help?*" The question could be triggered by recovering but unreliable drug abusers in Cochabamba, by looked-after but ungrateful Mataco Indians in Villa Montes or by saved but illegally coca-cultivating "brothers" in Chapare. There was, also, the disappointment that the help and the gift-giving were sometimes rewarded by ingratitude or even hostility, that the proselytized often did not seem to grasp the inner nature of the conversion, that the Bolivian leaders did not always live up to the trust

given, and so forth.

The permanent intention to give and to help is an important point in my attempt to narrow down the problem of the missionary enterprise. Burridge specifies a fundamental prerequisite of the missionary purpose.

...Christian missionaries form a class of persons whose moral stance and attitudes are significantly different from those among whom they work and to whom they address themselves. (1978:2)

This "definition" suggests one underlying cause of the Mission's central problem. The missionary enterprise originates in the experience of a fundamental contrast between the missionary who is called and an imagined environment, often located far away, whose "moral stance and attitude" is felt to be on another, lower, level. It is the missionary's intention, by various means, to improve this level, to "help", to "teach", and to "give to" the client community. Delfendahl, in a brusque statement, says that the missionaries' "status of improvers condemns them to remain forever aloft, even if only interiorly, with regard to the heathen around them, for their role is to 'lift them up'" (1981:89). The difference experienced is, of course, valid not only for the spiritual but also for the corporeal. According to an oft-repeated watchword, mission is "to help the whole man".

This betterment is aimed at by a blessed giving. "It is more blessed to give than to receive", a well-known and oft-quoted line from Acts 20:35, condenses, I suggest, the seminal problem of the missionary enterprise, namely, the Lord's alleged approval of asymmetry, independence, and hierarchy in the relation between giver and receiver, between strong and weak, between missionary and convert. The blessed giving tends to replace a primordial source of blessing, that of spiritual renewal and sanctification.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I, *Movement Dynamics*, contains only one chapter. Its main focus is *The commitment system*. I have attributed the Pentecostal Movement and its mission to this marvellous kind of culture. My centre of interest is the ageing process and in particular its effect on the system's inherent drive towards "mission", in other words, to diffusion into new geographical and cultural domains. Chapter 1 contains most of the concepts which turn up again later. However, skipping this part will probably not prevent the reader from profiting from the rest.

Part II, *My Position*, comprises Chapters 2 and 3. Both focus, in a sense, on the anthropologist and his profession in relation to the extraordinary

missionary enterprise. This part is justified by the fact that my own position, vis-à-vis Pentecostalism, influenced the direction of the study to a high degree. Chapter 2, *Mission and Anthropology*, offers a basis for the understanding of the implementation and the conclusions of this particular study. The relation between mission and anthropology has been complicated for a long time. One cannot ignore the fact that this complication may have theoretical implications. Chapter 3, *Study and Approach*, gives a broad-brush report on my fieldwork experiences and is an attempt to position my study as a form of cultural critique, unusual but legitimate.

The purpose of Part III, *The Mission* (Chapters 4 to 7), is to describe the Mission and, at the same time, to narrow down its central problems. All four chapters combine this purpose more or less, though they concentrate on different aspects of the enterprise. My presentation of the "mission setting", the complex of people and places, of activities and projects which together and through time form the Nordic Pentecostal Mission, is partial, since my knowledge of it is partial. The venture is so comprehensive and so multi-sided, and has been going on for so long, that a satisfactory presentation is inconceivable within the framework of my purpose. It has not been my aim to produce historical and ethnographic coverage of the total missionary enterprise. The presentation aims rather at giving a general view and a number of examples of its activities, achievements, and problems.

Chapter 4, *Pioneers and "Bolivia-farers" (Boliviafarna)*, might be characterized as a historical section, even though one or two of the original "Bolivia-farers" are still active. They went out in the 1950s, and are, however, historical in a very special sense. They are probably the last missionaries to Bolivia to be recruited from the first generation of Swedish Pentecostals. I suggest that the change between the first and the second generation is an important dividing-line for the commitment system in general. It is a limit beyond which the free personal choice (to enter the system) is replaced by socialization. The second generation of adherents initiate the system's process of ageing. This process has its most serious consequences, I suggest, for the system's missionary endeavour. The purpose of my argument is to contribute to a tentative theory on this complex process.

The historical chapter also exemplifies some of the important features of the commitment system. First, its lack of (debate on) cultural consensus. The Bolivia-farers went out in order to work together. The fact that they were all Pentecostals and profited extensively from worshipping together (social consensus), was erroneously supposed to guarantee shared opinions also on

how to transform the faith into practice in the mission field (cultural consensus). The Bolivia-farers abandoned their original idea of a joint venture. This could happen without serious consequences for their mission enterprise as a whole, which demonstrates another prominent trait of the commitment system. It is held together because the adherents *use* it in order to fulfil their lives.

The formal missionary organization, *Swedish Free Mission in Bolivia*, is presented in Chapter 5. *Evangelizing* is the prime missionary task. Its prosperities and adversities are discussed in Chapter 6. *Social work*, which is now engaging the majority of the missionaries, is dealt with in Chapter 7. Self-assertive and obviously arousing great enthusiasm in the missionary collective, the social venture appeared for some time to be an alternative focus for my study. However, the Mission's restrictions on systematic inquiries enveloped the whole enterprise. Moreover, some critical remarks could be heard, from the Bolivian side, which cautiously questioned an alleged imbalance in the missionary devotion, an interesting shift from spiritual to social commitment.

Part IV, *Dispositions and Tendencies* (Chapters 8 to 10), focuses on phenomena which are allegedly common to the whole missionary situation, and are, in my view, offshoots of the inevitable missionary lot, the ongoing process of systemic ageing.

Chapter 8, *Calling and Organization*, deals with the drift towards organization, efficiency, institution, and instruction, a drift away from a more direct supernatural intervention. The calling is identified as a fundamental principle of legitimation in the missionary enterprise.

The fate of my study, to be rejected by the missionary board, not only put me on a different track, but also supplied me with important information on the Mission's present social order. It appeared, in this case, to be an institution which was concerned about its own reputation and efficiency. Since I could not, in advance, guarantee a positive and resource-generating report, the Mission opted for dissociation from my project.

Why is it so hard to help? The question sounds familiar. It is sometimes heard also from advocates of "development aid" and even from social workers in our own welfare society. The question is, it seems, a somewhat hesitant reaction to the unexpected resistance, from the receiving side, to an indiscriminate and fortuitous provision.

Mission is almost a synonym for giving, or rather, it has become so. Paul's missionary journeys supposedly were comparatively mutual in character. In the epistle to the Romans at least, he looks forward to seeing his friends "be mutually encouraged by each other's faith", after having shared some spiritual

gift (1:11-12). In Chapter 9, *The Blessed Giving*, I elaborate somewhat on this issue and its counterpart, namely independence in relation to the recipients. The problematic effects of asymmetry are illustrated, as is the latent Bolivian criticism of the Mission. It is suggested that the blessed giving tends to replace spiritual experience as the driving force in the system.

Chapter 10, *The "Being At-Home"*, explores, finally, the opposition between the missionary strategy of parallelism and its ideal alternative, mutuality. I point out ordination as an important act in the creation of a pragmatic hierarchy between missionary and convert. The chapter presents a few social means which maintain the alleged parallelism, e.g. the romance rule and the missionary gathering.

Let me conclude this introduction by the following statement, in order to avoid misunderstanding. The Nordic Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia is probably one of the most successful mission projects in the history of the Nordic Pentecostal Movement. The growth rate of adherents is reported to be at least 20 percent per year. Missionaries sent out to Bolivia work hard and faithfully and achieve great results, considering their resources and working conditions. Obvious mistakes and regular scandals are conspicuous by their absence. The mission work, in short, gives a solid impression and might be held up as a model for Swedish Pentecostal Mission in general.

The Swedish Pentecostal Movement certainly admits some general difficulties in the mission field, but Bolivia stands high in any international comparison. However, my criticism is not concerned with this bright image of traditional missionary work and there is no internal disapproval which corresponds to it. It largely takes up relations which are not normally identified as "problems", but rather as elements in regular traditional missionizing, which it is possible to discuss but which can also be endured.

Part I:

Movement Dynamics

1

The Commitment System

This chapter is intended as an elaboration of the concept of the commitment system, for the purpose of this study. Peter Stromberg brings up a few symptoms of ageing but avoids discussing them in such terms. My argument, however, focuses on the inevitable maturing process of the system, especially its consequences for the missionary enterprise. The focus of my theoretical discussion is the Pentecostal movement and its missionary endeavour, which means that it may have a "fundamentalist" touch. The more pure theoretical investigation of the commitment system must wait, though I consider my contribution to be a humble but necessary piece in such an effort.

Free choice and commitment

The commitment system is, as Stromberg observes (1986:112), a cultural system whose adherents have, in some sense, *chosen* not only to accept it but to commit themselves to it. He does not bring up, however, the fact that such a system, at least when we talk about religious revival systems, will already after one generation confront the problem that only a part of the devotees have independently chosen to join. Individuals "born" into the system have a different experience of it, compared with those who have chosen to enrol spontaneously. This is the greatest weakness but also the greatest strength of the commitment system. A parenthetical transfer of the argument to the overall societal level reveals that the issue of "first choice" is relevant to cultural change in general.

Presented with a choice ... people may under some circumstances not opt for what may have seemed to be 'their' culture. (Hannerz 1991:4).

Members socialized into a commitment system, and lacking the fundamental possibility of choice, gradually weaken its social order. The weakening occurs as the socialized members themselves have to *seek* a meaningfulness in the system. They are born into it and must, like those socialized into other systems, provisionally accept its ways. The person who freely chooses the commitment does so because he looks for, and finds, a primary meaningfulness. It is very likely that the meaningfulness that makes the inborn remain becomes secondary and less decisive of his life and fate. I therefore assume that commitment is a continuous variable, rather than a dichotomous one. People could be referred to as more or less committed to a symbol, rather than being simply committed or not (Kiesler 1971:30).

Those who do not find any primary meaningfulness in the system, could be expected to withdraw. This happens, of course, to a large extent ("God's grandchildren" is a common label for those of the second generation who draw back). A withdrawal is, however, considerably aggravated by the fact that it is made from a system to which the parents once *chose* to commit themselves.¹ To leave a strong commitment system is much more dramatic than never to enter. That is the greatest strength of this system, when it comes to plain survival.

A Pentecostal movement thus has a considerable capacity to retain those born into it. A part of the socialized are even divinely called to missionary service. Missionary children often become missionaries themselves. The retention is the combined result of general parental authority, the "invisible everyday control" (Bloch 1975:4), and the power embedded in socialization. Not least, it is a result of the exacting belief that the rising generation within the church is, in a special sense, *sought* by God.

The Swedish Pentecostal Movement is an example of the power stored up in a once successful commitment system. In spite of the fact that its period of greatness, when it comes to external recruitment, was, taken broadly, over by the early 1950s (613 congregations and 82,700 members in 1950), the number of members increased right up to 1987, when the figure reached its maximum so far (100,674). The number of congregations by then had dropped to 527.²

The duration of a commitment system seems to be directly dependent on its ability to make as many first-choice committed followers as possible, during

the shortest possible time. When these adherents have won stability and form a fairly auspicious age distribution, the commitment system seems to roll along automatically and just get bigger and bigger for at least a couple of generations. Not until then does the commitment become sufficiently "diluted" no longer to ensure that the system will continue to be vital. At this stage the original generation, those who made their decisive choice and created the system, begin to pass away. The names in the roll thin out. Of the once large rural congregations in Sweden several now, 40 to 60 years after their formation, are reduced to the number they had at their institution.³

The establishment of a commitment system should thus, in the main, ideally be carried through in the course of one generation. With the change of generations the process will start which gradually leads to the stagnation and languishing of the system. All this is important to the missionary branch of the commitment system. There too it is a question of bringing about an order which will be vital and able to be self-generating for as long as possible. Moreover, this should be done, I suggest, with the help of the mother system's first generation. Mission done later has a different character, and is less able to establish a system with the same potency as the original one.

I think it is fair to say that the "Bolivia-farers", a group of self-supporting missionaries who went out in the 1950s, constituted the last good chance to transfer a vital Swedish Pentecostal system to Bolivia. They were all first-generation Pentecostals and had themselves chosen their commitment. And they certainly had some success. Congregations were established in Cochabamba and Quillacollo and some other places, and a small staff of committed Bolivians contributed to a certain stability of the native movement. Many of the now most able and stable leaders in the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement became believers during this first period, when the Bolivia-farers were beginning to find their feet.

To summarize, I perceive this first free choice of commitment as the foundation-stone of the system. Consequently, the lack of free choice is its main stumbling-block. I shall try to underpin this link in what follows. But what about the commitment idea itself?

Commitment is a concept which is relevant to a variety of situations. Used not only by anthropologists, but also by sociologists and psychologists of religion, and by social psychologists and psychiatrists, the concept might be considered a major factor in the dynamics of individuals and movements (Kiesler 1971:25, Gerlach and Hine 1968:32). The person who is committed is usually an agent of change. He is not necessarily what we usually mean by

religious or spiritual. Goodenough includes "all those who actively seek to reorganize another people's way of life in terms of some ideological blueprint for personal or collective salvation to which they are personally committed, whether the ideology is that of Methodism, Communism, or Pan-Africanism" (Goodenough 1963:19).

In spite of its widespread use, the understanding of the commitment phenomenon must still be considered incomplete. Its effects, however, are easily observed; "...the cognitive restructuring, the resulting certitude, and... the effortlessness of subsequent behavioral changes..."(Gerlach and Hine 1968:32). Individualism, connected to the spiritual experience by Burridge and Stromberg, expresses itself in commitment.

The fact that less extraordinary individuals can be led through a social process into an experience of commitment, with all its personal and social ramifications, and can influence others in turn, is the significance for the study of a movement. The capacity to influence others and to arrive pragmatically at sophisticated techniques of persuasion is observably traceable to the commitment experience. (Gerlach and Hine 1968:32)

The candid testimony of a Pentecostalist was, in my youth, directly attributable to Spiritual baptism, a then unfailing signal of deep commitment.

From Durkheim we have the idea that the communion of a group may be strengthened in rituals that have the character of collective "effervescence" rather than exchanges of meaning (1965:250). In Immanuel Church such experiences may be characterized as "moments of grace" (Stromberg 1986:12). In *Betania*, the congregation where I grew up,⁴ these occasions were characterized as "the outpouring of the Holy Spirit" (*den helige Andes utgjutelse*). Durkheim even suggests that it is in these "effervescent social environments" and from this very excitement "that the religious idea seems to be born" (1965:250).

The commitment to a "spiritual symbol" or a "spiritual truth" entails, Stromberg suggests (1986:13), a relation between symbol and person which transcends language.

Commitment is both more and less than a semantic process, for the symbol to which one is committed does not only represent. In the relation of commitment, the symbol blends with experience; it is more likely to appear as a feeling that can be described than as a content that can be deciphered. It is a relation of meaningfulness, not only of meaning.

This compound of symbol and experience means that the symbol becomes a

part of one's own self. A threat to the symbol is apprehended as a threat to the self. It is, according to Stromberg, this inner relation between believer and symbol which is the foundation of the community and coherence of the group, for "if you and I are committed to the same thing, we share an almost physical bond, we are united in a part of our very selves" (ibid.). It is this almost organic bond between those who share the commitment, that makes it possible for them to form a community which is not primarily founded in consensus.

Stromberg further asserts, as a consequence of this, that the cultural influence not only works via the mind but also through the body. Commitment "is an actual *physical* appropriation of cultural forms" (ibid.). This means that the culture, as a force, is both "more deeply established in human activity" and "less coercive than has usually been assumed". The following quotation seems to be Stromberg's cultural credo.

Cultural influence, I will hold, manifests itself in characteristic dispositions, postures, habits, in short in the patterns that characterize an actor's experience and enable the actor to formulate himself or herself as a self. In such a view, the patterning of social life occurs because men and women with characteristic dispositions are constantly creating and reproducing those patterns, not because the pattern has a reality that imposes itself somehow in social life. (ibid.)

Let me cursorily introduce the concept of disposition, since the disposition and its change appears to be a key concept in the ageing process of the commitment system. A disposition is cultivated and "inscribed in the body schema and in the schemes of thought" (Bourdieu 1977:15). It is "inculcated" from our first years of life and thereafter "constantly reinforced by calls to order from the group" (ibid.). The group in this case consists of those individuals who are bestowed with identical dispositions. A "permanent disposition" is, in Bourdieu's words, "embedded in the agents' very bodies in the form of mental dispositions..." (ibid.).

Cultural dispositions are the result not only of custom and tradition, but of all things that happen in society and in one's own life (Stromberg 1986:9). A disposition is not only to be "called to order" by one's own group. It is also to be called to order by other groups and interests. A disposition is the result of a competitive situation in which one's own group is fighting against a lot of other forces. This may be particularly important for the commitment system, which is often located at the margin of society. The forming and change of a disposition is also the motor in the process towards differentiation, institutionalization, and ageing.

There is, obviously, a difference between dispositions transferred to the second generation of adherents and the dispositions acquired suddenly by the first generation, when they receive "salvation". To become converted is, it seems, to change dispositions in a flash. This is, maybe, the secret of conversion. The only thing we may infer here is that the lightning shift involves the body, as well as the mind. Much of socialization, however, seems to activate only the mind.

Commitment is the embodiment of faith symbols. But what does it mean to experience a symbol? The members of Immanuel Church resist Stromberg's attempts to reformulate their claims about "experiencing" the words of the Bible. He finally has to give in and eventually understands. Let us take the analogy of bathing. It is possible to assert that bathing is a relationship between person and water. It is a describable encounter. Consider, then, the experience of a religious symbol, the immersion of the individual in that symbol. To describe that and just talk about "the symbols themselves" is like describing a bath and just talking about water (Stromberg 1986:49-50).

This is, to me, a marvellous metaphor. In fact "the bath", the immersion in water, the baptism, is one of the most potent Pentecostal experiences of the fusion between faith and symbol. It is also a rite of passage (van Gennep 1960), the implication of which was deeply regretted by many of the *Betania* members. They desired no more than to be physically baptized again and again, for it was "such a wonderful experience". This need might be more biblical than they were aware, since the baptism is a "baptism of repentance" (Mark 1:4, Luke 3:3), or *baptisma metanoias* (Pathrapankal 1971:108).

Victor Turner has suggested (1967:32) that "dominant symbols" have "two poles of meaning, a sensory and an ideological pole". He says (ibid.:33) that anthropological techniques and concepts may well handle the type of data which fall around the ideological pole. Stromberg seems to accept, reluctantly at first, that symbols may have a sensory side, a dimension dominated by experience and by the "physical".

Commitment involves, according to Gerlach and Hine, partly "experience", partly "action". The action, often characterized as "bridge-burning", is considered "power-generating", in connection with the commitment experience. They consider both act and experience "equally important in the commitment process" (1968:33). Gerlach and Hine do not say that the two "kinds" of commitment may exist separately. It is, I think, plausible in any case that the commitment may be variably expressed in "experience" and "action" respectively. Remember, for instance, the sisters Mary and Martha, the former sitting "at

the Lord's feet listening", the latter "distracted by all the preparations" (Luke 10:39). It is perhaps possible that perceived want of spiritual experience may be compensated for by increased commitment activity. The possible displacement between the two kinds (commitment by activity then being taken very broadly, and not only as ostentatious separation) may have something to do with the ageing of a movement. The hypothesis is that the ageing (religious) system increases its rate of commitment by activity (charity, social solidarity, social mission, and even "political action") at the expense of a supposed obsolete commitment by experience.

The commitment may vary not only when it comes to intensity, but also as regards object. I suggest, for instance, that some missionaries' fear of my alleged attack on the Mission (through my study) concerned the formal missionary enterprise, not the spiritual assignment. What the missionaries defended was, I think, the Mission as formal agent, rather than its spiritual obligation.

Commitment is also associated with changes in social identity. The social environment may help the individual to overcome reluctance before the expected change, but the actual commitment to a new social identity must be produced by the individual himself, the one making the change. Commitment, says Goodenough, "is often expressed by an action that eliminates or destroys something symbolic of one's former identity" (1963:229). The newly saved person (*nyfrälst*) of my childhood buried his snuff and cigarettes and poured away his liquor. The Pentecostalist now called to be a missionary may sell his car and his home and give up his job.

Consensus and self-fulfilment

I have adopted Fernandez' idea of distinguishing between *social* and *cultural* consensus (1965:913). The distinction follows Parsons (1951:6) and Geertz (1957:34) who have shown the necessity of using two analytical perspectives: the social or causal-functional and the cultural or logico-meaningful. There is no doubt a tension between these two concepts.

Fernandez interviewed 20 members of *Bwiti*, a reform cult appearing among the Fang peoples of northern Gabon. The cult is derived from the traditional Fang ancestral cult. Fernandez observed great variation in the individual members' interpretations of certain central symbols and rituals. His

study led him to reconsider the nature of the concept of consensus. He showed that substantial lack of "cultural consensus" caused no trouble for the production of "social consensus" in ritual, i.e. participating in the group's highly patterned and affect-generating practice.

Social consensus may be defined, Fernandez asserts, as "an acceptance of the necessity for interaction".

They do so for the sake of a social-satisfaction - the satisfaction of orienting their activity towards each other with the resulting psycho-biological benefits whatever these may be - the security of acceptance, exaltation, esprit de corps, morale, we-feeling, enthusiasm or exstasis. To some degree in every social situation..., the individual must ignore or play hob with his own meanings for the sake of social consensus. He must be ready to interact and cooperate with others whether he understands or agrees with them in any intellectual sense or not. (1965:913-914)

Cultural consensus, in Fernandez' terms, may be defined as "an understanding that one hold symbolic meanings in common. This recognition is obtained by explicit communication, discussion, and debate" (1965:914). The form of interaction which Fernandez calls "social consensus" is not preceded by any such activity. It involves rather an (individual) acceptance of "a certain set of signals and signs which give direction and orientation to this interaction" (ibid.:913). Social consensus thus presupposes that the debate is substituted by a temporary acceptance of the prerequisites of interaction. At the same time it eventually implies a considerable arsenal concerning "how to behave as a Pentecostalist". It is obvious that such a process does not automatically result in any substantial "cultural consensus".

Fernandez observes, among the *Bwiti*, a lack of concern with or even "a resistance towards the raising of logico-meaningful matters and a feeling that too great a concern with consensus at that level might actually interfere with social consensus" (1965:914).

A sort of interval is usually needed in order to let the members of a commitment system deliver personal opinions which reveal the lack of consensus. In *Betania* such a break was offered at the monthly *församlingsmöte*, a non-public combination of administrative and spiritually edifying service.

The possible dissident who secretly reveals his deviating, doctrinal opinion does not aim at a democratic and open discussion in order to reach a common attitude. He rather tries to assert "the correct" opinion. If such a dissidence spreads and wins silent adherents, a division is likely rather than compromise.

The cultural consensus, or rather the debate on common symbolic meanings, might, in other words, damage the social cohesion and the sense of community. How should we look upon this opposition? Should cultural consensus not be regarded as a good thing? The key to the puzzle may be the fact that culture is basically something which the individual *uses*. Seen from another angle you could say that *culture works* (Stromberg 1986:xi). I think this is to touch on Burridge's argument about the "person" becoming "individual", breaking out of cultural prescriptions and discovering the possibility of placing himself "outside", making personal use of the culture (1978:15). The dislike of too much cultural consensus in the commitment system may depend on the individual's aversion to becoming predominantly a "person" again. A total consensus certainly evokes the idea of a "totalitarian" culture, in which the individual is no longer conceivable. The liberty to *use* would be very limited in such a system. Let me say that I certainly do not believe in the existence of any "total cultural consensus", in any system. However, such a thing might be the illusory outcome of political oppression.

The lack of concern with cultural consensus is an important element in the history and organization of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. Behind "the Swedish model", i.e. free and independent congregations, lies, I think, the fear of too much cultural consensus. As long as the Bible is the principal canon of internal as well as external mission, the imagined freedom for the different congregations to *use* the Bible in their work is unlimited. (Individual cultural freedom is here transferred to the level of the congregation in its relation to any national "union".)

However, the present trend is towards increased debate on the need for more cultural consensus. The latest edition of *Missionsbetänkandet*, a sort of missionary manual, deals with about 150 different issues, ranging from calling and spiritual responsibility to aids and extra equipment, in about 50 pages. This is, I suggest, an expression of the movement's decreasing spiritual commitment and increasing organizational differentiation. I imagine, in a way, commitment and debate on cultural consensus as communicating vessels. High commitment, as for instance in the initial phase of a Pentecostal revival, needs little dispute about cultural consensus to function well. Those who seriously dispute tend to leave the system and may cause fission. As commitment decreases, through the ageing of the system, increased cultural consensus is felt as necessary to keep the system going. At the extreme we have, perhaps, the theological faculty, aiming at the scientific establishment of a body of accepted theological knowledge. Such an institution might need scientific dedication, but certainly

manages without spiritual commitment. The outcome, anyway, will hardly be "cultural consensus".

It might be asserted that there was seemingly more cultural consensus in the 1950s than there is today, in the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. Then Lewi Pethrus was an undisputed leader and he defined, together with a handful of other influential leaders, the true Pentecostal line. The identity of the movement was clear. Now, on the other hand, there is room for somewhat disparate opinions and interpretations.

My point is, however, that Lewi Pethrus, who was certainly a prominent and talented leader, served in a period which was still characterized by the first generation's spiritual commitment. To most of the adherents he satisfactorily represented ideal Pentecostal values. Most members felt no need for a debate since the existing form successfully generated recurrent spiritual transcendence.

The situation today is, on the one hand, characterized by an open debate on most issues. The cultural consensus has probably not increased correspondingly, however. But it has been revealed. I suggest that this is a symptom of systemic ageing, since the debate appears to restrain the collective effervescence (social consensus). On the other hand, many members, who have been socialized into the movement, feel, it appears, no need of debate, nor of collective effervescence, since they have their real commitment directed elsewhere, or keep it latent so far.

The fruitful coherence of the commitment system, despite lack of consensus, renders the missionary enterprise conceivable. Ekman has found those symbols most effective "which are most ambiguous" (1991:53), and experiences from Argentinean Toba have even brought Miller to the opinion that "social articulation only occurs when symbols are distorted and adapted".

This is to say that people from different social systems do not communicate most effectively with those symbols which are clearly defined for them, but rather with those which contain the greatest areas of ambiguity, or those in which ambiguity results from the failure of the systems to articulate clearly. (1975:493)

Lack of cultural consensus allows culture to work in individual lives, through self-fulfilment. That is what commitment systems are for. The opportunity for self-realization is, consequently, essential to the capacity for survival of the commitment system. The fact that only some members of the society choose a certain system shows that its meaningfulness can not be interpreted as intrinsic to the very system. Its social efficiency can be grasped only by looking at how the members *use* it. Gerlach and Hine compare the Pentecostal

Movement to an organizational smorgasbord which "makes it possible to meet a variety of psychological as well as sociological needs..." (1968:30). One could assume that those who are committed have a different view, which could be represented by Matthew (22:14) where it is said that "... many are invited, but few are chosen".

Conversion, followed by an endless series of renewals (Burridge 1978:19), a continuous merger of symbol and individual, opens up new possibilities for the individual's self-fulfilment. The commitment simultaneously forms an "organic" relation with those individuals who share the same emotional experience. The idea of an expansion of the self as a result of a communion of group and symbol is not new. Durkheim, somewhat condescending towards the "primitive's" experience of sacred symbols, writes:

... the primitive does not even see that these impressions come to him from the group. He does not know that the coming together of a number of men associated in the same life results in disengaging new energies, which transform each of them. All that he knows is that he is raised above himself and that he sees a different life from the one he ordinarily leads. (1965:252)

This capacity of the commitment system has brought the missionary to the mission field and it may also bring the convert to the missionary's homeland. I was able to note that at least three of the leading spirits in the national church in Cochabamba were, or had been, disposed to leave the congregational work behind and move to Sweden and to secular assignments, if that had proved practicable. Those individuals are doing, in brief, what the missionaries implicitly have encouraged them to do: "renew themselves and find a new space" (Burridge 1978:28).

Mutual metanoia and a new social order

The striving for a new social order is the background to "the Christian missionary's qualities of ambiguity and ambivalence" (Burridge 1978:18). Uncommitted to any special social order, the missionary, ideally and in principle, has the original task of negating any form of organization with the aim of bringing about a better one.

His first task is to communicate a negation of the existing social order through a series of metanoias and then negate each successive ordering through further metanoias. (1978:19)

The concept of metanoia, at least semantically, seems to be related to the concept of *teshubha* in Judaism, "which is nothing else than man's self-redemption from the thralldom of sin" (Pathrapankal 1971:8). Metanoia and faith are the twin watchwords of Christian theology (ibid.:3). In the Swedish Bible the word for metanoia is "bettering" (*bättring*), in the English it is "repentance". The call for metanoia has its most dramatic use in the book of Revelation. In the messages to the different churches in Asia Minor, the author's most serious accusation seems to amount to a charge of their having lost their prime commitment: "Yet I hold this against you: You have forsaken your first love" (Revelation 2:4).

The call to metanoia is thus directed to man's falling away from the first fervour and love of his conversion. It may also be used as a term for salvation in general, i.e. for the first turning around and thereafter for all that must follow.

The paradox of 'being' and 'becoming', of 'possessing' and 'striving after' is based on the necessity of a continued conversion. Man must *strive after* realizing in himself what he already *is*. Otherwise he is in danger of being driven back to his past existence as a sinner. (Pathrapankal 1971:10)

In Stromberg's words the "amazing grace", the personal conversion, is expanded over time and becomes "an ongoing process rather than a one-time transformation" (1986:74). I use the metanoia concept in its two senses, both, of course, intimately tied to the faith; first conversion and then continued renewal.

The word metanoia has been exposed to diverging interpretations by Catholic and Protestant scholars. It is not a part of the ordinary Pentecostal vocabulary. The metanoia implies "the negation of the past and present, a 'no' to the sinful ways of the past and present, a change of heart and mind, and, thus transformed, an entry into new ways and new moral discriminations with a positive affirmation" (Burridge 1978:19-20). In Miller's words, "new access to power... with the means to reorganize life in more morally acceptable terms" (1975:493).

The concept thus formulated corresponds, as far as I can see, with the traditional conversion, spiritual renewal, and sanctification of the Pentecostal Movement. The series of metanoias referred to by Burridge is well illustrated

by the title of Austin's article on a Jamaican Pentecostalist church: "Born again... and again and again" (1981).⁵

It might have been the discovery that the Holy Spirit could come also on the Gentiles (Acts 11:15-17) that seriously made Christianity into a universal phenomenon and a missionary enterprise. It might also have been the first signal of its quality of being a psycho-social phenomenon and a "physical" experience, not having much to do with cultural consensus, in this case knowledge of the Jewish prescriptions. The individual's possible fusion with a divine symbol revealed Christianity as capable of something extraordinary.

Miller has observed the success of the Pentecostalist message among the Argentinean Toba as a result of its manifested direct contact between human being and divinity, a directness which evades all cultural consensus. There is, in "the Pentecostal Fire", the possibility of the expansion of the self.

It is this fire, as experienced in the Pentecostal trance which the Toba call *gozo*, which lifts the Toba above the ordinary experiences of sadness and pain to one of ecstasy and release from a state of powerlessness to one of total power. (Miller 1975:493)

I myself remember fairly well the experience which the metanoia experience could entail. In Stromberg (1986:39) the relation between believer and faith symbol is "manifestly physical" and the commitment literally "an *embodiment* of religious symbols". Ideally the members of *Betania* were *radiating* their commitment. They almost "swallowed" and "digested" it. The ritual power was most obvious in services where "the Spirit fell" (*anden föll*), that is, when the congregation, often on its knees, "praised the Lord with new tongues",⁶ when the glorification was loud and exultant, and with tears, glossolalia, and "singing in the Spirit" as prevalent elements. When this collective effervescence eventually decreased and the participants gradually rose to their feet, "spiritually renewed" (*andligt förnyade*), and "sanctified" (*helgade*), spontaneous and mutual embraces among the participants, handkerchief in hand for the tears, were a common sight. Possible interpersonal grievances were resolved without words.

This renewal, which could happen at any time in the service, was a manifestation of a collectively felt need. Mostly it was not possible to check it. It was not the result of any sensible reasoning, nor of any theoretical analysis of the Pentecostal dogmas. The Spirit simply fell when the proper conditions were at hand. Everyone could feel what was coming. No one bothered about the renewal's social consequences for the others. It was enough to know that

the others, often many, maybe all, had also been "renewed". The feeling that all had participated in the renewal provided the communion, the strength of the unity, a kind of fusion between all "brothers and sisters" (*syskon*). Everybody had gone through the same "spiritual bath" and felt "strengthened" and "cleansed". All had entered a new social order, better than the one left behind. It was this periodical and always longed-for *mutual* experience which was the foundation for the successive survivals of the congregation. How each member used the power of the renewal, in his or her everyday life, did not matter for the congregation as long as nothing improper occurred. It was, however, incontestable that the spiritual experience was the basis of any kind of personal victory.

It could happen, as I remember, that the congregation would almost force itself to forsake the metanoia, since there was no time left for it. Some formality had to be established, as in the *församlingsmöte*, or it was simply time to go home and look after the animals.

Any "new-social-order" concept was no part of the *Betania* vocabulary. The phenomenon, on the other hand, was well-known. It was the state achieved through metanoia, a mental stance from which anything not only seemed possible, but even insisted on being realized.

My simple point is that a common exceptional experience, be it positive like spiritual baptism or negative like any form of deadly threat, temporarily puts the individuals who experience it in a common special social order, somehow within the overall social ordering. To change the social order is to reorganize its interactional resources. One famous example is valid for my argument, since it is the original Pentecostal happening. That experience negated the actual social order in Jerusalem. The believers seized the opportunity to transcend the order and postulate a new one, at least for the time being.

All the believers were together and had everything in common, Selling their possessions and goods, they gave to anyone as he had need. Every day they continued to meet together in the temple courts. They broke bread in their homes and ate together with glad and sincere hearts, praising God and enjoying the favour of all the people. And the Lord added to their number daily those who were being saved. (Acts 2:44-47)

The highly dramatic period which followed no doubt comes up to the concrete mark of "negation of the social order". The formulation of a new order, implicitly a "key" to every social and moral problem, is usually the first step in the progress of a revitalization movement. It has, in brief, a "soul-saving" value (Goodenough 1963:293).

The sociological dimension of the Pentecost experience involves not only a dramatic physical absorption by a spiritual symbol, a commitment to the Holy Ghost, but also the transcendence of the existing social order, for the purpose of implementing a new order, a new morality and a new human being. This new man includes, according to Burrige, the establishment of the self as a distinct and responsible entity. This means that the person, this "parcel of prescribed customary rights and obligations" (1978:15), the victim of imposed cultural consensus, I would add, is capable of becoming an individual.

I think that Burrige presents a useful, processual, distinction between these disputed concepts. The *self* is approached in the following way.

We *are* because in immediate objectivity in relation to others each one of us is life: genes in movement, a nervous system, a mouth to be fed. In interaction with a sociocultural environment and through a mind or brain capable of a variety of operations we *become*. (1979:4-5)

The *person* may show in the self's unification of our bodily, social, and cultural elements, i.e.,

the conformist who, in reproducing in word and deed the norms of the given traditional social order, manifests the relations of that tradition. Put another way, the constitutive relations of one who conforms to the given social tradition reveal the person. (ibid.:5)

The self, however, may integrate the various elements into the *individual*,

one who manifests relations opposed to those indicated by the person. That is, the moral critic who envisages another kind of social or moral order, the creative spark poised and ready to change tradition... the individual is one who manifests relations potentially capable of changing the given or traditional moral order. (ibid.)

Most people, Burrige observes, may appear most often as persons, but may at other times appear as individuals. This "apparent oscillation or movement between person and individual" (ibid.), Burrige identifies as individuality. More clear, perhaps, is the statement that "individuality refers to the opportunity and capacity to move from person to individual and/or vice versa" (ibid.:5-6). The self here becomes "an integrative/disintegrative energy which gathers particular relations either into the person or into the individual..." (ibid.:6).

As time went on, after the first Pentecost, the individuality in some places was institutionalized and generalized, that is to say, within reach of each and every person. Christianity, at that, had useful help from the Reformation and

the Enlightenment. By individuality is not meant "entrepreneurial activity, egotism, selfishness, or anti-social behavior" (Burridge 1978:15), though these phenomena are often part of individuality's consequences. Here is meant, instead, the capacity consciously to step alongside the customs, the traditions, and the prescribed social roles, rights and duties, to scrutinize them, to formulate a moral critique and, without resigning common values, to create an image of a new social order, ruled by a new morality. It is, of course, on this point that an important part of the anthropological critique of the Mission is concentrated: the diffusion of individuality as a culture-splitting force.

The potential consequences are several: "holiness, spirituality, entrepreneurial activity, criminality, social reform, terrorism, rebelliousness" (Burridge 1978:16), and, I would add, "backsliding". The positive moral critique may easily turn to its negative obverse.

This potentially secularizing effect, for instance by mission, is obvious in the light of Bourdieu's terms *doxa* and *orthodoxy*. It is in the Mission's interest and fundamental nature, by means of the "crisis" of conversion, to redraw the borderline between the *doxa* field, "that which is beyond question and which each agent tacitly accords by the mere fact of acting in accord with social convention" (1977:169), and the field of opinion, "that which is explicitly questioned" (*ibid.*). For a new faith to be embraced the old ingrained faith must be called into question. The *doxa* field must shrink and the opinion field expand.⁷

Every culture has its own form of individuality, but outside the Christian tradition it is not generalized, not possible for each and everybody, but is ascribed to special positions (shaman, big man, prophet) (Burridge 1978:17). Only in the European heritage do we find these roles distributed to every member of the society, so that general individuality becomes a part of the current social life. The Christian tradition, especially the biblical text of the Pentecost, on transcendence of a given set of laws and moral principles, even insists on this.

The Christian congregation on earth is, Burridge emphasizes (1978:19), a temporary compromise in relation to the more perfect order, envisioned by the experience of the original Pentecost. Each Christian thoroughly denies "the validity, reality, or rightness of an existing social order; it is but a temporary, if necessary, corruption which must give way to a more perfect order in correspondence with the "body of Christ" (1978:18). In the minutes of a *Betania* internal meeting (1945) the pastor read from Hebrews 6 and "encouraged those present to reach out for perfection" (*att sträcka sig framåt mot*

fullkomningen). The congregation rests upon "love and mercy", qualities which each and every social order inexorably corrupts. Its continuance demands renewal and sanctification.

The new order of the Christian congregation is, ideally and above all, characterized by the idea that nothing should stand between man and God, nothing that could impose any cultural consensus.

Christianity is a spiritual religion, where neither temples, nor ceremonies, clergy or organizations are necessary for man's community with God. Every human being has, in the era of the gospel, communion with God without these intermediaries.* (Pethrus 1969:22)

A continuous search for a liberated order and new stances for individual self-realization is an important trait in the renewal process of the Christian congregation. Each emulation of the first Pentecost represents a denial of the existing social order and (in)justice. This "symbolic subversion" (Willems 1967:251) forms the central dynamism in Christianity. It explains the existence of "a bewildering variety of forms of social organization" (Burridge 1978:19) in Christian communities.⁸ There is, consequently, no social or confessional order which can be described as specifically Christian.

I frequently use the concept of "self-fulfilment" or "self-realization", in connection with the missionary enterprise. And I know that it might be apprehended as criticism, as if it were a blameworthy phenomenon. That is not my intention. I see self-fulfilment as a highly legitimate striving, typical of "the individual", and I am convinced that self-realizing people are happy people, "saved", as they are, from their own conformist "person".

Communitas and hierarchy

The continuous striving for mutual metanoia and for new and better social orders evokes some relevant concepts which are elaborated by Victor Turner. He has dealt with the ritual system of the Ndembu people of northwestern Zambia in South-central Africa, and has adopted a processual view on ritual from van Gennep (1960). Van Gennep showed that all rites of transition, from one status to another, are marked by three phases: separation, transition (limen), and aggregation.

The first phase of separation comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or a set of cultural conditions (a "state"); during the intervening liminal period, the state of the ritual subject (the "passenger") is ambiguous; he passes through a realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state; in the third phase the passage is consummated. (Turner 1967:94)

Turner has developed the concept of the liminal period in this ritual process (1967:99-108). The liminal subjects are "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial" (1969:95). A special aspect of this period, the disappearance of socio-structural distinctions between the ritual subjects, eventually leads Turner to the development of the concept of *communitas*. He admits that it is a "difficult concept" (ibid.:126).

Communitas is spontaneous, immediate, concrete (physical), "as opposed to the norm-governed, institutionalized, abstract nature of social structure" (ibid.:127). The opposition between the two is, however, also an interdependence. *Communitas* may be achieved only in relation to some structure. "Maximization of *communitas* provokes maximization of structure, which in its turn produces revolutionary striving for renewed *communitas*" (ibid.:129). It has an "existential quality", while structure has a "cognitive quality" (ibid.:127).

However, *communitas* shortly develops a structure of its own. The "free relationships" between individuals change into relationships restrained by norms. True to his processual view, Turner distinguishes between three phases of *communitas*.

(1) *existential* or *spontaneous communitas* - approximately what the hippies today would call "a happening"; (2) *normative communitas*, where, under the influence of time, the need to mobilize and organize resources, and the necessity for social control among the members of the group in pursuance of these goals, the existential *communitas* is organized into a perduring social system; and (3) *ideological communitas*, which is a label one can apply to a variety of utopian models of societies based on existential *communitas*. (1969:132)

The Christian congregation has, as *communitas*, a special feature. This group of believers is, in everyday life, exposed to and confronted with the worldly structure, and consequently in need of recurrent states of *communitas*. What the convent solves by retreating from the world, the Christian congregation ideally works out by an endless series of *metanoias*.

The three phases of *communitas* are easily applied, at least schematically,

to the Pentecostal movement. One might say, however, that the fundamental ideal of the movement, the repeated production of metanoias, of spontaneous *communitas*, has prolonged the process towards regularization and ideologization. Even the institutionalized *communitas* has, furthermore, its "core of potential *communitas*" (ibid.:137). This core keeps the movement going but usually does not threaten the surrounding structure.

It should be emphasized that the *communitas* concept tends to be used and perceived as a designation of relatively stable situations. Turner, however, stresses the process and the fact that "the types of *communitas* are phases, not permanent conditions" (Deflem 1991:15).

It is my contention that the general ability of *communitas* to missionize, i.e. to threaten the surrounding structure, depends on its position in the inevitable process from spontaneity to structure. Mission simultaneously offers an extraordinary opportunity to light the fire anew, to produce, elsewhere, the spontaneous *communitas* once more, to start the process once again. It hinges however, on whether the missionaries, the "fire-lighters", are themselves prepared for *communitas*, for liminality, equality, and mutuality.

The possible effect of mutual metanoia, in the relation between missionary and convert, is well formulated by Turner, referring to Ndembu ritual: "After his immersion in the depths of liminality", which implies a temporary equalization between high and low, the former, being office-holder, teacher, missionary, whatever, "can surely never again be quite so parochial, so particularistic, in his social loyalties" (Turner 1974:259-260).

I have discussed the Pentecostal congregation as a spontaneous and normative *communitas*, ideally challenging the everyday social structure by the temporary separation of the members from their ordinary statuses and roles, and envisioning a new social order, characterized by equality. The different spiritual gifts and tasks, promised by the Lord to the Pentecostal congregation, and of which the missionary calling is maybe the most prominent, represent, however, a *potential internal hierarchy*. They primarily represent the possibility of spiritual self-fulfilment but they also latently threaten the unity of the group. The spiritual Pentecostal possession, the metanoia, should be regarded in this light. Paul explicitly links the spiritual gift to the agency of the Holy Spirit and its equalizing influence.

There are different kinds of gifts, but the same Spirit. There are different kinds of service, but the same Lord. There are different kinds of working, but the same God works in all of them in all men.... All these are the work of one and the same Spirit, and he gives them to each one, just as he determines. (1 Corinthians 12:4-6, 11)

The metanoia is a simultaneous outpouring of spiritual gifts and the Holy Spirit itself, a spontaneous *communitas*, in Turner's words. The distribution of spiritual gifts forms a "pseudostructure" which "does not appear to be inconsistent with real *communitas*" (Turner 1969:194). The structure is "expressive", though having "instrumental aspects" (ibid.). In particular, the Spirit baptism has a "democratic emphasis" (Bloch-Hoell 1964:174), since it opens, within the system, the way to "spiritual gifts" for every Pentecostal believer. In his letter to the Corinthians Paul says that "you can all prophesy in turn so that everyone may be instructed and encouraged" (14:31).

The internal structure of a Pentecostal congregation is thus, ideally, a "fictive" hierarchy. It is very likely that the diffusion of spiritual gifts may appear uneven and may perhaps trigger feelings of spiritual inequality. The fictiveness of such an imagined hierarchy should ideally become apparent, for the participants, in the mutual spiritual renewal.

But the fictiveness is, essentially, unstable. Expressive structures, Turner asserts, "may under certain circumstances be converted into pragmatic structures" (1969:194). This might happen by institutionalization and systemic ageing. The spontaneous *communitas*, the agency of the Holy Spirit in this case, might be "domesticated" (Turner 1974:254).

There is a related and special form of discharging structure and hierarchy that is relevant to my argument: *The fictive status of the called missionary in his home setting tends to change into a pragmatic hierarchy the moment he arrives in the mission field*. This problem is discussed in Chapter 10.

The ageing system and the concept of sin

The ageing commitment system, sending out missionaries in order to produce, elsewhere, new eruptions of its own primordial stage, is caught in a dilemma. To grow older is for such a system intimately related to the necessary retention of new generations. This requires a continuous distancing between reality and ideal image. Back home, that distance is a minor problem since the activity there is dominated by the coming generations (for whose sake a cut in the list of sins is accepted by the first generation).

In the mission field, however, the contrast between present-day Swedish Pentecostalism and its ideal image becomes problematic. It is my contention that the missionaries, in general, solve this problem by adopting two fundamen-

tal dispositions: non-participation and teaching. What they do not choose to do is to deliberately return to the ideal image. They usually do not prefer mutual metanoia with those who are supposed to father the new radical system: the converts. What really makes such a solution frustrating, to both parties, is that the missionaries tend to stay on and prolong their educational endeavour.

Stromberg observes that the talk about conversion in Immanuel Church was surprisingly slight (1986:51). He knows that the experience of radical conversion had been central to the early life of the church and he concludes that "the conversion experience had not so much disappeared as been *transformed* into an experience that was less clearly defined, the experience of grace" (ibid.). Stromberg's formulation is good. Besides, "transformation" is a more neutral word than the "ageing" I generally use. My defence is that "transformation" might turn out to involve a decline, even a "death", of the whole system.

The changed conversion is an important symptom of systemic ageing. The transformation starts when those who personally and freely made their choice begin to transmit their dispositions to the next generation (their own children). Stromberg observes that even if only a few of the believers talked about a "conversion" as the emotional centre of their lives, most of them could refer to "some kind of experience that 'summed up' their faith", a special occasion when God had shown his efficiency in their lives (ibid.:68). They are, it seems, not worried by this change in the character of conversion.

I remember, however, my own deep worry about whether I was really "saved" or not, since I could not point to any special occasion when I had been "converted". I had grown up in the Pentecostal environment and had entered the congregation in a self-evident way. My troubles were few, in fact, up to the point when I started to discover that we were a special sort of people, characterized by supposed special experiences. To hear older "brothers and sisters" constantly relate to the fantastic occasions when they were saved (an obligatory topic of testimony) eventually made me conscious of the fact that I lacked this particular experience. My stock answer to questions about my conversion, still used by Pentecostal children, was that "I have always been saved", a statement which sharply contradicted the fundamental doctrine that we are all born as sinners.

The Pentecostal Movement was, at least at that time, well aware of the danger. It was a matter of urging the rising generation to "take the step" from a Pentecostal upbringing to "being saved" i.e. to make the personal choice and undergo the experience. Special "Youth weeks" (*ungdomsvecker*) were arranged

in the summer, when Bible study and services were combined with leisure activities. These weeks, organized regionally, were intended to trigger the necessary decisive step. I managed, somehow, to avoid all the youth weeks arranged during my teens. In fact, I suspect that my parents saw these weeks as potential opportunities more for sin than for salvation. I am sure, however, that thousands of Pentecostals, of the second or third generation, can refer to some *ungdomsvecka* as the spot and moment of their salvation experience.

These more or less prearranged occasions for vital decision had, I think, their greatest importance as the legitimation of a regular Pentecostal upbringing. The particular youth could return from the week and report that he/she had "left himself/herself to God" (*lämnat sig åt Gud*). With that, the stigma was settled. Some young Pentecostals certainly took their conversion more seriously when they had a date for their new birth, but I think it is a delusion to believe that a conversion afterwards, so to speak, has the same quality as a more original and free one. By quality I mean that the conversion of "God's grandchildren" is "less clearly defined". The less clear has to do, among other things, with the concept of sin. An article in *Dagen* (June 27, 1991) is entitled "Genuine revival is built on the consciousness of sin" (*Äkta väckelse är byggd på medvetandet om synd*).

People are compelled (*nödgas*) to seek salvation before they know that they are lost, to believe without having been convinced of their need. The fruit is gathered before it is ripe, and then, of course, the work is in vain.* (Åke Stenström)

The problem for young people fostered in the Pentecostal movement, as a second (or third) generation, is that from the very beginning they are prevented, by their parents, from the candid practice of anything considered to be sinful. What else can they do? That is the duty of any parent. So when the time comes for the "decisive step" it is hard for the youngster to produce a genuine "woe for sin" (*syndanöd*). The result is, at best, a "less clearly defined" conversion, possibly replaced later, or strengthened, by "some kind of experience" which sums up the faith.

An assimilation of Pentecostalist dispositions is, surprisingly often, sufficiently strong for a whole life as a believer. But this life becomes, of necessity, less restrictive than that of earlier generations. Howard Becker has summarized the process.

The ageing goes on something like this: you have first the selection of the whole-hearted devotees automatically having full membership in the sect. They are the members who

practice the discipline most persistently, who become intraworldly ascetics most successfully, who set themselves apart from the world most thoroughly. But even in the sect there is marrying and giving in marriage; children are born, and sometimes parental affection fights a very hard battle with zeal for the exaction of full religious requirements from every sect member. To be sure, you wish to demand impartially of your own children the same hard-and-fast prerequisites for sect membership that you would ask of someone coming into that sect from the outside - but it's very hard to do it. After all, you've grown up with these youngsters, and no matter how stern and unyielding you may be, there are times when you are willing to make concessions to your own flesh and blood.

As generations succeed each other in the sect, then, it sometimes happens (although not always), that each generation gets a little more lax, not because they are less predisposed to work at the task of salvation, but because the religion is fighting a battle with everyday life and, in particular, with parental affection. The religion is sometimes beaten in the process. (1956:347)⁹

The socialization into a commitment is, as Becker suggests, a matter of affect more than effect. What stopped me, for many years, from leaving *Betania*, was not the effect of socialization but the strong feeling of love and loyalty towards my parents. The most efficient element of socialization into the Pentecostal Movement is the parents' concern for the eternal fate of their offspring. The development of the Pentecostal Movement in Sweden has shown, however, that "the parents" have been thoroughly affected by the process. That compromise is, in my terms, part of the ageing of the movement.

Before salvation was manifested in a conversion experience the central characteristic of which was turning from a past life of drink and sin; now it is represented by nothing so much as the functioning social bond, that which links one person to another. (Stromberg 1986:96)

Many voices in the Pentecostal Movement today would like to have the *old-time revival* back again. Those who complain most loudly seem to belong to the first generations of Swedish Pentecostals. They have been "in power" and have had "the word" during the entire process, but they have obviously not been able to do anything.

The commitment has changed. In the first generation it was directed towards the spiritual experience, the liberation from sin. Stromberg observes that the change involves "a general agreement that the primary Christian duty evoked by *evangeliet* is broadly social, not narrowly spiritual" (1986:96). That change is equally obvious in the Pentecostal Movement.

A change, from the spiritual towards the social commitment, i.e. from

experience to action, may appear logical, considering the way the commitment system is reproduced. This is done by "fostering", by the production, in the new generation, of cultivated dispositions. An interplay between parents and child results in a compromise; the list of possible sins is cut down. In that way a lot of sins are avoided by the rising generation and become less important as instigators of conversion. That which, however, always remains as "sin" and as an unfinished godly creation, is the social injustice of the world. The commitment, in other words, tends to shift from a personal morality (avoidance of sin) to a social morality (reduction of injustice).

In the prolongation of a true commitment to social morality lies politics. The gospel assumes "a loosely specified political content", Stromberg writes (1986:97). The problem is that commitment ends up in charity instead of politics. The reason is that the commitment system (lack of consensus) is, in many senses, opposed to the political party (consorted action). It is possible, of course, that the change from a spiritual commitment to a social one, will result in a political dedication. Such an attachment must, however, develop outside the framework of the congregation, even though with intermittent inspiration from it. The reason seems to be that the spiritual commitment system will not survive the process towards the debate on increased cultural consensus required by organized political endeavour.

The transformation, which I attribute to the Swedish Pentecostal Movement, may also, in consequence, be characterized as a shift from a moral conversation with God to a moral conversation with other people. The feeling of sin always comes up, Walzer observes (1987:46), partly from the experience of failing to live up to the high moral standard which we think that God demands from us. Only God is able to justify us. Our moral order is dependent on an endless conversation with him. In a more aged phase God will be replaced by other people. Our moral order will more and more require us to justify our behaviour in relation to these other people.

We try to justify ourselves, but we cannot justify ourselves by ourselves, and so morality takes shape as a conversation with particular other people, our relatives, friends, and neighbors; or it takes shape as a speculation on what arguments might, or should, persuade such people of our righteousness. (ibid.:47)

On the missionaries' home front, in Sweden, a shift from conversation with God to conversation with people is obvious also in the worship. A reduced frequency of prayer meetings and elements of prayer in regular services, and an increased differentiation in church activity, are important examples.

Conversation between human beings demands manageable groups. In the individual conversation with God (prayer) the whole congregation may, preferably, be gathered together.

In the mission field the shift shows, above all, in an increase in social work. The conversation with people, the need to justify the missionary's stay in the mission field, seems to push the Mission more and more towards the area of social work and "development".

My argument, that an ageing commitment system will find troubles when it tries to create the system anew in another milieu, may be countered with reference to reform and revitalization. It is, however, hard to revitalize an ageing commitment system.

Any morality that has once been discovered, of course, can always be rediscovered. The claim to have found again some long-lost or corrupted doctrine is the basis of every religious and moral reformation. But God is not present now in the same way as he was in the beginning. *Rediscovery* does not wait upon revelation; it is our own work, archaeological in form; and we have to interpret what we dig up. The moral law rediscovered lacks the blazing clarity of its first coming. (Walzer 1987:4-5)

This is, to my mind, an important explanation of the fact that it is hard to reform a spiritual movement, like Pentecostalism. Since the movement always tries to go back to the "revival of old times", which means to "digging up" a lost experience, it will find, no doubt, a conviction without its primordial lustre. It may even prevent the modern Swedish missionary, in the mission field, from seriously producing the moral primordality. He has to dig up something that, in fact, is lost in his congregation back home, and maybe even in his own life.

To summarize: The concept of sin has changed since I was a Pentecostalist. Then (in the 1950s) its vertical dimension, the relation between man and God, was the decisive one. My condemnable conduct towards other human beings could be made up for by asking for forgiveness. However, my sins and Judgement Day were a future matter between me and God. To escape the fear I had to live in a continuous, vertical, state of asking for forgiveness. As long as I was sufficiently frightened and excited by this scenario, I was a fairly good Pentecostalist.

Now, to a great extent, the talk of Judgement Day, and the Second Coming of Jesus is lost. Sin is today largely a horizontal matter, a question between person and person, and between person and society or the world at large. Sin against God is today a very abstract matter, without drama and excitement. The change, from a vertical to a horizontal plane, is a major

component in the ageing of the Pentecostal Movement in Sweden.

In the Pentecostal mission sin is now more and more related to social work and charity. To sin today is just as much to be "greedy" and "selfish", sins which are directed towards fellow-beings more than towards God. The shifting concept of sin is reflected in the Mission's change from spiritual revival towards social reform. Put in simplified form, people in the mission field are supposed to choose conversion when they see how (socially) "good" the Mission is, and not because they might discover that they are lost sinners who simply need the grace of God, which is not to be eternally wasted.

The general degradation of the concept of sin removes its function as a distinguishing element. It will become increasingly difficult to motivate a person to become a Pentecostalist if the concept of sin is the same in all churches. Ecumenism presupposes, above all, a neutralization when it comes to the concept of sin.

Morality is deceiving by nature (a deceit which produces drama and excitement): "So long as we allow our perception to be guided by morality we shall see evil where there is none, or shining virtue even when evil is staring us in the face, but what we find impossible is to see the facts as they really are" (Leach 1968:54-55). The Pentecostalists of my childhood saw a potential sin in almost every activity. But their children, who had not chosen the system, had a clearer view of what could in fact possibly be "sin" and what could not. The third generations of Pentecostalists, thanks to their youthful clear-sightedness (and weaker commitment), have finally made a clean sweep of Pentecostal personal morality. The problem is that they have simultaneously eliminated the primary driving force of the reproduction of the system: the exciting consciousness of sin.

To keep a good list of observable sins (clothes, hairstyle, etc.) was one way, for *Betania*, to remain holy. These possible sins were, in a sense, our analogue of the diet rules of the Israelites (in Leviticus). To refrain from sin was to keep to the regulations which set the Pentecostals apart, and made them holy. Physical rules generally have the advantage of being constantly visible to the believer. The women of *Betania* were reminded of their holiness when each morning they put their long hair up in a topknot. Today's absence of observable sin makes it more difficult to remain holy.

The problem summed up

Spiritual renewal is the revelation of God's words via direct contact between man and the Godhead. It contrasts even with the study of the Bible. Individual experience may be given precedence over the Scriptures or at least be equivalent. "So, says Elisabeth, 'If there's a problem, I'm more likely to go to God directly, instead of to the Bible'" (Stromberg 1986:59).

In the missionary's home church no one is expected to use his renewal experience in a bewildering way. But what about the mission field? Problems loom up, Burridge observes, only when the missionary "fails to transform himself in relation to the transformation of the other" (1978:20). If the missionary is not to be disappointed, or rather frustrated, in his spiritual assignment, *the metanoia must be mutual*. The missionary must participate in the prescribed renewal and himself be spiritually transformed just as the other is transformed.

The missionary tends, however, with the flywheel of tradition and the pragmatic difference, at least for the first decisive steps towards the perfect order in the mission field, to take as a model that organization in which he himself was raised. His own culture stands out as "more in accordance with the ideals of the Bible than the alien culture" (Axelson 1976:15).¹⁰

So the missionary typically fails to realize a mutual, reciprocal, metanoia. He keeps to his own order as a model, resisting a possible but unknown alternative. There is even a tendency for the general "blessed giving" to include the actual spiritual experience. As if it were possible, for the missionary, to procure a renewal or a conversion, without being renewed and transformed himself, at the same moment.

The contact between the two categories becomes complicated, the communication a mere exchange of words. The spiritual, moral and social orders of the converts continue to amaze and perhaps terrify the missionary. He remains outside the possible new order entered by the converts and establishes a separate series of renewal, for missionaries only. His instructional inclination asserts itself.

Only those missionaries who have gone through a mutual metanoia are, Burridge asserts, "not wholly bewildered" (1978:20). The phenomenon is, however, structural, and not exclusively a missionary one:

All over the world, agencies that seek to introduce change, whether for selfish or altruistic reasons, frequently come to resist the results of their handiwork as represented

by community effort to do something about existing problems and achieve a new steady state. It is remarkable that as soon as communities start taking charge of their own development in the revitalization process, they often have to fight the agents who got them started. Religious teachers who encourage people to think more seriously about their relations with God are, if successful, faced with what they regard as heresies. Colonial governments that seek to broaden the extent of self-government among their subjects find themselves fighting nationalistic movements. (Goodenough 1963:303-4)

Goodenough's observation is also relevant, of course, to the sphere of development aid. I shall, in my Afterword, assert that the demand for mutual transformation between changer and changed is relevant also in that field.

The interpretative variation (lack of cultural consensus), which exists but is not revealed at home, may become an obstacle in the mission field. The missionary tries education as a means of increasing his own security vis-à-vis the convert and his behaviour.

When the missionary, on the other hand, does manage to realize a mutual metanoia, he begins to understand that the steps towards the perfect social order need not necessarily entail a replica of his own spiritual setting. A mutual metanoia, involving both missionaries and converts, helps the missionary to avoid trying to transform the other into his own image. The reciprocal "physical" experience makes the transcendence possible, in spite of the objective lack of a shared understanding. The experience of the first Pentecost shows that cultural and ethnic differences in this respect, are (or should be) of no decisive import.

Let me emphasize again that I do not see the equalizing effect of mutual metanoia as only a "spiritual" consequence. It is rather the psycho-social effect of a common, extraordinary and physical, experience. After such a happening it is difficult to assert social and knowledgeable differences of any "significant" kind. A powerful mutual experience tends to equalize relevant knowledge. Both parties have lived through the same transformation. The old ordering is transcended.

The missionary evidently has to choose. Should his renewal, his personal aiming at a still more perfect social order, concern his church back home, the missionary collective, or the emerging congregation? The modern missionary role is stamped by a conflict of loyalties (Axelson 1976:14). My experience from Bolivia indicates that the missionaries do not primarily seek renewal together with the Bolivian congregation. They prefer instead to retain their pragmatic difference and to bring about their own renewal process, creating new social orders, separated from the native church, and probably differing also,

eventually, from the social order of the home front.

This is the Mission's central problem, in a double sense. The parallelism which, I suggest, makes the mission work frustrating and inefficient, is at the same time the very *definition* of the Christian missionary enterprise: the "significant difference" between missionary and missionized, the *sine qua non* of the continued existence of the modern Pentecostal mission. In a conceivable new model the first candidate for conversion would be the missionary himself.

To summarize so far: The deliberately chosen strategy, namely the Mission's dispositions towards non-participation and teaching, and the subsequent tendency towards a general parallelism and asymmetry, are the result of the transfer and adaptation to the mission field of the home-front programme, which is to preserve a commitment system in a stage of ageing.

What sustains and inspires the missionaries when the spiritual experience is changing and when the individual conversation with God is partly replaced by a conversation with other people? My answer is that the blessed giving has replaced, to a large extent, the primordial spiritual experience as the driving force in the missionary enterprise.

The theoretical device of this study, the commitment system, bears the stamp of an ideal image. I am aware that it may never have existed in real life. Already as a very young man I learned to handle this ideal symbol, to help it out by deliberately trying to live up to it. Eleven years old, and just baptized in water, I could not put aside what I was expected to endure in school the next day. When I was about to step out before the waiting congregation, I got a poke from my mother, and the exhortation to "look happy". The revival, the commitment, the power of the Spirit, are all ideal images and symbols, whose chief hallmark is their volatility. They require an endless sequence of renewals.

My defence for retaining the ideal image, as a theoretical figure, is that commitment systems in general, and the Pentecostal congregation in particular, are nothing much without their ideal image. A Pentecostal group without at least a striving for continuous spiritual revival and renewal, is no real Pentecostal group. Reality, the inevitable ageing of the movement, obstructs the implementation of the ideal, but it must always be there, as a goal.

The aim of this introductory part of the book has been to outline roughly the dynamics of the commitment system in general and of the Pentecostal Movement in particular. Part II is an attempt to relate Mission and Anthropology to each other and also to position this particular anthropologist in relation to the Mission, and to his own study.

Part II:

My Position

Mission and Anthropology

The relational field between anthropology and mission is extensive and is interpreted in many ways.¹ My aim is only to suggest the character of the connection. Burridge asserts (1978:2-3) that social anthropology has its roots in the synthesis between the Greek and the Christian heritage. On the one side, in an intellectual tradition of rationality, objectivity and interest in other cultures, as in Herodotus and Alexander the Great, and as in Plato's model of an alternative and more perfect society. On the other, in events and experiences from the New Testament, especially the Resurrection, which offered a hitherto unknown possibility, and the experience of the Pentecost, which taught that man, with love and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, could overcome and free himself from the existing social order. Added to that was the exhortation to "teach all people" that God existed for all mankind.

The message of the first Christian missionaries was one of love, hope, brotherhood, enlightenment, salvation and the breaking of the power of death. The intellectual follow-up to all this, the study of the holy scriptures, attracted interest from different cultural traditions. And the Bible was not only a holy work, it was also an anthropological monograph.²

To understand it required a knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. With increasing emphasis, the neophyte was asked to learn other modes of articulate communication and to seek the will and face of God in the history, customs, images and figures of an exotic people who, after the fall from grace, knew hunting, herding, slavery, nomadism, and cultivation and (becoming a warlike and conquering people) formed a kingdom that was eventually dominated and finally destroyed by the Roman imperium. God was for all, man was made in God's image, and Christ was in everyone. (Burridge 1978:3)

The large number of Christian missionaries have, for centuries and in different places and positions, led in the amassment of the enormous reservoir of knowledge which the European peoples have about other cultures. From the middle of the last century, when anthropology assumed a more definite shape, the anthropologist used the missionary's collected material as a self-evident authority. The rupture between the two was, however, about to come. Burridge dates the breach to 1932, when Malinowski in a short article in *Man* warned the layman not to interfere with scientific questions of which he knew little. A crack in the rapport might already have come in 1929, when Malinowski wrote about "Practical Anthropology":

The practical man should be asked to state his needs as regards knowledge on savage law, economics, customs, and institutions; he would then stimulate the scientific anthropologist to a most fruitful line of research and thus receive information without which he often gropes in the dark. (1929:22)

The predicament, that "downright anthropology" established independence relatively late from an originally common anthropological-missionary complex, may have paved the way for oedipal problems. Burridge is of the opinion that there are such overtones in Malinowski's diaries (1967).

Missionaries had fathered the work to which he was dedicating himself with typical missionary zeal - on the other side of the fence. Moreover, missionaries were changing the cultures he and other anthropologists were investigating, and they were dedicated to particular kinds of change - something that could not but alarm the archpriest of functionalism and his followers. For though the practitioners of what might be taken to be the dynamic universalism of Christianity are often accused of being conservative and static, they are surely not more so than scientists who identify themselves with the dogmas of their methodologies. (Burridge 1978:5)

It soon became apparent, for my part, that I had to handle a good many well established opinions about what anthropologists are after when it comes to mission. The conception was primarily founded in the recent debate, within anthropology and elsewhere, on the Mission as an unwarranted changer of culture. The Mission's general attitude towards anthropology's more relativistic position was unmistakable early on. The following quotation from Martin Westling's *Missionen och Naturfolken* (The Mission and Primitive Peoples), published in 1919, offers a typical stance.

A glance out over the world today shows us that the Christian religion is the universal religion. It is fit for everybody, for poor and rich, for Brahmins and pariahs, for Asians and Africans, for Europeans and Australian negroes, for Greenlanders and people in Tierra del Fuego. No one is so high, that Christ cannot make him a humble follower, no one so deep in all kinds of heathendom and slavery, that Christ cannot raise him and make him a new creature of him.

We therefore firmly refuse to listen to those voices, who call out to us to let the primitive peoples be.* (Westling 1919:7)

Hughes thinks that the missionary's antipathy depends on his "image of the anthropologist as hostile to religion" (1978:70), a conception which is based on the fact that the supernatural, which to the missionary is a matter of faith, to the anthropologist is "an object of analysis" (ibid.).

The anthropologist's characterization of missionaries as "enemies" is also of long standing. Hortense Powdermaker tells how she, Evans-Pritchard, Raymond Firth and Isaac Shapera in the mid-1920s, when they were students at the London School of Economics, talked about the need to "keep the natives pure and undefiled by missionaries and civil servants" (1966:43). But their teacher, Bronislaw Malinowski, asserted, she says, that anthropological training of these categories "could make them more respectful and less disruptive of native life". Afterwards Powdermaker finds the hostile attitude misdirected.

In his 1932 article Malinowski makes the point that, in his "teaching and advisory capacity", he sees several scores of "competent and sincere" administrative civil servants each year. A Mr Rentoul who had "spent some time" in the Trobriand Islands as "Acting Assistant Resident Magistrate", had goaded Malinowski into a fury by alleging that he had been wrong concerning trobriandic ignorance of physiological fatherhood. In spite of that, Malinowski makes the following conciliatory gesture towards colonial officials and missionaries.

To me the opposition between "the man on the spot" and the "visiting anthropologist" is both invidious and irrelevant. Both are necessary for the science of man and both have to work together. Each has his disabilities and each his advantages. (1932:34)

The attitude to the missionary's ethnological efforts could be hostile, as shown even in his own files. Bartolomeus Ziegelbalg, missionary at the "tamul mission" in South India "in the early 18th century", had composed a work of comparative religion called *Die Genealogie der malabarischen Götter*. He had sent the manuscript back to his own country. His mission leader, August Hermann Francke, had a shock and wrote back to Ziegelbalg: "You have been sent out

to eradicate heathendom in India, not to propagate pagan delusion in Europe". The manuscript was left to mature, for a century and a half. It was published only in 1867 (Sundkler 1952:17).

The debate in Sweden, in the early 1950s, may be illustrated by a radio discussion between the anthropologist John-Erik Elmberg and the scholar and mission official Bengt Sundkler. Sundkler had published his *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* in 1948, a study based on solid anthropological fieldwork, to say the least. The debate in which the participants were "irreconcilable to the last minute of broadcasting" (Elmberg 1952:436), is certainly characterized by mutual respect, but the contraposition is unmistakable. While Sundkler thinks that Elmberg "is defending a museum perspective" which likes to put the primitive peoples "in a sort of exhibition case with name and number", Elmberg finds the missionaries to be "hostile to culture even in our cultural society" (*kultursamhälle*) and therefore probably no more friendly to culture in the mission field (*ibid.*:431).

The two categories act in a sense in the same arena. The missionary appears in the role of "teacher" and "changer", while the anthropologist prefers the role of "observer" and "preserver" (Hughes 1978:65). There are big differences between the purposes and working methods of the two but it is perhaps the points in common, the affinity, which cause most of the irritation. The following list offers a few examples.

Missionaries as well as anthropologists are purposive agents and have seen themselves as eliminators of ignorance and dispensers of enlightenment, in the missionary case amongst peoples far away, in the anthropological case towards the ignorant home audience. Århem, concerned about the "one-dimensional concept of development", wants to see the anthropologist as "the advocate of the multidimensional concept of development in our own civilization..." (1987:32).

Both categories have "vested interests" in the keeping of cultures where they "belong", in order to have, thenceforth, a "target population" for their respective activities (Miller 1981:128).

Maybe the greatest difference between anthropologists and missionaries, namely, that the latter are conscious agents of change, is complicated by the fact that those peoples whose culture the anthropologists try to preserve, often choose change in their turn, if given the opportunity. Claude Lévi-Strauss has formulated this phenomenon as an anthropological paradox:

Contemporary anthropology thus finds itself in a paradoxical situation. For it is out of a deep respect for cultures other than our own that the doctrine of cultural relativism evolved; and it now appears that this doctrine is deemed unacceptable by the very people on whose behalf it was upheld, while those ethnologists who favour unilinear evolutionism find unexpected support from peoples who desire nothing more than to share in the benefits of industrialization, and who prefer to look at themselves as temporarily backward rather than permanently different. (1966:125)³

Some anthropologists, from the so-called Third World, challenge certain fundamental assumptions in anthropology. At the same time, a few native church leaders have started to question some of the Mission's cherished dogmas.

Even the "repatriation" of anthropology (Marcus and Fischer 1986) has its parallel in the Mission, partly in the form of concepts like "dialogue" and "return mission". Moreover, the mission field now, in the shape of immigrants, is moving back to the Swedish Pentecostal church, and "dechristianization" will pretty soon make Sweden an urgent "mission field".

The concept of dialogue is just as appropriate in anthropology as in mission. In both cases one can say that further analysis is required concerning the meaning of "dialogue". Is the aim a "real" dialogue, or "a staged and controlled" (Rabinow 1986:246) dialogue which only recasts the traditional enterprise (anthropology and mission respectively) in a more democratic and up-to-date guise?

Even the anthropologist may experience his "mission" as the consequence of a "calling". Lewis describes how Malinowski's whole system for higher academic training in anthropology "was based on the shamanistic assumption that all his students were converts, inspired by Providence to enter into their true destiny" (Lewis 1986:6).

Anthropology and mission both come to people from outside. It can be expected that the peoples will soon assert their right to formulate their own stance in religious and moral matters and also to "observe their culture themselves" (Lévi-Strauss 1966:126).

While missionaries by all means at their disposal endeavour to reach the remnants of still "unreached" peoples, in order to save their members "for eternity", anthropology, in its turn, is also seen as "a salvage discipline". "Anthropologists are thought of as archaeologists of wandering humanity, desperately trying to create a heritage out of a few social and cultural shards. No one really questions the future of the people we typically study. Their extinction is written" (Crapanzano 1985:328). The missionaries are saving their

souls, the anthropologists are saving their culture.

Finally, even the anthropologist feels a human need to be liked and "more often than he would care to admit he shares the missionary's 'do-good' instincts" (Hughes 1978:80). Some missionaries had a sort of "working money" (*arbetspengar*) which they could freely spend on small "projects" without further consultation. Occasionally anthropologists seem to have the same. Maurice Godelier tells us that he had money given to him that he could spend on training young men to drive and maintain a truck (1986:214).

The history of anthropological writing about missionaries shows, according to Pels, that until the start of the present century, "anthropologists hardly ever doubted the necessity of the civilizing mission" (1990:107). Moreover, Protestant as well as Catholic notables at the time "agreed on the fact that mission work had to be informed by ethnography" (*ibid.*). The interwar period saw the professionalization of anthropological fieldwork. Malinowski was obviously one important propagator of this process (1929). Pels suggests that this professional interest was "the main source of anti-missionary bias in the anthropological establishment" (1990:107-108). The expert rivalry later received a political dimension (1960s). Both categories were found to have been mixed up in colonial practice.

The waning aggressiveness of anthropologists has to do with a feeling that mission is now somewhat peripheral in the context of a globalizing world, in which it is increasingly difficult to talk about "cultures" as territorially bound bodies of ideas, reproducing themselves through processes of socialization.

Pels places Beidelman's *Colonial Evangelism* (1982) and Clifford's *Person and Myth* (1982) at the respective ends of a continuum of the anthropology of missions. Beidelman represents the familiar anthropological critique of the missionary enterprise. His representation of the Church Missionary Society in Ukaguru (Tanzania) starts out from the judgment that "Christian missions represent the most naive and ethnocentric, and therefore the most thoroughgoing, facet of colonial life" (1982:5-6). Clifford's book about Maurice Leenhardt is, on the other hand, in Clifford's own words, "a sympathetic, though not uncritical, account of Maurice Leenhardt's experience and writings. It takes, inevitably, his side of things" (1982:6). Leenhardt devoted his first fifty years to mission, and his last twenty-six to ethnology. He preceded Claude Lévi-Strauss in an influential chair at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* in Paris (Clifford 1980:518).

Prepared to accept the missionary enterprise as a legitimate venture, Burridge identifies four "primary areas of interest", as far as the study of mission is concerned;

the general socio-historical context in which missionaries and others have gone about their business in exotic cultures; the relations between missionaries and social scientists, particularly social and cultural anthropologists; what missionaries set out to do and what they actually achieve; and the nature of the missionary situation itself. (Burridge 1978:2)

Even closer, or, rather, right at the heart of the missionary endeavour, we find Bengt Sundkler's manifesto for the Swedish Institute of Missionary Research:⁴

We assert here that the most important and richest task for mission research now is the mission situation itself, the contact between heathendom and the Christian message, the field of contact and conflict between the pagan society, custom and belief and the young Christian congregation and church and the kind of faith-life lived in the Christian congregations and the new church out there...* (1952:19)

Up to the 1970s anthropologists had written amazingly little about the missionary enterprise, or about their own relations with missionaries during their fieldwork. Missionaries were, Shapiro observes (1981:130), treated as "part of the setting, much like rainfall and elevation... but peripheral to the real object of social anthropological description and analysis". Miller attributes this neglect to the "strong feelings of ambivalence that anthropologists had toward missionaries" (1981:125). The latter were valuable in the field at the same time as their enterprise often conflicted with the interest of the anthropologist. Seminal articles on the anthropological study of missionaries are Miller (1970) and Beidelman (1974). Following Miller (1981) the anthropological study of mission may be divided into the following categories:

- (i) The unintended consequences of missionary activity.
- (ii) An inherent discrepancy between mission recruitment logic back home, and missionary practices in the field.
- (iii) The enigmatic relationship between missionary and anthropologist regarding both theory and practice.
- (iv) The close connection between mission work and colonialism.⁵
- (v) Characteristic mission impacts on the populations concerned.

My own study should be placed, if anywhere, in the categories of "the mission(ary) situation itself" (Burridge 1978, Sundkler 1952) and the "unintended consequences" (Miller 1981). These are extensive classifications and might need some closer specification to the extent that it is not already given.

My alleged position is that of the inside critic. I am, no doubt, a backslider when it comes to faith and spiritual experience. But feeling free from the estranged position between faith and disbelief, I also feel free to take an internal point of departure for my critique. Inside criticism means, in this case, that I attribute the problems to *a discrepancy between ideal image and present practice*. The following chapter will provide a fuller account of my study and approach.

Study and approach

My only experience of conversion, that from Pentecostalist to backslider, was a big stumbling-block to my project. I was considered disqualified as a "mission researcher". To contribute to my study was, for many missionaries, to falter in belief. He who sets about studying God's great project, as if it were just any phenomenon, disregards a divine design. My role appeared to be evil.

A weak interest in history and an ambivalence towards learning from negative experiences go with the conceptions of conversion and renewal, of forgiveness, and of permission to forget and to proceed. To dig for and examine, even though with the purpose of understanding and learning for the future, goes against the principle of God's mercy, of reconciliation. My part almost resembles that of the Devil, who wants to bring back the past, point out the mistake over again, turn it inside out, call up what should be forgotten and forgiven.

In a certain sense I was, of course, considered a cultural insider. I had spent the first two decades of my life as a Pentecostalist and many missionaries were of about my generation (born in the first half of the 1940s). I am familiar with the discourse of the Pentecostalists of that age and conversant with their spiritual notions. Without much difficulty, I would have been able to fake a life as a genuine Pentecostalist, presuming that I had been unscrupulous.

Anyhow, my past as an insider made it reasonable for me to speak with missionaries as well as converts, as if I myself had really been *hermano* (brother). Occasionally I had to check myself when my mode of inquiry took on too much of a Pentecostalist style. The ease with which I could discuss spiritual matters with the converted Bolivians probably strengthened their opinion that my defection was not serious. Spiritual conversations with the

missionaries were more difficult. There I was more on my guard and tried to be the "detached researcher", in response, probably, to the missionaries' own restrictive attitude.

Anthropologists try to control their personal biases in two ways (Peacock 1986:86-87). One is to systematize the research process with the help of questionnaires, tests and tables for the categorization of their observations. The disadvantage of this is that the perception can become as stiff-necked as the research process. The other way is to try to elucidate one's own personal distortive tendency, "to introspect openly so that the researcher himself becomes part of the subject of research; this is done through so-called first-person ethnographies, in which autobiographical insight is coupled with ethnographic reporting" (ibid.). Laura Nader emphasizes the significance of what she calls "self-analysis"; "an awareness on the part of the student of how he as a social scientist is perceived, run around, enculturated, and described in the veiled and not-so-veiled encounters with informants" (1972:308).

This section is an attempt to sketch out such a "self-analysis". I have already mentioned that my biography plays a part in this study. That part was bigger than I had expected. My "deconversion" (Firth 1981:583), namely, my long-past withdrawal from the Pentecostal Movement, was a matter of concern to the Mission from the very beginning of my fieldwork. At my first "missionary gathering" (*missionärsträff*), the chairman of the Mission presented my intention to study missionaries rather than "Indians". He encouraged his comrades to study me closely, for their part, to find out why I had left the Pentecostal Movement after my first 20 years.¹ After that I had to give several accounts of the circumstances which led me up other tracks than those of Pentecostalism.

A deconversion calls for the same kind of re-socialization as a conversion (Berger and Luckman 1985:176-182). One must simply even the score with the past. One must legitimate the rejection of one's previous truth, and it is easy to exaggerate. In my account I let the negative elements outweigh the benefits. Anything else would have made my withdrawal inconceivable. The result was, however, that the missionaries' misgivings, about my dangerousness and my negative approach, were reinforced.

The missionaries seemed to think that my position as a backslider was bound to be characterized by disdain for those who still remained in the "aberration" which I, on becoming "enlightened", had left.² My assurance that I felt the greatest respect towards all believers seemed unconvincing. Some contended that, consciously or unconsciously, I was rancorous towards the Pentecostal Movement and that my study was a consequence of this feeling.

I do not think the missionaries regarded me as an "informer" (Crapanzano 1980:144). My ignorance of the Bolivian missionary enterprise and its adversities, if any, was too great and my distance from insider status sufficient. I have, however, the feeling that some of them were anxious about being regarded as "informers", by comrades and by themselves, if they collaborated more closely with me.

During a period of a few months, at the outset of my fieldwork, the missionaries' attitude to me and to my project changed from courtesy and interest to indifference, dissociation, and even hostility. In the first few weeks of my fieldwork I had the feeling that I had already succeeded in establishing a rapport. I looked forward hopefully to new opportunities to deepen the conversations that had been initiated. Then came a period of ambivalence. When the chairman of the Norwegian Pentecostal Mission, Hans Svartdal, on an occasional visit to Bolivia, "crushed" me in front of the assembled missionary staff and with its amused assent, I still received some marks of sympathy afterwards. Several missionaries wondered how things were going, how the study was getting on, how I felt being "unsaved" in the midst of a group of missionaries. Someone offered me his home as a temporary place of refuge from my supposed solitude. I was still considered to be a worthy and likeable partner in conversation. However, in a twinkling, the situation changed: no free talking, no discussion, no invitations to lunch. Some of my previous positive conversations later even cropped up in the form of rumours of malicious statements, which I had supposedly uttered and which were now turned against me. Step by step it had become apparent that I did not have it in mind to change the aim and direction of my project. Nor was I contemplating surrendering to the missionaries' attempts at conversion. The attitude of the leading missionaries gradually grew tougher. I always had some sympathizers, but those in power had obviously made up their minds.

There was, clearly, something in my behaviour and in my situation, which alarmed the missionaries. My person stood out as dangerous, maybe even "polluted". I was simply hard to classify. To be sure, notions of pollution and danger often affect that which is hard to define and determine. Dirt is, according to Mary Douglas, "matter out of place" (1966:35). In my case, it was a fact that I had been a Pentecostalist and that thereafter I had left the movement in a deconversion. So I had, in a way, a clear status as a backslider. The problem was that now, once again, I was taking an interest in the Pentecostal Movement and in its Mission. This new interest had, however, no reference to any re-conversion. I was no penitent seeker in the traditional

sense, I was not interested in the "right" way. Instead, it was a matter of a professional interest in the Pentecostal Mission as a cultural phenomenon. Such an odd fish many missionaries could not see without feeling uneasy. I stood out as particularly "dangerous" when I participated in the missionaries' internal meetings.

Already at my first *missionärsträff* I felt instinctively that many missionaries considered me out of place. Moreover, at only one of four occasions in all could I entirely escape being openly "attacked" in one way or another. It was during this period, April and May of 1987, that my situation as a "mission researcher" severely deteriorated. When I attended my fourth and last missionary gathering, five days before the Mission board was finally going to sink my original plans, the missionaries' unhappiness with my presence culminated in a concrete attempt to get me converted. From my notebook I quote what happened, according to my version.

When a few, maybe four, had prayed, K interrupted and said something along the lines that Göran has, as you know, been straightforward with us and related how he left the Pentecostal Movement and so we should also be straightforward with him and pray especially for him, that he will return to the right way. He said much more that I cannot remember word for word, but the meaning was, to me, clear, that is to say that I ought to be saved once again, and that all the negative things which I had experienced should be removed. K then started to pray for me, for a while from his own chair, then he moved to a unoccupied chair next to me and put his arm round my shoulders. /I honestly didn't know what to do and chose not to do anything, just to try to remain calm until it was over./ After K, M and R prayed, both in rather lucid terms that I should be "released" from those powers which were hindering me from returning to the proper faith. I thought that R in particular used words which I interpreted as if he meant that I was caught in the grip of the devil. I cannot quite remember what the exact words were when the three prayed for me, perhaps because I was rather upset about their venture. I remember anyway that I was stunned by their choice of words and that I had the feeling that they in fact considered me to be an instrument of the Evil One. It is perhaps natural for them to pray in that way and they probably prayed now more or less in the way they otherwise pray for me. To me the purpose cannot be anything other than to achieve my stopping the inquiry and either going home or becoming one of them. They formulate the whole thing as that they "like me" and that they don't want me, as K said, to go to hell, but I suspect that they are anyhow worried about the inquiry in the first place. None of those who prayed for me, or no one else I have heard praying in these contexts, has ever prayed for my study, that it should be successful and that the result should be important also for the Mission, for example.* (1987-05-21. pp. 906-908)

I experienced this event as an infringement. At that moment I considered

voluntarily giving up the missionary gatherings in the future, and not risking a recurrence. No such decision was necessary, since the Mission later decided to exclude me from the gatherings for the rest of my stay. Later in the week, during the days before my big "catastrophe", further though less obvious attempts were made to convert me. I tried to meet all this in a friendly and obliging way, though I did not understand it. I just felt upset and offended.

If I now understand it correctly, it was a way of giving me a last chance. The missionaries had shown that they wished me well, that they loved me as a human being, even if not as an anthropologist. By rejecting the hands they extended to me I also had to take the consequences. When I persisted in sticking to my "vice", and rather described us as inseparable, the Mission was able to legitimize its definitive dissociation.

What happened shows the limitations of symbolic realism (Bellah 1970) as a research orientation. Concordant with such an orientation I consider the spiritual experience a reality *sui generis*, not reducible to other domains of discourse. My aim is not to reduce the missionary enterprise to other levels, but to relate it to its own ideal bases.

Robbins et al. (1973) have published a methodological analysis in which they present a range of experiences similar to my own. They had studied California "Jesus Freaks" and their conclusion was that "empathic understanding implies conversion to their beliefs" (ibid.:269). At least to highly sectarian groups, "there is no valid distinction between empathy and complete sympathy. To understand is to believe" (ibid.).

Through their failure to convert the empathic researcher, the subjects were ultimately as threatened and demoralized by his symbolic realism as they might have been by a non-emphatic reductionism. The latter could at least be easily assimilated to the sectarian meaning system, and an agnostic reductionist to the anticipated role of wilful opponent of the Lord. (Robbins et al. 1973:270-271)³

The missionary reaction was certainly consistent. I was put in a kind of "quarantine". The resistance, however, not only had to do with my apostasy and the special character of the Mission but also with the general structure of the situation. That is shown by Engebriksen's similar experiences, unfolded in her study of NORAD experts in Zambia (1988:16-19).

In general, I had made the "mistake" of exposing myself and my intentions too openly to the missionary management. Bowen, in consolation, points out that the anthropologist's mistakes can be creative. They cause crisis, "fertile hostility", and confusion, and they bring about personal relations which

are more dramatic than if one were always "the smooth and poised observer" (1964:xii).

I became to some extent my own informant in the sense, more or less, asserted by Hastrup (1987:295). I was classified as a "backslider" and treated accordingly, and I have the feeling that my presence in the (mission) field sometimes elicited a quite exceptional behaviour on both sides of the fence.

My claims of ethnographic authority (Clifford 1988, Crapanzano 1986:53) appeared to be in jeopardy. The missionaries locked me out from most of their internal activities (presence), they considered my perception biased by my past history (perceptual ability), they suspected me of consciously or unconsciously seeking revenge for a tough adolescence (disinterested perspective), they did not trust the impartiality of a renegade (objectivity), and they expected I would give in to my colleagues' expectations of a negative account (sincerity). How then could I make my message convincing?

Quite often I felt like a hungry beggar. From my point of view the missionaries abounded in knowledge, while I on the other hand was starved, emaciated. When the missionaries now and then casually tossed me an "alms", a piece of information, it was hardly out of consideration for me and my study but rather "for the sake of the Mission". They knew me perhaps as an aggressive "hanger-on", who was never satisfied. They had, to be sure, spoken to me. Some of them had even invited me for lunch. I had received one annual meeting report. What more could I expect? But I wanted more and more, until I knew everything and much more than the missionaries themselves. Hearing them talk about excursions and activities which they were about to undertake - without even asking if I perhaps wanted to come along! - made me react with jealousy. Malinowski had urged the ethnographer to "grasp the native's point of view", and to scrutinize "the hold which life has on him" (1961:25). I saw this vision evaporate.

Just before my second period in the field, in October 1987, a Bolivian anthropologist had reported two large foreign mission organizations (*Nuevas Tribus* and *Misión Evangélica Suiza*) for hurting in various ways Indian groups in the Beni department. A governmental delegation investigated the accusation but found nothing to criticize. Only the military representative was upset about the Indians' general exemption from military service. The Bolivian anthropologist, in the eyes of "my" missionaries, had made anthropology even more untrustworthy. He had let himself be flown around in the missions' plane, to a series of mission stations. Later, when safely back home in La Paz, he had made a charge against the missionaries' work to the authorities. I barely

managed to get down to Cochabamba before the tricky question came from one of the missionaries; "You, Göran, how do you, as an anthropologist, think that one should proceed to help the Indians?" Sometimes the question was more directly formulated as an accusation. "Why do you anthropologists never want to join in bringing development forward, but just stand there looking or trying to hinder other people's work?".⁴

An anthropological study of the missionary enterprise may, in the light of the historical setting, be characterized as a potential attempt of "parricide". No wonder, then, that I encountered difficulties. While the anthropologists, the attackers in the debate, appear to have got other matters to contemplate, the missionaries still carefully cultivate their resentment at past assaults. Their opening towards reconciliation goes via the condemnation of "unscientificness" and "one-sidedness" and the simultaneous acceptance of "scientific and objective inquiries about the Mission".

Rosaldo's account of Evans-Pritchard's characterization of the Nuer (1940) makes me somewhat uneasy about the similarity to my own experience, and my account, of the missionaries.

In the text the Nuer appear characterized, variously, as unusually hostile, refusing to answer greetings and even turning away when addressed, expert at sabotaging an inquiry, stultifying all efforts to elicit the simplest facts, blocking questions about their customs, and unwilling to discuss serious matters or even to receive the fieldworker in their windcreens. (1986:90-91)

Evans-Pritchard had been identified with the colonial regime. My fault was to belong to two different but equally unreliable "tribes": the "backsliders" and the "anthropologists".

The post-modern criticism of anthropology entails, among other things, the assertion that no ultimate narration exists (Kamppinen 1989:144). The objects of our anthropological research have probably been aware of this for a long time. The lack of communication between scientist and study object, on the result of the research, has made it possible for the anthropologist to maintain his conception of a "master narrative". The object's consciousness of the "aggressive character" (ibid.) of the anthropological representation has come to the surface in my case. The target of my study is an élite, which is not prepared, just like that, to submit to the "aggressiveness" entailed in being "represented".

Elites, in any sphere, often adopt an attitude of self-evidence concerning their own position in society. This attitude leads to a situation where they often

escape the closer investigation of the social scientists. These scientists often find themselves on the same level as the elites and they share the same idea of their own self-evidence. The researcher usually finds it easier to "problematize" categories which are on status levels lower than his own. One Bolivian pastor put it like this; "When a missionary came and wanted to study the Mataco Indians they said that it was all right, but when a Swede came and said that he wanted to study the missionaries it was much too much".

To produce a representation, in a self-chosen and independently executed form, is to replace, or be a kind of representative of, the study object, to speak about those who are absent (Fernandez 1985:20). In general, the anthropologist represents without the object even being aware of the existence of the representation and, still less, its potential consequences. Considering the "idiographic, qualitative, and narrative orientations" of anthropology (Appadurai 1986:360) this ignorance might emerge as unacceptable.

Clifford (1988:53) observes that the ability of a text to "make sense in a coherent way" is less dependent on the writer's intentions than on the creative activity of the reader. The coherence is reached, so to speak, in the very act of reading. He emphasizes that the reading usually lies beyond the control of the ethnographic authority, deliberately established by the writer. In my case this is quite evident. I carried out my study against the wishes of the Mission. It goes without saying that the missionaries' and their sympathizers' examination of my anthropological notes will definitely "go against the grain" of my dominant voice.

Laura Nader has written about the anthropologist's disposition to study the poor first and foremost. Perhaps, she says, the fieldwork situation, the foundation of the whole anthropological enterprise, is dependent on the relation of power, which is usually advantageous to the anthropologist. She asks whether this asymmetrical relationship influences the theories woven by the anthropologist. "What if... anthropologists were to study the colonizers rather than the colonized, the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless, the culture of affluence rather than the culture of poverty?" (1972:289). Crapanzano has made similar observations. "I had discovered that even in their research on domination most anthropologists had never bothered to study the dominant. They had only studied the dominated and from that perspective described the structure of domination" (1985:22). Studying the patron is, no doubt, a "tricky business" (Almy 1977:286).

Nader became aware of the anthropologist's disposition to choose his field according to the potentialities for "participant observation" when some of

her students wanted to study a solicitor's office which did not want to be studied.

How could they participant-observe if the firm wouldn't let them in the door, and if they couldn't participant-observe how could they do anthropology? (1972:306)

This has been my problem. I have tried to study a group of people who do not want to be studied, and who maintain the opinion that an outsider study is not only unnecessary but unrealizable. Participant observation has thus become a sparsely used instrument in my study, though it is eagerly exploited at every opportunity. At times the observation has lasted only a few seconds, but it has nevertheless been productive and valuable. To talk to one and listen to another has often been necessary. In general I feel some affinity with Clinton in his reliance on "unobtrusive observation, limited participation, or indirect interviewing" (1975:199).

In spite of the imperfections in method and empirical data this is, to me, urgent anthropology. I am generally sceptical about too great an awareness when it comes to the precise manners used in data collection (cf. Radin 1966:cxvi). Researcher and study object are in my case, for once, equals, and the study is by no means reserved for the anthropologist alone. After some time, I felt questioned and investigated myself and the relations between researcher and Mission can be nowhere near characterized as "that between a microscope and a cell" (Stromberg 1986:111).

The general character of my fieldwork, which was done in relatively short, "spontaneous", visits to the different stations, was a consequence of this situation. One may suspect that the missionaries tolerated my presence, owing to my nationality and because they wished, after all, to act like good Christians. But tolerance does not mean a change of heart and so the inquiry had to be carried on as imperceptibly as possible, as if it were actually not going on at all.

That this in fact was the case became evident when the missionaries occasionally wondered about the way I really worked. They seemed at times to believe that, as a matter of fact, I was carrying out my inquiry somewhere else, not where I was at that very moment. That I was perhaps reconnoitring and preparing myself or perhaps resting. It seems to have appeared as if I was all the time walking about, cautiously getting ready for "the real investigation".

The opposition to my study came, above all, from the responsible management. More remotely stationed missionaries often had a less prudent

attitude towards me, at any rate as long as I did not endeavour to penetrate into the deeper layers of their missionary "problems".

My system of field-notes was extremely simple. Everything was entered in cloth notebooks, usually of 200 pages in each. Data were mixed with my own speculations, separated by brackets. I jotted down my observations and ideas in the sequence they cropped up in my mind.

In the field situation I took notes extremely seldom. Sometimes I put down key words or short sentences and figures on small slips of paper. In conversations and informal interviews I took no notes at all, but trusted altogether to my memory. If, within a reasonably short time (a couple of hours at the most) I was unable to put down my observations I used to note down some clues on a piece of paper as support for later, more elaborate memos. Nor did I use a tape-recorder. On a few occasions I tried to take notes in the field situation or in conversations, but I always found the result to be poorer than when I trusted to my memory entirely. It worked like this: When I took notes in the field, these notes later made the recollection more difficult of those things I had not been able to put down. Besides, my general experience is that note-taking disturbs the dialogue and makes it much less informative. At services, however, it was feasible to take notes quite a lot, since this could be perceived, by those sitting around, as notes on biblical quotations or some message worth remembering. It was not unusual for visitors to take such notes.

My notebook was very important to me. I had a daily goal to write at least ten pages (about 1,650 words) and felt slightly useless on the days I failed and correspondingly satisfied when I perhaps accomplished 20 or 30 pages. Every day I stamped the pages with the date and page number, a procedure which became almost a ritual and a daily acknowledgement of my "being busy", doing "a job". I am pleased to note that I share this peculiarity with a celebrity like Howard S. Becker (1986:155).

Properly speaking, my field data are about the "Nordic Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia", i.e. about the Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish Pentecostal missionaries' joint work. In my account I do not make any distinction between the different nationalities, chiefly because I cannot, in the material which I have been able to collect, point to any differences between them, which may not equally well depend on individual qualities. The differences between the Swedish missionaries, for example, may be even bigger than those between a Swedish and a Norwegian or a Finnish missionary. I have found it reasonable to talk, most often, of the "Swedish Pentecostal mission" since among other things, the Swedes were the first on the spot and are still predominant.⁵

Besides, I draw all information other than field data from the Swedish side.

Requisite supplementary data were collected principally from the daily paper *Dagen* (The Day) and from the quarterly magazine *Till Alla Folk* (TAF) (To All People). To that were added informal contacts with some mission people in Sweden and some digging in the recesses of my own memory.

The fieldwork for this project comprised in all 12 months during the period 1987-1989. If anyone wants a more precise statement of the period, March 1987 to March 1988 will apply. I then spent about nine months in Bolivia.

Much had time to change from March 1987 to December 1989. However, I discuss circumstances that, I think, have lasted for a relatively long period. The acephalous organization implies, at the same time, that changes within the Mission could occur promptly, depending on which persons were in the field, at a given moment.

I do not claim that my conclusions are valid for other mission fields. I have, however, for some years now followed some of the mission information and debate, mostly in *Dagen*. This has convinced me that the missionary enterprise in Bolivia does not in any decisive way differ from Swedish Pentecostal missions in other regions of the world. There are, certainly, different organizational solutions, but they are, anywhere, influenced by the general ageing process of the mother system.

My own personal history may have brought me to the mission theme. In the same way, I think writing this ethnography has its autobiographical dimensions.⁶ Moreover, I use phrases that may be characterized as "curious" when coming from the pen of an alleged social scientist.⁷

I bring up no special female matters. This is due, among other things, to my lack of systematic information, suitable for comparison between male and female subjects. It is also due to the fact that I have not spontaneously discovered any questions or problems which could be attributed only to one sex. The female missionaries are more often single, which makes them a majority in the missionary-staff.⁸ This, however, does not seem to imply that they are predominant. The mission field reflects, in that respect, the male dominance on the home front, when it comes to church management.

I follow Crapanzano in using the masculine pronoun to refer to the missionary, irrespective of sex, since "I am writing of a stance and not of the person" (1986:52). No names in the book are fictitious, though sometimes they are left out. Quotations from sources spoken or written in Swedish or Spanish are translated by me. Those longer than a few sentences are marked by an asterisk (*).

My approach

This thesis differs, no doubt, in form, content, and purpose, from the standard anthropological dissertation. It definitely does not conform to the classic formula of anthropological field monographs, based on detailed description of a "whole way of life" of some community of people. The latter usually consists of a huge amount of data, collected in the field and processed, presented and interpreted with the purpose of producing a comprehensible overall impression of the study object. Ethnographically, my text is "data-poor" and its focus is not so much a community of people, their society or their culture. Its centre is rather an enterprise: the Mission.

I have tried to do two things, both conceivable within an anthropological enterprise: first, and mainly in the critical aspect of the thesis, I focus on the consequences of a widening cleft between ideal and reality in a cultural system. Secondly I try, to some extent, to elaborate on an anthropological model of this process: the ageing of the commitment system. I try to identify the central problem of the Mission in this complex. More explicitly my focus is on the pivotal question in the Mission: its ability to beget new vigorous enterprises of roughly its own sort.

Compared with most anthropological dissertations, my text is more "programmatic" and a manifestation of the researcher's "instinct for participation" (Clifford 1982:111), a wish not only to describe and explain but to change. The striving for change, in this case, bears the stamp of the aficionado's nostalgia. That notwithstanding, the argument is carried through with the purpose of understanding the Mission *problématique*.

My sketch of the Nordic missionary enterprise has the following general point of departure. The solution to the "problems" of the Mission, whatever their kind, must be searched for in the enterprise itself. The obvious fact that the Mission has come to the Bolivians, that the missionaries have "invited themselves" to inform the Bolivians, eliminates the possibility that the solution to the "problems" is to be found on the receiving side. That does not mean that the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement has no problems of its own. Neither does it mean that the Bolivians could not (or should not) change in response to missionary activity. If, however, the Mission has troubles in reaching its goal, then the giving Mission must change its behaviour first, not the receiving Bolivians. In that sense I am not neutral vis-à-vis the Mission. Parenthetically, the same principle is valid in my own relation to the Mission. My sporadic

accounts of that link might illustrate, however, how difficult it is not to blame others for one's own failures.

This is no evaluation in the ordinary sense of the word. The missionaries easily slipped into such a characterization of my project. An evaluation ought, however, to be conducted under the Mission's own auspices and in relation to explicitly formulated, spiritual goals. Nor is the study a commissioned work. Quite the reverse, it has been realized against the wishes of the Mission. No more is it a comprehensive account of the Swedish Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia. It is, instead, above all, an honestly intended attempt to present, though not to solve, the fundamental problem of the missionary enterprise, as I have finally grasped it. One may say that I "evaluate" the missionary enterprise in relation to goals which I, as an outsider and without authorization, have implicitly formulated myself, in relation to an outlined ideal.

The study represents, I suggest, a form of anthropological cultural critique. Marcus and Fischer's exposition of contemporary techniques of cultural critique does not explicitly include this form. The critique of "institutions and the culture of professionals" (1986:154), exemplified by Latour and Woolgar's *Laboratory Life* (1979), comes close to it and is depicted as a "promising area" (ibid.).

My own approach might, somewhat clumsily, be labelled an "internal critique from outside", and starts from an observable divergence between ideal and present reality. The purpose is not to criticize this very difference, since inconsistency is a consequence of the inescapable ageing process. The method is rather to use the potential of the ideal image to illuminate the limitations of the system in cases where an ignorance of the weak points counteracts the basic goals of the system.

To give an example, the Nordic Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia does not, I suggest, achieve its inmost purpose, at least not maximally, since it does not bring about, and does not aim at, a process of mutual spiritual renewal between mission and native church. The main cause is, I think, that the mother movement is now in a state of maturity and institutionalization and has itself left the initial phase of indispensable spiritual revival. Lack of spiritual mutuality in the mission field is therefore not immediately acknowledged as an unacceptable deficiency, though it is, I suggest, seriously enervating.

Walzer admits "the dispassionate stranger or the estranged native" to a legitimate place in the critical history, but also suggests another model, a different, more conventional, figure.

...; the local judge, the connected critic, who earns his authority, or fails to do so, by arguing with his fellows - who, angrily and insistently, sometimes at considerable personal risk (he can be a hero too), objects, protests, and remonstrates. This critic is one of us. Perhaps he has travelled and studied abroad, but his appeal is to local or localized principles;... he is not intellectually detached. Nor is he emotionally detached;... (Walzer 1987:39)

This form of internal criticism certainly exists in the Swedish Pentecostal Movement today. Suffice it to take a look at its daily paper *Dagen*. But, to repeat the discussion in Chapter 1, internal debate and criticism in a commitment system might be at odds with its preference for social rather than cultural consensus.

In the shadow of these internal critics, my position can be characterized as that of "a marginal critic but a critic detached from his own marginality" (Walzer 1987:37). My criticism, as if I were connected, is possible, I think, because of my detachment from marginality. Twenty-five years of backsliding have, to my mind, made me more neutral than marginal, more impartial than estranged, though still with inside and perhaps clarified perceptions of ideal Pentecostal values. My technique of criticism is therefore hardly characterized by any "intentional naiveté" (Marcus and Fischer 1986:139). I am not using any "defamiliarizing" effects (ibid.:140). Rather, I have tried to use the advantage of being my own informant.

My approach touches, perhaps, the critical technique of the "dialectic, reciprocal probing" (ibid.:160) of two ethnographic events. In my case it could be a juxtaposition of now and then, where the Swedish Pentecostal Movement represents the now, and the Bolivian counterpart the then, the more primordial version of Pentecostal revival. The then is also represented by my own past as a Pentecostalist.

It is, to repeat, not my intention to criticize Swedish Pentecostalism for being institutionalized, only for not realizing the implications of it for missionary work. My problem in the field was that the missionaries identified me as an enemy, not as a critic. We all "expect and simultaneously discount criticism from our enemies" (Walzer 1987:59).

Anthropological writing of cultural critique must address not only other anthropologists. In my case I address a wide range of people interested in the fate of the missionary endeavour. Such an undertaking is an unusual provocation.

Writing single texts with multiple voices exposed within them, as well as with multiple readerships explicitly in mind, is perhaps the sharpest spur to the contemporary experimental impulse in anthropological writing, both as ethnography and cultural critique. (Marcus and Fischer 1986:163)

I see this trend as evidence of maturity in the discipline. The time has come when the writers of anthropology should be ready to confront those "readerships that increasingly hold anthropology accountable for its representations" (ibid.:164).

Part III:

The Mission

Pioneers and "Bolivia-farers"

The Swedish Pentecostal Mission was pioneered by young Swedes living in the United States. Linda and Adolf Johnsson and Ellen and Gustaf Lundgren had received the Spirit baptism in Los Angeles in 1906. The following year they left for China, a country which eventually grew into the largest mission field of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement, at the time. When the field was closed in 1951 a total of 137 missionaries had been working in 10 different Chinese provinces (Boberg 1990:3).

Two other Swedes, Gunnar Vingren and Daniel Berg, left the United States in 1910 and went to Brazil. In 1916 the first two missionaries were sent out to Brazil directly from Swedish soil: Lina and Samuel Nyström (*ibid.*). This was the start of a very successful Swedish Pentecostal mission enterprise. Mexico, Argentina and Bolivia became Swedish mission fields in the years 1919-1921. The 1920s generally was a decade of fast expansion of Swedish Pentecostal Mission over the whole world.

The first Pentecostal missionaries arrived in Bolivia in 1921. When I met Gustaf Flood, the most prominent of them, in the early summer in 1986 he was over 90 years old but still upright and with a firm voice. His memory was beginning to fail but he could still tell dramatic stories from the mission field, about business carried on to make a living, about journeys between Cochabamba and Santa Cruz taking fourteen days and 105 river crossings, about collections for Gothenburg's Ethnographic Museum. He gave Erland Nordenskiöld the credit for his going to Bolivia at all and he asserted that he had Lewi Pethrus' support for his collaboration with the Bolivian authorities. Nordenskiöld was a famous Swedish ethnographer and explorer in South America, at the turn of the century. Pethrus was the founder and for many

years the outstanding leader of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement.

In the mid-1950s, with the "Bolivia-farers", a new epoch in the mission work was started. If Gustaf Flood had introduced the collaboration with the authorities, the Bolivia-farers introduced the "practical mission", gifts on a large scale, collected in Sweden. The co-operation with the government and the gift-giving have recently been added to by an increasing economic engagement on the part of the Swedish development agency (SIDA). The keynote underlying all this is, and has always been, evangelizing and the formation of new Pentecostal congregations.

Pioneers in Bolivia

Available data on the Mission's original pioneers in Bolivia are not completely unanimous. I have consulted three very summary sources (the only available ones); Alvarsson 1986, Frampton 1987, and Boberg 1990. Undoubtedly Gustaf Flood arrived in Bolivia in 1921, from Argentina, where he had arrived the previous autumn. But who was accompanied him from Argentina to Bolivia? Boberg (1990:12) states that Kristian Nielsén and Albin Gustafsson joined Flood. According to Alvarsson (1986) Flood and Gustafsson went together, later joined by Karl Fredriksson. Frampton (1987), however, states that Gustaf Flood was accompanied by Kristian and Ruth Nielsén and does not mention Gustafsson or Fredriksson. Alvarsson, on the other hand, does not mention Mr and Mrs Nielsén. Boberg says nothing about Ruth Nielsén. Westman et al. (1949:88) note that "Flood and Nielsén went on to Bolivia the following year" (1921).

The matter is of little importance. I have noted it only because it illustrates the ageing process of the Pentecostal movement. The missionaries of the first Pentecostal generation in Bolivia saw no point in "becoming history". None of them has so far produced any kind of historical documentation. The present need to memorize and document is an ageing symptom, which suffers from the pioneers' "neglect".

The pioneers of the first period in Bolivia may thus have been as many as five and as few as two. Undoubtedly Gustaf Flood was present. Canadian Baptists had started missionary work in Bolivia late in the nineteenth century and English and North American mission organizations had later made their own attempts, though without success (Alvarsson 1986).

The mission historians are not unanimous either concerning how and where the first pioneers arrived in Bolivia. While Frampton writes about "a not inconsiderably fatiguing journey by train" to Cochabamba, Alvarsson mentions that "they travelled by canoe up the Paraguay river and reached Santa Cruz as the first major town".

After some time, anyway, the missionaries (or at least Gustaf Flood) seem to have found themselves in Cochabamba, or more precisely in Punata, at some distance from the town. There lived a young American with the Swedish-sounding name of Tommy Andersson. Flood and Andersson co-operated in Punata where they eventually met with a rather dramatic incident, as a consequence of the resistance from the Catholic church:

The priests stirred up the people against the two Protestants and one night they were subjected to incendiarism. Before the house had been seriously damaged the neighbours were able to put out the fire and the young men escaped the attack without even waking up!* (Alvarsson 1986)

This "attack" came close to costing the missionaries their lives, writes Frampton. Alvarsson notes that the attack, however, brought about "something of a breakthrough" in their work. The people began to feel sympathy for the young missionaries and started to attend their services. "Shortly" afterwards five Indians were baptized and were able to form the first Pentecostal group in the history of Bolivia. On this positive result of the incendiarism Frampton has nothing to say. He simply observes that "the visible result of this first missionary attempt was almost null and void". Instead he locates "the first Pentecostal work in Bolivia" at Santa Cruz, under the guidance of Gustaf Flood and his wife Märta. According to Alvarsson, however, this Pentecostal congregation was founded by Albin Gustafsson and Karl Fredriksson who had remained in Santa Cruz when Flood went up to Cochabamba.

Gustaf Flood returned to Sweden in 1925, to marry his fiancée Märta. When they came out again (in 1931 or later), they continued the work in Santa Cruz. Gustafsson and Fredriksson had by then moved to Argentina and Chile respectively (Alvarsson 1986).

The Flood family were reinforced in 1939 by Astrid Jansson, a young Swedish Baptist with a strong calling to Bolivia. Jansson stayed on in Santa Cruz till 1943, when she had the opportunity of moving on to Villa Montes, the final goal of her missionary calling.

On the journey to Santa Cruz I passed Villa Montes, and we remained there over night. God then spoke to my heart and I had a feeling that this was the place where God wanted me to be.* (Alvarsson 1986)

The Floods had returned to Sweden in 1942. When they came back Gustaf Flood started to take an interest in Villa Montes and the Mataco people. Astrid Jansson went home in 1947 for a period of rest and two years later Gustaf Flood turned the Santa Cruz work over to the North American Pentecostal mission and settled in Villa Montes. Shortly afterwards Astrid Jansson was back and she stayed in Villa Montes till 1970, with only one break (in 1959/60). She stands out as one of the giants in the Swedish Pentecostal Mission to Bolivia. Alvarsson has written a whole book, a "drama-documentary", on Astrid Jansson (1982), and depicts her as a good deal more important than Gustaf Flood.

Flood obviously played a great part in the recruitment of the "Bolivia-farers". Frampton speaks about "Flood's missionary campaigns". Küng tells how one of the Bolivia-farers, Ragnar Lindgren, already during his recruitment training in 1931-32, "listened with fascination to Gustaf Flood's stories from Bolivia" (1977a:44). Gustaf Flood died in January 1990, at the age of 95. At 25 he was the first Swedish Pentecostal missionary in Argentina and later the first also in Bolivia. He completed his active time as a missionary in 1963 after a couple of decades with the Mataco people in Villa Montes, Bolivia (*Pingströrelsens Årsbok* 90:59).

The "Bolivia-farers"

The "Bolivia-farers" went out in two clusters. The first group left Gothenburg in April 1955. It included nine adults and ten children. The other group went out in August 1956 and comprised six adults and six children. Their destination was Villa Montes, in southern Bolivia, a place which is known for having perhaps the most trying climate in the whole country. At the time Villa Montes was the best known spot in Bolivia among Swedish Pentecostals.

There were three special things about the Bolivia-farers: they went out as a united group, they went without guaranteed economic maintenance from the Pentecostal congregations in Sweden, and they took with them a large amount of material resources. Anderås states that it was the Swedish currency

restrictions, after the war, which instigated the idea of emigration as a way of missionizing. The regulations meant that the home congregations were not allowed to send out "maintenance" (*underhåll*) to new missionaries.

Then the idea arose among a few, who bore God's calling, that they would go out as colonists and so support themselves, at the same time as they dedicated some of their time to the Gospel.* (Anderås 1961:15-16)

The general opinion within the Swedish Pentecostal movement was not unanimous, however.

Opinions were divided about this missionary and colonizing enterprise. Some helped and encouraged in every way while others just criticized, indeed, there were those who gave it as their emphatic opinion that the scheme was foredoomed to failure from the very beginning. It would cost the Swedish Pentecostal Movement a lot when the journey home of all these adventurers had to be paid for...* (Anderås 1961:15)

Anyhow, the Bolivia-farers' mission enterprise received great publicity. Sweden's Pentecostalists were, to a great extent, affected by "Bolivian fever". This helped the missionaries to collect a large amount of equipment for the colonization, but the attention also created unrealistic expectations among the missionaries as well as the congregations and public opinion. The knowledge of what was in fact awaiting them did not quite have a bearing on the enthusiasm.¹

The missionaries thus intended to form a Swedish self-supporting colony in Bolivia. The group was designed to stick together. First and foremost in their programme came agriculture. Conditions for unity among the strong and independent missionary personalities were, however, not the most favourable. They did not know each other very well from Sweden and had only this interest in common: to go out to Bolivia as self-supporting missionaries. They had collected money as well as equipment and they had sold everything they owned. They thus had "burned their bridges". Their economic prerequisites were very disparate, however. Of the first group's five fully loaded railway wagons three were "owned" by one family.

When they started to work together in Bolivia, it became apparent that they had not settled exactly how to dispose of the resources collected. Nor had they talked matters over in advance and reached any kind of consensus for the activity as a whole. In Bolivia too many problems emerged all at once. The plans for land reclamation turned out to be quite unrealistic. Some of the

missionaries fell seriously ill. The harvest failed. After some time, there were no realistic prospects of the group arriving at a common strategy about future work. Tendencies towards disintegration were already serious within six months. When the second group of Bolivia-farers arrived, in October 1956, the original idea of a united Swedish colony had already been abandoned in practice.

The mission enterprise of the Bolivia-farers, in this phase, provided an example of the peril of letting a commitment culture move from common experience to concerted action. The missionaries' individual absorption into the symbol "mission in Bolivia", a fusion which in itself held the possibility of individual self-fulfilment, entailed no shared interpretation. They perhaps thought that the common spiritual experience and calling guaranteed a shared apprehension of how the whole thing ought to be carried out in practice. Such a conception would at least have been a likely one.

The Swedish currency restrictions and the general insecurity of the post-war period caused many missionary candidates to fail in their attempts to reach the dreamt-of mission fields. Some discussed, during this period, "taking up the work in unbroken fields in Sweden" (1961:29), as an alternative. From that period we have concepts like *Kronobergsmissionen*, *Österlenmissionen*, and so on, i.e. "mission" to supposedly ungodly parts of Sweden. This was a way, after all, of becoming a "missionary", even if within the boundaries of one's own country. Even there people could certainly be found, whose "moral stance and attitudes" were judged to be "significantly different" (Burridge 1978:2).

There was, however, also an element of mission ideology in the first Bolivia-farers' decision to become self-supporting missionaries. By the time the second group was about to leave, the currency restrictions had been abolished. It then became clear that some of the new Bolivia-farers were prepared to accept maintenance from congregations in Sweden. Andres Küng, so far the most penetrating biographer of this mission venture (1977a), quotes the following passage from a letter written by one of the first Bolivia-farers to one on his way out.

It grieved us deeply, when we heard that someone from here had suggested that you should try to arrange for your maintenance... It would be most favourable, I think, if you had a tidy sum with you, but no maintenance. For we believe that the God who has led us out, will help us through the first hard times. He will also help all those who, at His command, go with the same purpose...* (Küng 1977a:41)

The worry was that the "maintained" missionaries would dedicate themselves entirely to evangelization and refuse to contribute to the common colonization.

One can also discern, however, a belief that this was the "right" way to missionize.

The conflicts within the original group of Bolivia-farers were serious, as is evident from the following quotation from a letter written from Sweden to the whole group by Ragnar Lindgren, then a Bolivia-farer of the future.

But what is bothering us more than the collapse of these plans, is the spirit of envy, suspicion, and bitterness which speaks in your letters. I have to say that this spirit gives us deep pain. How can true mission be carried out in such an atmosphere? For it is certain that this discord among brothers, who have betaken themselves out to win the Indians, will characterize the whole activity and even influence the congregational members in Villa Montes.* (ibid.:42)

Back in Bolivia Gustaf Flood seems to have got cold feet. Küng states that he delayed the departure of the second group by several months while he observed the behaviour of the first flock (ibid.:47).

The disintegration of the Bolivia-farers had, in the long run, no serious consequences for the mission enterprise itself, since the personal bonds between the families were never very strong. Disunion was not therefore perceived as a catastrophe. Since they did not feel obliged to fulfil any well prepared plan - no such plan existed since that question was handed over to God - the breach could come as the most natural way of accommodating to the circumstances. The abandonment of the original idea could happen without the missionaries losing their faith in the mission enterprise as such, which shows that the commitment system has its centre of force in the individual *use* of the system.

Bolivia as a mission field still prospers, which proves that the Bolivia-farers' bold venture was after all successful. The evangelical result is perhaps not entirely convincing but the mission enterprise as such, represented by the number of missionaries and "projects", has blossomed ever since the coming of the Bolivia-farers.

Erik and Nancy Byrén remained in Villa Montes for a long time. Eventually (in 1975) they moved to Entre Rios where they re-activated an almost extinct congregation, founded by American Pentecostals in the 1950s. A few years later Erik initiated the construction of a small hydroelectric power station at the nearby river, which is still not completed, however. As pensioners Erik and Nancy Byrén have settled in Tarija. Josef and Kristina Ekman moved to Cochabamba and eventually founded the *Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal* (Calle

Uruguay) in 1960. They finally returned to Sweden for good in the late 1960s. Algot and Vilma Englund moved to Salta in Argentina. They returned to Sweden in the early 1960s. David and Henny Franzén, who had been missionaries in China, moved to the valley area, where they founded a congregation in Valle Hermoso, on the outskirts of Cochabamba. That group is still active but seems to have abandoned the Swedish line for an Argentinean Pentecostal style. The Franzén family returned to Sweden early in the 1960s. Paul and Elisabeth Källberg remained in Villa Montes and worked among the mestizos and Guarani Indians. They founded an outpost in Parapetí, which today is a very active group with its own Swedish missionary. The Källberg family returned to Sweden in 1962. Iris Lindberg, the only unmarried adult among the Bolivia-farers, worked for a time with Astrid Jansson but later went to work among the Mataco Indians in northern Argentina. Ragnar and Ingrid Lindgren moved to Quillacollo in 1958. Their daughter Birgit still lives there. She too is a missionary and is married to Willy Lamberth. Their daughter Lena is manager of a newly built children's home (*Vida Nueva*) in Quillacollo. Rudolf and Ingeborg Olsson, finally, worked for some years among the Tapiete Indians in Algodonal, 300 kms from Villa Montes. They eventually moved to Tarija (1970) to missionize and they still live and work there.

Thus two of the original missionary families live to this day in Bolivia. They are now pensioners but still at work. Both the men, before they went out, were businessmen on a small scale. They have kept their interest in business and have derived advantage from this to the benefit of their mission work.²

Accounts of the Bolivia-farers' various adventures are, to some extent, provided by Anderås (1961),³ Küng (1977a), and Alvarsson (1986). The more thorough narrative on this strange missionary venture still remains to be written. The need is, however, urgent.

Swedish Free Mission in Bolivia

The Swedish Free Mission in Bolivia was established as an organization in 1961. Norwegian and Finnish Pentecostal Missions joined the work later on and today *Misión Sueca Libre en Bolivia (MSLB)* stands for the Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish Pentecostal Missionaries' joint venture. Outside Bolivia the Mission is usually called the "Nordic Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia" (*Nordisk pingst-mission i Bolivia*). It appears to be the only example of such intimate Nordic collaboration in the Pentecostal Mission.

MSLB is a free and independent missionary organization. Its only formal dependence concerns its doctrine. Here the association is subordinate to the Swedish Free Mission (*SFM*) in Stockholm, an agency of Filadelfia Church in Stockholm. The connection between *MSLB* and *SFM* guarantees that the Mission will not be "taken over" by any other religious movement.

According to *MSLB's* regulations (chapter 1, paragraph 4) the association has three principal goals for its activity.

- a) to give testimony to our Lord Jesus Christ and to preach the Gospel to the whole world.
- b) to carry the mission work forward according to the Saviour's command, as evidenced by the Gospel according to Matthew, chapter twenty-eight, verses eighteen to twenty.
- c) to develop work in charity, health care, education, and work for the moral improvement and progress of the Bolivian people.*

The Nordic Pentecostal mission in Bolivia now subdivides its activity into nine principal areas: congregational edification, Bible education, Bible translation, literature and media, school teaching, health and medical care, children's

homes, development projects, and air and river mission.

Membership of the association will be those missionaries who, recommended from their home countries, are approved by the Mission Board and pay the annual individual subscription of US\$ 60. I know of only one active missionary who has left the organization voluntarily, while still on duty.

Agreements

The Mission has several agreements with the Bolivian Government. Those concluded in recent years concern mutual effort in education and imply, among other things, that the Mission has secured the right to give its schools an evangelical stamp. The following information, on the original agreement, is given in the Mission's "Memorandum concerning the Nordic Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia".

On 13 September, 1974, the Mission signed a special agreement with the Bolivian Government, under which the Mission undertakes to continue its activities in education, medical care and development. The Government for its part undertakes to grant the Mission and its members facilities when it comes to the importation of vehicles, equipment, etc., and the obtaining of visas, residence permits, driving licences, etc. This agreement is ratified by Government decree number 12163 of 31 December, 1974.* (PM 1986:2)

It is evident, from the Memorandum, that the principal agreement grants the missionaries the right to receive diplomatic driving licences and exemption from charges on residence and labour permits. The Memorandum, in brief, states the factors facilitating a life as "normal" and "home-like" as possible in Bolivia.

The Mission is very anxious about its agreements with the Bolivian government. Even the missionaries themselves do not, without further complications, have access to their contents. Part of the reason is that the Mission's deals with the state hang politically by a thread. There are grounds to believe that only the social transformation items are of interest to the government. The kind of faith preached, and the expected degree of popular spiritual betterment, are of secondary importance.

The largest evangelical organization, *Asociación Nacional de Evangélicos de Bolivia* (ANDEB), lost its agreement with the state during Hernán Siles Zuazo's latest period in office (1982-85). It consists of some sixty organizations and the reason for the annulment was that the social work of the organization

was considered insufficient.¹ What saved *MSLB*'s agreement may have been that it also includes the Norwegian Mission Alliance, an agency which is dedicated almost one hundred per cent to social work.

The Mission is well aware that its contribution to Bolivian development, measured simply by the inflow of resources, is extremely marginal when compared with the countless bilateral and international subsidies received. The Mission's caution when it comes to agreements is, in other words, legitimate. The loser, should the deal be cancelled, would be the Mission.

The semi-official reason, given when refusing me permission to read the agreements, was that other charity organizations might discover, through me, their superior quality and use this as a lever for renegotiation, which might disturb the Mission's own relations with the government. The refusal, however, also arouses the suspicion that the missionaries themselves perceive the agreements as being too favourable, i.e. binding them too tight in a privileged position vis-à-vis the authorities. The agreements are, anyhow, showing signs of institutionalization, of accommodation to the surrounding secular structure.

The above-mentioned Memorandum provides information, furthermore, on the conditions and prerequisites of the mission work. It begins in the following way.

In order to carry on mission work in a foreign country, the missionaries are always dependent on the authorities of the host country giving permits of residence and work. The missionaries are guests in an alien country, and must accept the conditions laid down by that country's authorities for the prosecution of the mission work.

In Bolivia, as in many other mission countries, the authorities demand that the missionaries work in registered organizations in order to have a guarantee for the soundness of their positions financially. The registered Mission has responsibility, to the government, for the prosecution of the mission work, especially when it comes to undertakings of a social character, education, and so on.* (PM 1986:1)

The Memorandum is thus quite clear on the missionaries' stance vis-à-vis the Bolivian authorities. But it omits the information that the missionary is coming to a country with an existing native Pentecostal movement and that the missionary is (or should be) the guest of this movement.² Nor do the regulations say anything about co-operation with this movement. The absence of confirmed affinity between mission and native church is, I am afraid, symptomatic of the mission strategy.

No mission, only missionaries

The missionaries tend to play down *MSLB*'s prominence. It is described as a "loose organization" without influence over the individual missionary or the specific project. Its main task is co-ordination. I would suggest, however, that *MSLB*'s power is significant. The *MSLB* board decides which missionary is allowed to come out to Bolivia and it is responsible for all the formal agreements.

The association may, after all, at one and the same time exercise considerable sway and appear almost non-existent. Its board members could, for instance, exclude me from contact with the missionaries as a group, simply by referring to their not having the permission to grant me this. One Bolivian critic has said that the organization can be toned down when this is needed ("there is no mission, just missionaries"), while the opposite may apply when necessary.

Strictly speaking, the individual missionary is subordinated only to the congregation which sent him out. The latter, however, has a limited possibility to decide which tasks should be preferential in the mission field. It usually submits to the judgement of its agent on the spot. If he is supported by an association of missionaries, the role of the home congregation is correspondingly weakened. This weakening is highlighted by the fact that the many congregations which send out the missionaries are not joined together in any corresponding association. Their only formal forum is an annual *Boliviakonferens*.

MSLB has a soft decision-making structure. The direction cannot, apart from exceptional cases, be done by hard and driving decisions. God's will must be given a place in the process.³ His guidance must be awaited, discovered and considered - a manifestation of the members' awareness, unconscious perhaps, that the shared faith does not guarantee a shared understanding.

If there are differing opinions concerning a project, the schism is usually temporarily suppressed for the benefit of "God's will". The matter will be "prayed over". God's answer may show up in the form of a person who feels himself called to carry the project through or in the form of one or more people feeling themselves called to provide the money necessary to bring the project to a successful conclusion. The soft decision structure may also mean that certain projects are allowed to deviate considerably before the necessary decisions are able to be taken.

No individual part of the organization is responsible for the decisions,

since the process develops through prayer and in accordance with "the Spirit's guidance". Such an arrangement may entail that the person who is finally exposed, in the form of a negative "decision" (a project is rejected), may feel himself "condemned" by God rather than being the subject of the human exercise of power.

The structure of decision-making has changed since SIDA, the Swedish International Development Authority, came in as a main financier of the Mission's social projects. Formerly the Mission constantly had to recognize that God led the plans in directions other than those originally expected. The causes of this were often accepted as impenetrable. Now the Mission may find, instead, that "SIDA has said no", and it is forced to assume that God also has his hand in such a decision. But SIDA is a secular agency, basing its supposedly rational rejections in plainly understandable motivation. Such an insight might lead to an accommodation to SIDA's demands rather than to an intensified prayer campaign.

The development agency of the Swedish Pentecostal Mission (*Pingstmissionens U-landshjälp*) (*PMU*), however, has SIDA's confidence to make its own decisions on most development issues. To accept that "*PMU* has said no" is not as simple as to assent to a no from SIDA. *PMU* must be classified as within the sphere of God's direct influence and ought consequently to be characterized by the same soft decision-structure as the Mission itself. A *PMU* which acts too much like an "authority" runs the risk of losing the confidence of the Mission.

The shattered mission station

A considerable number of the Nordic Pentecostal missionaries are stationed in Cochabamba. Many live in a relatively demarcated residential district in the northern part of the town. One informant told me that the neighbourhood is sometimes called *Lilla Sverige* (Little Sweden) by the converts, and given the epithet in Swedish. Other missionaries live in the vicinity or in one of the institutions run by the Mission. The phenomenon is a slight manifestation of what Siu calls "the in-group tendency" (1952:36). In the district as a whole the missionaries form, however, a relatively unnoticed minority.

Christian missions have generally used some kind of mission station, where the different activities have been brought together in a more or less

segregated setting. The more concentrated and separated variety, which according to Axelson (1976:18) was a European export never found on the domestic market, is now liquidated in many places. In Bolivia only Villa Montes shows traces of being a traditional mission station.⁴

In its modern urbanized form, of which Cochabamba offers an interesting example, the mission station is scattered over a whole town. This model presents evident advantages. The missionary activity can go on more unobserved and the individual missionaries are given a greater amount of liberty and independence. Internal disagreement, if there is any, is easily concealed and tolerated.

To live in a town the size of Cochabamba no doubt facilitates an "at-home"-behaviour. The missionary can work undisturbed on his own project while the necessary spiritual renewal and mental refreshment are accessible in recurrent and voluntary communion with a number of other missionaries. The modern form of station seems, in other words, to be accommodated to the missionary demands of the ageing commitment system.

MSLB is dominated by the missionary families who live in Cochabamba and/or have resided for a long time in the country. This group stands for experience and continuity and undertakes tasks of a more long-term character. The three or four families make only relatively short sojourns in the home country and tend rather to be settled permanently in Bolivia. All this contributes to a situation where the group strengthens its influence over the missionary enterprise and successively shapes the mission work as an important part of its life-work. These families were also the prime opponents of my study.

Now, let us for a moment leave Cochabamba and visit Villa Montes, a legendary and almost "holy place" in the history of the Swedish Pentecostal Mission to Bolivia and still one of its main centres.

Villa Montes

Villa Montes, in southern Bolivia and northern Gran Chaco, is known for having the highest temperatures in Bolivia. The town emerged as an important settlement during the Chaco war (1932-35). A railway connects Villa Montes to Santa Cruz and Argentina. The population now probably exceeds 12,000. Job opportunities are provided at a large cooking oil factory and a petroleum deposit.

The town has a special place in the hearts of Swedish Bolivian missionaries. The Pentecostal Movement in general and its Mission in particular produces "holy spots", reminiscent of its general character of pilgrimage. Within Sweden yearly conference localities (*Nyhemsveckan* and *Lapplandsveckan*) are good examples. *Betania* had its most sacred spot in *Congo Belge (Lemera)*, while Villa Montes obviously was, and is, a sacralized place for many Bolivia-supporting churches.

The existing mission in Bolivia started in Villa Montes. (The Santa Cruz congregation was turned over to the Americans.) The year was 1943 and the missionaries were therefore the legendary Gustaf Flood, his wife Märta (the children went to school in Buenos Aires), and Astrid Jansson. A great number of Swedish missionaries have worked in Villa Montes ever since. Here came the Bolivia-farers in the mid-1950s and here new generations of Swedish Pentecostal missionaries still come in. Today the work is divided into five different parts: congregational work, translation (advanced linguistic activity), schooling, a residential home and a health service.

The mission work has all the time been mainly concentrated on the Mataco Indians, originally a gathering and fishing people (Alvarsson 1987). The evangelical activity in the area has, of course, included other Indian groups as well, plus mestizos and whites.

Gustaf Flood eventually established *el campamento* (the camp) on the outskirts of Villa Montes. Only Christian Matacos were to live there. Flood certainly had the Bible in mind, probably Revelations 20:9. The millennium ended, Satan is to be released from his prison and deceiving the nations gathers them for battle.

They marched across the breadth of the earth and surrounded the camp of God's people, the city he loves. But fire came down from heaven and devoured them.

If the Indians did not behave according to the word of the Bible they were sent away from the camp. At the time the area was fenced and strict discipline was maintained. Now the area is open and the missionaries hint that the Christian life in the camp is sometimes not up to much. The bars are situated just around the corner and the far-reaching Chilean TV broadcasts take time away from work and worship.

A special committee among the Matacos decides on questions of exclusion from the camp. One of those who today, despite the changes, are not allowed to live inside the camp is a woman with five children, each by a

different father. The entire camp now consists of some 40 families. The houses are built with economic aid from SIDA.

The Villa Montes congregation has about 800 members, including a number of outposts along the Pilcomayo river. There are plans to split up the congregation along ethnic boundaries, into a "Mataco congregation" and a "Criollo congregation". The church in the Mataco camp on the outskirts of town was built by Gustaf Flood in the late 1940s. Another church building, in the centre of Villa Montes, was inaugurated in 1983. All along a Swedish missionary has been pastor and principal of the congregation.

In the course of the years the Mission invested large resources in the Villa Montes activity. In spite of this, the field is the Mission's greatest problem child and has been so for a long time. When Gustaf Flood began his work among the Matacos they already had substantial experience of Catholic mission (Alvarsson 1987:28-32). That mission was finally liquidated. Maybe the Swedish Pentecostal mission has met with the same kind of resistance as the Catholic mission once did.

There is a small "cadre" of saved and faithful elder Mataco men and women, who give the impression of having "understood" what the missionaries mean by their message. That group comes loyally to the services and constitutes the backbone of the Mataco part of the Villa Montes Pentecostal congregation. The majority of the converted Indians seem, however, to be unstable when it comes to the Christian life. For the year 1977 one source indicates that 80 percent of the adult Mataco Indians in Bolivia were "evangelical believers" (Alvarsson 1982:221), a figure which may be accurate if referring solely to the portion "once or several times converted". The conversion may, however, have varying durability and different sorts of motive. One person may, according to the Mission, come and want to be saved in order, immediately after the ceremony, to be able to say 'Now that I have been saved I could have some clothes, couldn't I?'

Conversion is not a condition for gifts. The Mission's responsibility appears to include everybody, unsaved as well as saved. One of the missionaries once tried to establish a system of "exchange", instead of just giving gifts. The Mission's "products" were to be exchanged for products from the Indians. The response, however, was that a large delegation of Mataco Indians marched off to the Catholic priest and announced their wish to become Catholics again. The reason alleged was that they no longer "got" anything from the Mission. Let us now go north-north-west to the Cochabamba valley.

Calle Uruguay

The most important Swedish-founded Pentecostal congregation in Bolivia is the *Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal (IEP)*. Its church is situated on Uruguay Street in Cochabamba. To distinguish it from its outposts and from the many other evangelical churches in the town it is commonly called *Calle Uruguay*. Cochabamba is Bolivia's third largest city, founded in 1542. Its population now probably exceeds 350,000. The altitude, about 2,500 metres, guarantees an excellent climate.

The congregation was founded in 1960 and has thus managed to celebrate its 30th anniversary. The Swedish pioneers David Franzén, Ragnar Lindgren and Josef Ekman, all Bolivia-farers, were among the driving forces behind its creation. The church building was finished in the early 1960s, after a good deal of difficulty. Willis Säwe, once the pastor of Sweden's largest Pentecostal church, is known among the missionaries in Bolivia for having called the Calle Uruguay church a "showpiece". The church is now considered to be far too small.

IEP has, over the years, met with its share of adversity and internal conflicts. The greatest difficulty, however, seems to lie in its inability to keep, as active members, those who are converted in relatively large numbers. The number of active adherents is often out of all proportion to the number of those baptized. The dilemma is shared by most Pentecostal groups in the country.

In a "scrutiny of the congregational register" at the beginning of 1987 it became apparent that the number of 'live' members stopped at 300. That figure is equivalent only to the number of baptized during three or four years. The figure is given in a report from the Mission's annual meeting of 19 January 1987. Küng mentions that the congregation "at the beginning of 1977 counted about 260 members" (1977a:106), which would imply an annual growth of less than 2 per cent between the years 1977 and 1987. The total number of persons baptized during the congregation's entire existence has not been given.

The church has been run by Swedish missionaries for most of its existence. But in 1986 a Bolivian took over as pastor and a year later a Bolivian 'second pastor' was installed. The staff of Elders, the management of the church, consists of four men, two of whom are missionaries.

During the second half of the 1960s and in the early 1970s the work was

headed by a Bolivian ex-colonel, Domingo Medrano. Kng has given an account of how the period ended, namely in open confrontation between the missionaries and the Bolivian leaders (1977a:105-106). The most important external reason for the crisis appears to have been that the Bolivian pastor tended towards another denomination, the so called "Jesus-Only Movement". The missionaries feared that the congregation would split and that they might lose the new church. The Mission opted for action and simply occupied the church building. My informant, Felix Celis, was present.

Pastor Medrano had left for Venezuela (according to the missionaries, for "indoctrination") and had handed over the keys to Felix who was a young lay worker at the church. Felix had accepted the responsibility with hesitation. Medrano had promised to come back soon, but had stayed away. Felix lived in the church with his family and went to work in a factory as usual. In the church environs he had accommodated some poor people, who were waiting for hospital treatment. One day when he came home he found all the inmates in the street outside the church. The Swedish missionaries had turned them out and locked themselves in. The Bolivians, headed by Felix, had, in their turn, "locked" the church from outside with barbed wire. They had sent for the police who had asked for the lawful owner of the church. The Swedes had shown documents indicating the Mission to be the owner of the ground and the building. The police, however, had sided with the Bolivians and asserted that they, as members, had participated in the construction of the church and were therefore owners as well, and they had ordered the church to be opened. This was finally done and Felix says that it came close to a punch-up when the two parties met in the church. The Bolivians thus took back control of the church until Medrano returned. He turned over the keys to the Mission and resigned his position.

In the middle of the uproar in the church, when the Bolivians, thanks to the police, had recaptured the building, news reached the combatants that perhaps the most dramatic event in the entire history of the Swedish Bolivian mission had just occurred. In Quillacollo, situated about 20 kilometres west of Cochabamba, a young man in the congregation had shot himself to death for love of one of the young female missionaries. The tragic event contributed, Felix believes, to the fact that the turmoil between the Bolivians and the missionaries reached an impasse and that they decided to make peace.

The Mission's fear of a congregational split may have been exaggerated. The occurrence is a sombre happening in the Mission's history, and is hardly ever talked about. It caused general disruption and decline in the spiritual

activity and was, perhaps, for the Bolivians, the first really clear sign of the significance of the special form of gift-giving utilized by the Mission, a giving with certain reservations. The support from Sweden for the construction of the church in Cochabamba and the enormous effort which the missionaries had put into the project showed itself to be by no means definitely "given away" to their Bolivian "brothers and sisters". Everything, in practice, still belonged to the Mission. Furthermore, the incident shows that the missionaries and the converts in no way belonged to the same social order. No mutual experience existed to check the missionary bewilderment.

Quillacollo is another holy place for part of the Swedish Pentecostalism.

Quillacollo

The Swedish Pentecostal mission started work in Quillacollo in 1958, through one of the Bolivia-farers (Ragnar Lindgren). The small town (about 30,000 people) has kept some of its colonial character and is a centre for the surrounding Quechua-dominated countryside. A congregation was established there in 1962. After 15 years it had 175 members. The latest membership figure is 800 (1988). The congregation has three pastors and ten other collaborators. The number of outposts in the surrounding countryside is fourteen.

The missionaries in Quillacollo are a Bolivian-Swedish couple. The man, a Bolivian citizen and the principal of the church, has recently served also as mayor (*alcalde*), as representative of *Acción Democrática Nacional (ADN)*, one of the parties in the Bolivian Government at the time. There is a certain uneasiness in the Mission that the missionary's political commitment may conflict with his missionary task. For coming periods of office (from January 1988) *MSLB*, it was said, recommended him to resign his post as missionary if he was re-elected as mayor.

The Mission, as a general principle, takes no part in political life nor does it make statements which could be perceived as political opinions. That such a position makes the Mission a tacit supporter of the Government in office is the somewhat unpleasant price of peace and quiet for the missionary enterprise.

The Mission's close association with the national authorities is a tradition going back to Gustaf Flood. The missionary-mayor combination is, however,

extreme and was possible in the Quillacollo case for special historical reasons. *ADN* is the party run by the general and former dictator Hugo Banzer. During Banzer's period in office (1971-78) the Mission obtained its general agreement of co-operation with the Bolivian state. The missionary-mayor was, as it happened, loosely connected with this party and already in the mid-1970s relations were good between the missionary and president Banzer (Küng 1977a:114). The missionary has always been interested in politics and for a long time he has been pulled in two directions: politics and mission.

One of my Bolivian informants thought that the people of Quillacollo had elected the missionary as mayor because of the social work done by the Mission in the town. The missionary once told me, speaking of the susceptibility of the Quechua Indians to the Gospel, that "the Indians accept when they see that it is accompanied by social help, then they can accept the Gospel". Social policy and Gospel go hand in hand. The Quillacollo inhabitants maybe elected him hoping that the Mission's gifts would continue to pour into the town. The missionary was, obviously, a very popular mayor. The situation resembles that when Jesus, after having fed the five thousand, becomes aware that the people, having witnessed the miracle, want to make him king (John 6:15).

The Swedish Pentecostal Movement has demonstrated how the mature commitment system might approach politics, and the mayoral position offers, of course, exceptional opportunities to promote the Mission's social work. At the same time, a politicization of the missionary office is inevitable, and risky. Politics in Bolivia is no "Sunday school" and those undertaking political missions have to reckon with intrigues and dirty attacks. The missionary's double role, sure enough, caused a minor crisis for the Mission during the spring of 1987. A construction firm, doing business with the Mission as well as the mayoralty, found it convenient to accuse *MSLB* of irregularities. The mayor seemed ready to resign but managed to ride out the storm. The Mission can live with this situation only so long as *ADN* is a strong and influential party.

It is evident that the dual role is perceived as an asset to the *ADN*. I was once at the Mission's office in Cochabamba, when one of *ADN*'s senators called and wanted the missionary there, in her capacity as vice-consul, to exert pressure on the mayor's/missionary's home church in Sweden. The senator expected the home church to accept the dual role forthwith. The home church had obviously hesitated since the mayor/missionary had himself contacted the consul/missionary on the same matter, the day before. It turned out that even the party chairman himself, ex-president Banzer, had sent a letter to Sweden on the matter. The senator presumed that such a thing would be irresistible in Sweden.

The energetic move from *ADN* may indicate that the Mission is moving closer to the secular power. The missionary's primordial striving for a new and better social order might be compromised.

The mayor/missionary, now in his fifties, has an exceptional position in the Mission through his cultural competence. He is a Bolivian born and bred and speaks Spanish and Quechua as well as Swedish. His Swedish wife, the daughter of Bolivia-farers, has prolonged experience of mission work. Nowadays the man relatively seldom takes an active part in the missionary gatherings. Native leaders seem to identify him not as a "missionary", but as a Bolivian with extraordinary resources and influence and therefore not entirely like one of them. He appears to have good relations with the parent congregation in Sweden, and sometimes by-passes *MSLB* as the co-ordinating unit. One informant was of the opinion that, in front of Bolivians, he might well express himself as somewhat dissociated from the Swedish missionaries, "*esos gringos*", "those foreigners". His unique position, with a wife who is well integrated in the missionary collective and with a peculiar freedom through his cultural collocation, makes him practically undefeatable as a "Missionary", at least as long as *ADN* keeps its influence over Bolivia's fate and as long as he is able to avoid becoming mixed up in political "affairs".

I shall come back to the phenomenon of "mixed couples" later on, since they epitomize, in a peculiar way, the ideal missionary enterprise. Now our little odyssey goes south-east into Valle Alto.

Valle Alto

The evangelical activity in Valle Alto, a mountain area outside Cochabamba, is the most widespread and successful among the Quechua-speaking population. The 40-50 small congregational groups, with local leaders, are formally outposts (*anexos*) of the church in Arani, a small town at the gateway to Valle Alto. The number of baptized members in the area amounts to about 2,000 (Infobol 88(1)). The figure is uncertain since the groups do not keep reliable registers. At the beginning of 1986 the number of full-time working Bolivian "brothers and sisters" was reported to be 75 (Infobol 1986(2)).

The work in Valle Alto has mostly been carried out by Bolivian evangelists. The valley is considered, by the missionaries, to be an "uncomfortable" field. They would rather not stay overnight in the area, which means that far-away places are rarely visited. Poor roads make driving a trial for car as well as driver and the absence of any kind of convenience makes life complicated for the untrained. The local concept of time often forces the missionary to spend hours and hours of waiting. If the missionary spends the night in the district, he usually sleeps in his car or tent.

A certain irritation may generally be perceived in relation to the "comfortable" missionaries. It comes from Bolivians who have taken on the task of evangelizing in the countryside. Scarce *misioneros de campo* (countryside missionaries) are looked for, in contrast to the abundance of *misioneros de ciudad* (city missionaries). The former needs to be young, strong, and fond of walking.

Missionaries do not learn much Quechua which contributes to the fact that the Mission is transferring more and more of the new evangelization to the native workers. Luis, my Quechua teacher, asserted, however, that the missionaries' apprehensions, that the people do not understand Spanish, are exaggerated. The Quechuas probably understand the missionary's relatively simple Spanish better than the more complicated language of educated Bolivians. Moreover, the missionary, or rather, the foreigner, is often more welcome in the countryside than the urban Bolivian mestizo, a fact that has deep historical roots.

The missionaries' hesitation about working in Valle Alto has its equivalent among Bolivian evangelists fostered in the urban setting. One argument, from the Bolivian side, why there ought to be a missionary in Valle Alto, is that such a person always has a car at hand. The lack of trained Pentecostal leaders in the countryside may, in the long run, involve great problems. The work may stagnate owing to lack of external stimulation. Another danger is that other more aggressive missionary organizations may "take over" the groups, one by one.

Valle Alto differs a lot from the urban evangelical activity. The form of service, conversion, and congregational edification appear to follow other rules, which merit a study of their own. My conclusions do not always apply to Valle Alto. The extra cultural and social distance between converts and missionaries influences the spiritual life of Valle Alto. My speculation is that the missing spiritual mutuality between convert and missionary is less of a problem here, since no one expects it to happen. Instead, the homogeneous Quechua group

concentrates on its own metanoia, independently of the "bewildered missionary".

Let us finally return to the urban setting. This time we go south, to another valley, west of Villa Montes, and higher up.

Tarija

Swedish Pentecostal missionaries came to Tarija in 1970. A Brazilian Pentecostal mission was already there and collaboration was initiated. A conflict led, eventually, to the withdrawal of the Brazilian mission. Tarija, at about 2,000 metres, has a population of at least 60,000. The town was founded in 1574 and is located in the rich valley of the Guadalquivir river.

The Pentecostal church in Tarija was built in 1975 and contains, besides the church, a pastor's apartment and a boarding hostel for schoolchildren with originally 20 beds. Half the youngsters in the hostel come from the village of Paichu, where the Mission has an outpost and where a school was built for 150 children, in the late 1970s. The project was financed by SIDA. Evangelizing work is done in parts of the surrounding countryside, and the church has another outpost in Iskayachi. A special activity is carried out among the prisoners in the local jail, situated in one of the corners of the town's central plaza. In the late 1970s the Tarija congregation was reckoned to be about 200 members. After a trying conflict in the early 1980s, the body was practically split in two.

The Mission in Tarija has been characterized by extensive social activity. Several wards at the hospital have been supplied with beds and other discarded equipment from Sweden. The gift-giving still goes on but is hampered by increasing freight charges. Quite a few *tarijeños* walk about the streets dressed in second-hand clothes from Sweden.

The conflict, which led to the halving of the group in the early 1980s, was due to the Mission's trouble in finding suitable native leaders. In the late 1970s the congregation appeared to become a model for the Mission's transfer of the evangelical work into Bolivian hands. A native leader enjoyed the complete confidence of the missionaries (Küng 1977a:130-133). Eventually, however, it was revealed that the leader had engaged in various kinds of irregularities. The Mission was finally compelled to intervene and unfrock the presumptive leader. He was popular and half the members vanished with him. Some went to other

evangelical movements, others seem to have abandoned their conversion altogether. The discharged leader had enjoyed special advantages from the Mission, like having his salary paid directly from Sweden. He did not give up without a struggle, however, and threatened the Mission with acts of reprisal in the form of "revelations" if he was not compensated financially for his dismissal.

Since the schism the Mission has retained its grip on the congregation in Tarija. But in 1987 another careful attempt was made to devolve the church. This was done while the leading missionaries were on leave in Sweden. On their return however they felt forced, for various reasons, to renew their hold on the management. The move involved the evangelist, who had run the business during the missionaries' absence, having to leave office in favour of another. The event has caused further uneasiness and disintegration in the church.

It is hard to rid oneself of the impression that individual missionaries sometimes tend to treat the native congregation as their own enterprise. Their behaviour has self-evident repercussions on the group's possibility of becoming independent and vigorous. I participated in a number of services in the Tarija church and I regret to say that it was mostly a cheerless and depressing experience. The congregation lacked, in my opinion, all joy of living and belief in the future and it showed symptoms of stagnation and resignation. Of course, I do not know how the service participants were themselves feeling. My judgement is founded on what I experienced myself and what seemed to be reflected in the behaviour of the other participants.

Tarija is considered to be a stronghold of the Catholic church. Twelve different evangelical movements are, nevertheless, represented in the town. The Catholic church, the most vigorous rival and adversary of the Pentecostal mission, is not what it has been, however.

The Catholic mission

Evangelical missionaries who, in the twentieth century, "discover" Bolivia as a "non-missionized" area forget that the country has been exposed to "mission" for 500 years. When, at the beginning of my fieldwork, I told a Bolivian casual acquaintance that I was studying mission, he quickly remarked "Over there you

have some missionaries". I looked the way he nodded and saw a group of elderly foreign men in long brown gowns. His first thought when hearing the word "missionary" was not of an expatriate Evangelical pastor but of a foreign Catholic priest. That taught me a lesson, for even I tend to forget the long tradition of Catholic mission in Bolivia.

The Evangelical message is expected to transform, at last, the Bolivian man. It is assumed that the failure of the Catholics, with churches in decay all over Latin America and with a faith mixed up with pre-Columbian belief, is attributable to deficiencies in doctrine, and defects in conviction and commitment on the part of the Catholic missionaries. However, there are many indications that the Evangelical mission is heading for exactly the same everlasting engagement as the Catholic mission, which after half a thousand years still suffers from lack of native leaders and has to rely continuously on foreign capital.

While the Catholic mission came as a "natural" part of the Spanish conquest, the substantial Evangelical mission in Bolivia has paralleled the wave of foreign interest, capital, and aid, which became fashionable after the 1952 revolution. The trend accelerated during the presidency of general Banzer (1971-1978) and the parallel is now obvious between the Catholic missionaries and their close relations with the Spanish crown and the Nordic Pentecostal missionaries and their relations with the developing agencies and ministries of foreign affairs of *their* homelands. Today the cruel and repressive component is fortunately absent. Remaining, however, is the element of spiritual intervention supported by non-spiritual power/capital.

The Catholic Church is often accused of dealings with the secular power and of siding with the oppressors. This is probably true and the Catholic mission perhaps once had the same motive for such a stance as today's Evangelical mission. A firm hand on the population is seen as promoting a quiet and safe working climate for the Mission. The Evangelical mission may ignore the fact that it is well on the road to entering into alliance with the secular power, rather than promoting a new, spiritually inspired, social order.

I found variations in the missionaries' attitude to the Catholic Church. Rejection remains the keynote - why should they otherwise missionize among believing Catholics? But there are missionaries who are more indifferent in their attitude or who would even admit that people can "meet God" within the walls of the Catholic Church. Some find a great tranquillity and intimacy in the Catholic service.⁵

The decreasing aggressiveness between Evangelical fundamentalists and

Catholics also in the mission field, has its main reason in a changed attitude on the part of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless the 1960s Evangelical missionaries were occasionally exposed to stone-throwing and threats of lynching out in the Bolivian countryside. In the background there was usually a zealous local priest who made it clear to the Indians that the Evangelical message was a dangerous heresy and that its agents were the Devil's henchmen. The most important event, for this development in many areas, was the Vatican II Council (1962-1965). The style introduced by Pope John XXIII involved, among other things, a greater tolerance towards competing lines of faith. From the latter part of the 1960s this has changed a great part of the Catholic Church in Latin America. It has, in short, become less "costly" to abandon the childhood faith in favour of new doctrines.

The positive development registered by Evangelical mission in recent decades might be a marginal side-effect of a far-reaching secularization, a consequence of the decreasing aggressiveness of the Catholic Church. To a neutral observer such a suggestion affects the image of success, willingly demonstrated by the Mission. The latter has, obviously, other explanations. The success, in their view, is the result of a long period of hard work with global intercessional prayer and evangelizing. Catholic doctrine is, in any case, a constant whipping-boy in the Evangelical movement. When the conversion appears to be frail and shallow, the Catholic Church is blamed.

The Pentecostal missionaries are generally sceptical towards the "theology of liberation". They would admit that its social commitment might find support in the Bible, but they think anyhow that the whole thing leads people astray. Behind the theology of liberation they suspect "World communism" to stand. The strong emphasis on social justice has, according to the Mission, shown itself to lead away from true spiritual values: the result is likely to be materialism and politics rather than spiritual commitment. Some missionaries see the theology of liberation as a trick of the Catholic Church to regain ground, lost to the evangelical movement.⁶

The Brazilian Pentecostal mission

The Brazilian Pentecostal Mission is an interesting example of what might be called "the second generation of mission". Brazilian missionaries have a background which their Swedish colleagues lack. They know what it is like to

be the "target" of a foreign mission. Furthermore, the Brazilian Movement (*Assembleias de Deus*) has experienced the fact that the substantial Swedish mission in Brazil was interrupted at a relatively early stage (in the 1930s). These Swedish missionaries, who early on transferred the work into Brazilian hands, have since, to a certain extent, become mythologized and stand out as "spiritual ancestors". The reference to these forefathers has contributed to the fact that the Pentecostal Movement in Brazil stands out as comparatively homogeneous and old-fashioned, set against the one in Bolivia. Bolivia has its own "spiritual ancestors" though without special authority since new missionaries, with new ideas and methods, continuously appear on the scene.

Strong home organizations manage the Brazilian missionaries in a way which is entirely alien to Swedish Pentecostal missionaries. The congregations founded in Bolivia have, on the other hand, a common organization, *Asamblea de Dios Boliviana* (ADB), headed by a Bolivian leader.

The Brazilian missionaries are not involved in social work, which means that they are more mobile than the Nordic ones. A Swedish missionary expressed the difference like this: "The Brazilians don't hang on to the work so tightly as do the Swedes".

The Brazilian missionaries thus concentrate on evangelizing and congregational edification. They lead their convert groups firmly by the hand. The service is, on the whole, free from "worldly" elements, reminiscent of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement during the 1940s and 1950s. The pastor and the service leader always wear a tie and a black suit at the services, with reference to the fact that the first missionaries who came to Brazil were dressed like that.⁷

The Bolivian president of the ADB is not without problems when it comes to the Brazilian missionaries. When he tries to assert the authority of his formal position the missionaries counter that they do not have to answer to him but to their Brazilian organization. The missionaries are part of his organization but have other leaders. The president confided to me that of the seven Brazilian missionaries whom he had been able to study closely (in Trinidad), only *one* fulfilled the requirements of a "true missionary". He (Jeremias Cordovil) mastered the skills of bricklaying, carpentry, and plumbing, skills which were obviously proved in connection with church activity and together with the members.

Despite differences in method between Swedish and Brazilian missionaries there are common problems. The congregational instability tends to be the same. When the Brazilian missionary leaves a church, having stabilized its

management as well as its membership (for instance in Camiri) the work may begin to fall to pieces. The missionary often has to come back and continue his work.

The Brazilian and Swedish Pentecostal Missions have enjoyed, for many years, a trustful co-operation in Bolivia. Brazilian missionaries have, for instance, been in Sweden on collection tours, for instance for the benefit of the common Bible Institute in Cochabamba. In 1987, however, there was a sudden deterioration in their relations. One reason was that a small group of believers in Chapare, which had been founded by the Swedes and whose church had been built partly by Swedish money, suddenly went over to the Brazilian fold. After some conflicts the pastor, who had brought the group over to the *ADB*, was fired and a new one installed. The congregation was, by the right of the donor, brought back to the correct fold, but relations between the Swedish and Brazilian missions were wrecked. (On my latest visit to the field, in December 1989, the difficulty in co-operating still persisted. One of the top leaders of *the ADB* confided to me that he had fought hard at their last annual meeting to prevent a definite break with *MSLB*.)

The encounter between the Brazilian and Swedish Pentecostal Missions in Bolivia illustrates the change which is taking place within the missionary enterprise. In the doctrinaire controversies between Swedish and Brazilian missionaries the latter hold the trumpcards. They can assert "We alone follow the way you once taught us. You are the ones who are changing". That argument has special weight since the image of "the revival of old times" is inviolable in the Swedish Pentecostal Movement.

6

Evangelizing

Evangelizing is the Mission's primary purpose, task, and goal. It may be hard to identify in some of the missionary activities, but it is always there. The division into "evangelizing" and "social work" is therefore, in a sense, a fictive one. It is used by the missionaries, but always with an emphasis on the complementarity of the two. This blend is, I am afraid, reflected in the somewhat obscure overlapping among my chapters. I apologize for that.

The concept of evangelization is traditionally reserved for the activity which is directly aimed at conversion, such as different kinds of acts of worship, visiting, spiritual instruction, and pastoral care. The evangelizing is, in the main, concentrated on some 15 towns of varying size. However, the offshoots into the countryside are considerable, as for instance in Valle Alto, Quillacollo, and Rurrenabaque. Only a few of these places will appear in my text.

In September 1988 the Mission inaugurated its new Bible school building in Cochabamba. The Institute has existed since 1979 and is an important part of the Mission's efforts to transfer the evangelical work into Bolivian hands. Ideally it offers a forum for native pastors and evangelists to meet and unite. Up to 1988 some 150 students had passed through the two years of education and received a diploma. The number of applicants for the courses usually exceeds the capacity. More than half the students are female (1987), which corresponds to a female predominance when it comes to the number of adherents.

The basic teaching is divided into four courses. Each course comprises 250 hours spread over eight weeks. The students are supposed to combine study and practical work at their home churches. Those who have undergone the basic teaching (two years including practice), may be admitted for a third

year, for a more advanced curriculum.

There are plans to start a special Bible school for Quechua-speaking students. This development is, I suggest, in line with the general tendency to adapt the evangelical work to the social and ethnic combination of Bolivian society. The extremely heterogeneous Bolivian community seems to demand differentiation in the missionary work in order to reach optimal efficiency.

The production and diffusion of Christian literature is an important instrument of the missionary enterprise. The Mission has, consequently, built up a local capacity for the production of printed matter. The publishing firm, *El Evangelista*, is financed and equipped by the Nordic countries. It has produced a number of different products, such as Sunday-school magazines, tracts (also in Quechua), Bible-study guides, religious books, and translations. In 1986 no less than 25 different works were produced. The most important task, it seems, is to create a demand for Christian literature. This is a question of "conscienticizing" the members. The publishing activity is still run at a considerable loss.

While the Norwegian and Swedish missionaries tend to let the social work get the upper hand over evangelizing, the Finnish missionaries concentrate on evangelical work. Small social efforts are made, such as the provision of school equipment for schools in the countryside and the distribution of second-hand clothes, but so far they abstain from big projects. When the Finnish missionary Reijo Ahtela worked for a period in Valle Alto, he even refused to forward the US\$ 200 which arrived each month from Sweden, destined for the native activity in the area. He expressly condemned such pecuniary support as corruptive of the evangelical endeavour. The money had to be fetched by the "brothers" themselves from the Mission's office in Cochabamba. We once picked up a hitch-hiker. She was a schoolteacher and on her way, half a day late, to her school in the countryside. She wondered ingratiatingly whether we were in some project. "Yes", Reijo replied, "we have a tremendous project, we preach the Gospel."

Now let me introduce a few ethnographical on-the-spot accounts of Bolivian Pentecostal services. The snapshots are not exhaustive reports. Their purpose is simply to offer the reader some background.

10 December 1989. Sunday morning service. *Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal*, Cochabamba (*Calle Uruguay*).

The largest Pentecostal church in Cochabamba is celebrating its 29th anniversary. Pastor Flores delivers a short and somewhat informal sermon which develops into a kind of inquest. The listeners are told that they do not live up to the requirements of a good Pentecostal congregation.

The pastor wonders, to begin with, why the members seldom or never visit any of the four outposts of the church, in order to "share the word of God". If they come to church first, at ten o'clock, and then, after the service, and after having had some lunch, take the bus, they will be in time for the service in Punata, starting at two in the afternoon.

When the service leader once in a while asks the assembled *hermanos* (brothers and sisters) if anybody has a testimony to make, on how God has intervened in their lives, they remain seated in the pews. "You get frightened and sit there as if you were nailed to your seats."

The members of the congregation do not study the Bible. He is "extremely concerned" about this. The Bible studies on Thursday evenings are sparsely visited. There is no interest in deeper study of the word of the Bible. He warns us against undertaking anything which is not supported in the Bible. The congregation shows indifference about the need for biblical knowledge. To support this need he points to Jesus' counter-offensive when he is tempted by the Devil: "It is written..." (Matthew 4:4).

Among themselves, pastors sometimes ask "How is your church doing?" The simplest thing is to say that "things are all right". "But brothers and sisters, we cannot say that things are all right in the church!"

Prayer is the most important thing in the life of a church. But at the Prayer Meetings and the Days of Prayer and Fasting at least 80 per cent are absent. They obviously consider something else to be more important. Maybe a television programme. "You come to church on Sundays and think that's enough. As if God ought to be satisfied with our visiting his house once a week. "You believe in a 'Sunday God'".

There are big problems in the congregation. The thing that is missing is love. "Love is wanting!" The principal commandments concern the love of God and the love of your neighbour. "You have no love. You go out of church without even saying how do you do to your *hermanos*, without inquiring about their health. You don't feel for the poor in the congregation."

During this cannonade the audience sits quietly. It has heard many similar sermons before. The pastor rounds off with some gentler words, but the impression remains: He is displeased with his congregation. Even I feel crushed (I often leave without greetings). I do not know what the missionaries are thinking. Part of the criticism may have been destined for them too. The pastor once told me that they used to call them *domingueros*, because they usually only appeared on Sunday mornings. He once praised me for being a more assiduous participant than any of the missionaries. Later on when I asked a missionary about their absence on Sunday evenings she said: "One service a day is enough".

5 November 1987. Bible study. *Calle Uruguay*.

Missionary Bengt Lundqvist, nicknamed *Beni*, is the teacher tonight. No other missionary is present. The young leader, Pedro, starts off the meeting in an intense Pentecostal style. He exhorts us to "sing up" and get praying. At the end of the singing a kind of Pentecostal atmosphere breaks out with a general act of praise when everybody prays and glorifies, independently and simultaneously. The missionary raises his hand and I hear him say a few words in tongues. After a while he delivers a prophetic message (in Spanish), in a low and composed voice. The message is long and rather detailed. Face upwards and one arm raised, the Bible under the other. He is facing forwards, not towards the audience, and his speech is interspersed with remarks like "...saith the Lord". The monotonous voice indicates that the speaker is not talking out of his own head.¹ The drift of the prophecy is that everything is not what it should be in the congregation, nor in individual lives.

Almost imperceptibly the missionary changes his style from prophecy to normal language (no interpretation is necessary). He exhorts us to "use" the feeling to receive the Spirit baptism. If we feel that something wants to slip out of our mouth, something that we do not recognize or understand, we should just let it out. He urges us to clear up right now whatever scores we have to settle. For a moment the "Pentecostal fire" seems to flare up, but it does not. No one is seen to receive the Spiritual baptism this night. The missionary ends this phase by suggesting a song during which he invites us to greet and embrace each other. His suggestion is wholeheartedly accepted.

Eventually the Bible study begins. The number of participants is about

forty, mostly young people. The relatively large number is due to the fact that a regular gathering for the youth has been suspended for the benefit of the Bible study.

The study has a taste of Sunday school. On the blackboard the missionary writes; "*Creemos que la Biblia es la palabra de Dios*", "We believe that the Bible is the word of God". He goes on writing different sentences and makes us read them aloud together. We learn how many books there are in the Bible (66), how many chapters (1,189), and how many verses (31,173). He tells us various facts about the Bible and ponders for a minute over the "*libros perdidos*", "lost books". How is it possible that God has permitted Bible books to disappear? He quickly says, however, that "*Dios tiene siempre su razón*", "God always has his reasons". He dictates the sentences and exhorts us to repeat them various times. Short, simple sentences. We must get it right from the start.

4 October 1987. Sunday morning service. *Calle Uruguay*.

The young leader this morning is a new face to me. He begins at ten sharp by suggesting "something different", which he believes will appeal to God. He wants us all to kneel, and he means *all*. He takes the microphone and kneels down at a chair on the platform. He has begun at ten promptly, which also is an unusual thing to do, and the main part of the audience is still coming in. There is some confusion in the church for a while. Many people kneel, but by no means all.

There are two varieties when it comes to genuflection. On the one hand, what I am used to: you turn round in the bench so that you may support your elbows on the seat. On the other hand, there is the Catholic kind, where you kneel face forwards. The latter model entails problems because it is cramped between the pews and the special kneeler (*hincadera*) is missing here. So the Catholic style of genuflection must take place somewhat diagonally, almost parallel to the pew.

A great number of missionaries (some twenty) pour into the church during this phase. As usual they take their seats at the back of the central part of the church. If possible they assemble in two or three pews. Some kneel, others do not. The missionaries are generally parsimonious when it comes to participation in "physical" manifestations ordered from the rostrum. These

might concern raised hands, clapping, singing gestures, applause, or answers to commands like *Amén?* (*Amén!*), and *A su Nombre?* (*Gloria!*). If the standing-up phases of the service are too long the missionaries (and others too) usually sit down after a while. They are not so easily swept along by the service leader or the rest of the audience. They seem to make their own judgement about what is right and reasonable.

3 January 1988. Sunday morning. *Calle Uruguay*.

Missionary Bengt Lundqvist (*Beni*) waits on the platform. He is going to preach today. He is wearing a dark suit, light tie, light socks. Several missionaries are in the church. Assistant pastor Alberto Zambrana opens the service by reading a chapter from the Bible. *Beni* expresses his thanks for the very responsible charge of preaching on the first Sunday of the new year. He has barely slept during the night, because of this. He reads a text from the Bible about the different gifts of grace in the congregation, about *talentos*, *dones*, and *ministerios*. His sermon, however, pretty soon forms itself into a rather sharp reprimand of the congregation. He is one of the Elders of the church so he certainly feels a special responsibility.

The thing is to work and to take on commissions in the church. Certainly no one can be forced to do this. "The one who wants to be lazy, may remain lazy, but for him there will be no recompense in heaven", says the missionary. It is a question of "doing church work better". There are neighbours near the church who have never set foot in it. Why? Because they have seen members of the congregation behaving badly, fighting among themselves, criticizing their leaders, giving a bad impression. It is a matter of improving the reputation of the church, he says, but adds in the next moment that he has not implied that the church has a bad reputation. But a minute before he has remarked that, perhaps, if someone asks to what church you belong and you answer *Calle Uruguay*, he may turn up his nose and say, "Oh, *Calle Uruguay*, not very good".

Jesus cries in heaven when he sees the division here on earth. The number of churches grows, but not because of an expanding number of *hermanos* but because there are more divisions. This is a misery. Some people go from one church to the other sowing disunion. Others believe that if only they change congregation all their problems will come to an end. Then they discover that there are problems in all churches.

The missionary talks about fights between the members. They "depreciate" one another. Within the walls of the church there are no "doctors", no "lawyers", etc. All are *hermanos* in the church. The one who cannot afford fine clothes, or the one who cannot read, is worth as much before God as the one who is well and has a high education.

There is not one heaven for Pentecostals, another for Baptists, a third for Methodists. There is not one for Swedes, one for Americans, one for Bolivians. There is only one heaven! And if we cannot live together here on earth what will happen up there? There is no time for doctrinaire bickering, only for glorification.

Towards the end of the sermon he changes his tune and the character of the service turns into the "after-meeting". He wants us to get praying. He appeals especially to those who are unsaved, since he feels that there are some in the church. They should seize the opportunity now. He entreats those who want renewal. Eventually some start to go up to the platform. As far as I can see, they are all well-established members of the congregation. He exhorts the Elders to come up and help in the prayer.

Soon three missionaries and two Bolivian leaders go round and pray in turn for the dozen who have come up, kneeling on the rostrum steps. They touch the seekers with their hands on their heads or shoulders as they pray. *Beni* now and then says a few audible words in tongues. He feels that God will heal sick people today. Mrs Flores is asked to play something soft (*algo suave*) on the piano.

The real "outpouring of the Holy Spirit" is not happening today, however. The listeners still seem to cower under the volley of criticism delivered by the missionary.

1 May 1987. Bible Study Week in the Tarija Pentecostal church.

Missionary Ingmar Bergfors, who usually works in neighbouring Entre Rios, is responsible for the Bible week. He has carefully prepared this evening by putting up maps of Paul's three missionary journeys. The four local missionaries are present. They are assembled in one pew in the central part of the church.

The meeting is introduced and led by Ramón. He is a tall fellow of Chiriguano origin with a loud voice. Ramón helps in the church and preaches

occasionally. He also has a job as a coffin-maker. The necessary equipment is provided by the Mission, more precisely by the missionary AnnGerd Nilsson. (AnnGerd, who was occasionally dissatisfied with Ramón's production figures, once threatened to move the equipment from Tarija to Villa Montes, where she had a man who was eager to start work. Some nights later Ramón had the opportunity to preach in the church. AnnGerd was present when Ramón, glancing at her, preached on Proverbs 6:6 "Go to the ant, you sluggard; consider its ways and be wise!")

Tonight he begins by grumbling at those who have not participated every night earlier in the week (today is Friday). They have missed something very important, he says, and now they run the risk of being left behind when Jesus comes back. Had they stayed at home because they had no padlock on their house? To take care of their kids? Because it had been cold in the evening? The participants remain silent.

Ramón concludes his teasing reproach by trying to instil some spiritual life into the audience. They are supposed to answer a firm *Amén!* to his *Amén?* The congregation gets its chance for revenge and refuses to answer. But Ramón does not give up. He repeats his *Amén?* with more and more urgency, until the grown-ups in the audience give up and answer. The young people ignore him altogether. They have started to busy themselves with other things.

The missionary has remained silent so far. Eventually he starts the Bible study with the exhortatory question: "*Están dispuestos a aprender?*"; "Are you ready to learn?"

1 November 1987. Sunday evening service. Chimba (Cochabamba suburb).

I am visiting the Chimba group for the first and only time. Not more than twenty people are present. I am obviously the only outsider. The church has 24 pews and could easily accommodate 250 people. I get a personal formal welcome, from the rostrum. Even later on the service I am paid attention and exhorted to consider this church as my home. An *obrero* (lay worker) is sent down to me for a quick interview. (I recognize the *obrero* as a student at the Bible Institute. He is the son of a Brazilian missionary in Camiri, in eastern Bolivia, and had once told me that the Camiri Pentecostal group had collapsed when his father left.) He takes down my name on a scrap of paper.

The church is very beautiful. The illumination and decoration is, to my mind, very tasteful. The small organ looks Swedish. No one uses it. The songs are sung from a song-book and accompanied by a guitar. A drum-set and a few *panderetas* (tambourines) are silent tonight.

The pastor, Rosemir Donizetti, is a Brazilian missionary. That explains the austere and "Swedish" outward form of the service (like it was in the 1950s). No clapping, no commands. The members sit quiet and passive in the fine pews. All is calm and decent. One or two rise and pray, at the specific and personal request of the missionary. The prayers lack exaltation.

The lay worker/Bible student is preaching tonight. He does his best, in spite of the silent audience. He tries to paint the sufferings of Christ on the cross. The wooden blocks were probably rough. Splinters entered his body. The soldiers certainly did not put the cross down gently in the hole, but with a hard blow.

The missionary rounds off the service. He expresses some displeasure at the members' attendance rate. Some are seen only once a week, others every fortnight or once a month. The fine church needs some attention, he finally asserts. He points to a hole in the ceiling. "*Pero no hay plata*", "But there is no money". (The church was inaugurated in 1985. The construction was entirely financed by Gilead Church in Gothenburg, which has taken Chimba to its heart. However, even the maintenance of the church building is too much for this group, it seems. Besides, the family which was the contact between Chimba and Gothenburg, has felt obliged to leave, implicitly accused of economic irregularities.)

The service is kindly and balanced. Any sort of effervescent spiritual enthusiasm is lacking, however. The members are well dressed. They move carefully. As if they do not really belong. The service ends in an hour. The pastor comes down the aisle and takes my hand, wishes me welcome back. He wants this church to be my second home.

15 March 1987. Sunday service. Wasawayu. Valle Alto.

A few houses on a mountain slope. The Sunday service is announced to start at ten. When we arrive it is eleven. We are the first to arrive and we are invited into the small temporary chapel, which is usually a storehouse. It is dark

and cold inside and a fresh breeze penetrates the walls. Waiting for the audience we are offered hot potatoes in their jackets, broad beans, one egg each, and *jaya llajwa*, a somewhat watery dip made from fresh hot pepper (*ajf*). Outside a handful of chattering women are preparing the lunch.

A few "brothers" drop in. We say hallo, i.e. *Paz del Señor* (The Lord's Peace), and embrace. Missionary Reijo is somewhat impatient, since he has decided to leave for Cochabamba at three. He mutters that he told the *hermanos* this when he promised to come. While they wait, the men want to hear the missionary's point of view on a newly imposed tax on land. The amount is not large. It is the principle that counts. Their union has told them not to pay. What does the missionary say?

Reijo consults his Bible for a while. Then he asks them to note three biblical quotations: Matthew 17:24-27, Romans 13:1-8 and Luke 20:21-25. The message is diplomatic: "Then render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's". He repeats that they have to make up their own minds. It is not for him - a missionary and a stranger - to say whether they should do things this way or that. His wife Mervi talks about Finland. There they have to pay very heavy taxes but on the other hand they get a lot back, such as schools and medical service.

This is politics, says the missionary. Your federation has no members in the government. That is why they tell you not to pay. If they had someone in the government the federation would no doubt have demanded tax from you. Put to the test, the missionary does well. The men have got words from the Bible to ponder over and refer to.

Eventually there is a service and Reijo has to "preach" three times, since more people keep on arriving, *hermanos* who have walked over the mountains for hours and now have the right to hear him speak. Several want to be saved. No hesitation before the great step. Everything appears to be settled in advance. Finally the missionary asks whether there is still another one who wants to be saved. The clear answer is no, no one else today.

A few sick want the missionary's intercession. Reijo prays, after having read from the Bible, something elucidating the promises in this respect. After the prayer they are promptly exhorted to testify about their healing. One had stomach pains. They have disappeared. One had a backache. That is gone too. One had wryneck. Wiped out. One testifies how earlier he had got rid of a sickness after having, as he says, been "embraced by a white" (*un blanco me abrazó*).

Evangelist Lucio prays for those who want to be saved, by dictating a

simple prayer, emphasizing the most essential steps, the redemption, the break with the old life, the commitment to the new.

We break up about five, despite mild protests from the now considerable congregation. People have poured in all day. We all feel a bit like quitters. When we leave we can see how they have all moved outdoors and are sitting assembled on the slope. They are going to sit there all the evening and far into the night, Reijo says. They are going to sing and testify in a meeting that never ends.

Searching for a generative form

The form of the Pentecostal service differs from place to place. Its resemblance to its Swedish counterpart generally varies with the missionaries' actual influence over the local worship. The services in Villa Montes, where the Mission started and where it is still dominant, were very "Swedish", despite the fact that the participants, the Mataco Indians, were the least "Swedish" of all. Only once was the Swedish atmosphere definitely broken. A group of Mataco men sang in a way and with a sound which was hardly drawn from the missionary repertory. The suggestive and authentic performance left me deeply impressed and indicated what the service might have been like if the Gospel had been allowed to take its form from the Matacos' own cultural means of expression.² The service in Valle Alto, among Quechua-speaking *campesinos*, had a good deal in common with the services of my childhood, above all in its intensity and simplicity.

My attempt to characterize the experiential form of worship is valid, primarily, for the intermediate layer of urban congregations where the Mission certainly keeps its influence but where the form is increasingly inspired from other quarters also, not least from the United States, by way of videocassettes from televangelists like Jimmy Swaggart and Oral Roberts.

The formal elements of the service are well-known. There is the general welcome, the opening word from the Bible and the composing prayer. There is the singing, the sermon, the occasional testimony, the collection, the announcements and, sometimes, the persuading "after-service", where opportunity is given to the unsaved listener to take his first step towards salvation.

All these elements are found, more or less, in most Bolivian services. But

I would like to discuss a different trait which, I think, permeates the worship to a degree, which was inconceivable at least in *Betania*, namely lack of uniform behaviour or, in other words, social consensus.

The phenomenon is, I think, particularly evident in *Calle Uruguay*, which is now almost completely handed over to Bolivian leadership. The lack of uniformity applies, for instance, to whether you should stand up or sit down at a certain moment of the service, whether you should clap in time to the singing or not, whether you should kneel or not after coming into the church, and whether you must sit still or can wander about the church during the service. Even the service as a whole may often have a very varied character, from one occasion to another, variations that are sometimes expressly motivated by "the Lord's guidance". The lack of "calculative rationality" is certainly a conceivable form. Nelson has observed such an absence, consistently, in the *Congregação Crista no Brasil*. There everything ought to be done "by the spirit, not by the flesh" (1989:48). The problem here is that the members differ among themselves and point the service in various directions. The Spirit seems to waver.

The inconsistency could arise from the fact that the members are often a random selection from different movements and congregations from various parts of the country. The believers may keep to a behaviour they have once learnt or found suitable. It may also be a conscious attempt to avoid a threatening inflexibility. Perhaps it is simply a reaction against the insistence on the integrated conduct of the Catholic mass. The whole thing may be a searching for an appropriate design, an experimentation in a phase where the Mission is loosening its grip, a manifestation of a recently acquired liberty.

A more serious interpretation and, I am afraid, the most plausible one, is that the irregularity is a manifestation of an insufficient amount of spiritual commitment and experience. Kiesler, anyhow, suggests that "the effect of commitment is to make an act less changeable" (1971:31). The logic is that the spiritual commitment and its intermittent renewal, in collective effervescence, are the most important things in the life of a congregation. The form of the collective ritual is important only to the extent that it takes the group to such a mutual experience. An act leading to commitment and renewal will be maintained unchanged (though refined) so long as it proves to be efficient. The continuous search for different forms of service in *IEP*, its wavering social consensus, may be interpreted as a search for a sufficiently generative form.

The gradual missionary withdrawal from participation in evangelizing, and their subsequent absence from the mutual renewal, might give it almost syncretistic traits, with a rapid turnover of symbols relevant to the service.

There are, to be sure, a lot of movements to draw from in Bolivia when the missionaries retire.

If I am right, the missionary withdrawal from evangelizing reveals a failure to provide the congregation with a sufficiently generative form of worship. What is lacking, then? Let me put it like this: The only way for the missionary to know whether the service is sufficiently generative is to ransack his own experience. Was he himself spiritually renewed in the service and in what way did he manifest this?

The searching in *Calle Uruguay* for a generative form indicates that the members have not found sufficient meaning and value in the forms of expression introduced by the missionaries. Expressive forms welling out of a mutual spiritual experience should have a greater chance of finding continued acceptance.

Conversion and the first-time visitor

My many occasional visits to unfamiliar churches in unknown places made me react personally in a negative way to a common element in the service: the special welcome of the visitor who appears in the church for the first time.

The first-time visitor is publicly requested to make his presence known to the congregation by putting up his hand or standing up. All present should be able to see who is visiting the church for the first time. To the same category are also assigned those who have been absent for some time. When I returned to *Calle Uruguay* after about three months absence I was again included in the ceremony.

What I perceived as pushing and embarrassing, to announce one's presence and to be subjected to everybody's attention, is conceived, by the Bolivians themselves, as an indispensable element in the service. My informant on this matter, Felix Celis, insisted that if the Bolivian arrives, for the first time, at a church where no one takes any notice of him, he will experience this as a dissociation, as if nobody cares whether he is present or not. On the other hand, if he is given a special welcome, he will find the congregation friendly and obliging and he will come back with pleasure.

After the invitation to identify himself a special welcome follows, in words and singing, when everybody stands up. During the singing several of the participants will come down to the visitor and shake hands or embrace him. In

this phase the welcoming ceremony is usually extended to all the participants. This means that you greet everyone standing around you, as far as you can reach. Maybe you force your way out of the pew and include one or two *hermanos* seated further away. The pastors may go down the aisle, shaking hands, as long as the singing goes on. If the movement is lively and the church is crowded, the singing may start all over again.

It is usually not feasible, as a first-time visitor, to avoid all this attention. When I sometimes tried to escape by not taking notice of the appeal but just sinking deeper into the bench, the request was repeated. If I persisted, I was usually pointed out directly and "forced" to reveal my identity as first-time visitor.

In terms of reciprocity this detail may be interpreted as an attempt, on the congregation's part, to take the initiative in an exchange of gifts. The gift which the visitor gives to the church through his physical presence is reciprocated by means of a special ceremony, a seemingly loose element in the service, though it is obligatory, at least on Sunday morning. The purpose is, of course, to make the first-time visitor feel welcome, but he should also feel "forced" to come back. The generalization of the ceremony, including new as well as old participants, makes everybody take part in the congregational gift. Those who come back will not feel forgotten or without reward. This general phase of the ceremony has its parallel in the Catholic mass.

It is often emphasized that the one giving the first gift has an advantage which it is scarcely possible to catch up with. After investigating the matter of citizens of southern France, who when lunching pour wine into each other's glasses, Lévi-Strauss observes: "The person beginning the cycle seizes the initiative, and the greater social ease which he has displayed puts him at an advantage" (1969:59-60). Simmel also discusses the effect of the spontaneous, gratuitous gift on the receiver. The one who manages to be the first in giving a gift has, Simmel asserts, an unbeatable advantage. It does not matter how great the requital may be.

The reason is that his gift, because it was first, has a voluntary character which no return gift can have. For, to return the benefit we are obliged ethically; we operate under a coercion which, though neither social nor legal but moral, is still a coercion. The first gift is given in full spontaneity; it has a freedom without any duty, even without the duty of gratitude. (1950:392)

The result of an over-reciprocation is not an advantage over the original giver. On the contrary, the exaggeration may lead to discomfort for the initiator. It

is then a question of "undeserved rewards", which could lead to feelings of shame (Schwartz 1967:8)

The outside visitor always initially has the upper hand, at least in relation to the formal service. It is the presence of alien participants which makes the ritual specially meaningful. The decisive importance of the visitor might easily be forgotten, "For where two or three come together in my name, there am I with them" (Matthew 18:20). The following relevant incident brings us back, for a moment, to an important "element" in the form of service: the Bolivians' notorious lack of punctuality.

When an evening service at *Calle Uruguay* once ran over the opening time by about 45 minutes I asked, somewhat irritated, the indolently passing pastor when the service was going to start. He had probably heard the question before, from over-anxious Swedes. So he gazed over the sparsely occupied church and replied quietly: "We shall begin when the people come". That approach is different from what I once heard a Swedish missionary say à propos the Bolivians' famous inability to arrive on time. He said, in all seriousness, that one should close and lock the street door at the appointed time. He was, however, immediately rebuked by his wife, who said; "And you are supposed to be a missionary?" Much later, in Ivirgarzama (Chapare), I heard a Bolivian pastor threaten the congregation with locking the street doors, so that nobody could get out or in after the sermon had started.

The congregation exaggerates its counter-gift in order to compensate for the visitor's advantage. Since this, in principle, is contrary to reason it remains only for the congregation, by way of its message, to deliver a "first gift" of its own, on the spiritual level. The visitor's gift to the church is a "material" gift, his physical presence in the church. The gift he receives, and which may take the sting out of his own by shifting the level, deals with his soul, his salvation and eternal well-being. Should the visitor receive that gift he will be eternally indebted to the congregation, which first and spontaneously gave him the gift, the offer of forever being saved.

My personal dislike of participation in this ceremony was based on the feeling that by participating I was taking the first step towards a conversion, and that an acceptance of the offer of salvation now would be regarded as a natural second step. To accept and "stay within the code" (Bloch 1975:9) may mean to say "yes". I was once able to witness such a happening when I participated in the Sunday morning service of the Quechua congregation, an independent group within *Calle Uruguay*.

The Quechua and Aymara groups have taken an additional step in the

elaboration of the ceremony. They exhort the first-time visitors to come up to the rostrum during the singing and greetings. This day I managed to escape the ceremony, probably because I had participated some months earlier and on this occasion arrived after the ceremony had been carried out. The first-timers who went up to the platform on this day, several of whom were, in my judgement, really visiting a Pentecostal church for the first time, were not only welcomed. They were ordered to go down on their knees, after which the leaders laid their hands on them and, together with the whole congregation, prayed to God for their salvation. When after a while, somewhat confused, they rose to their feet again they were welcomed for the second time: this time not only to the church and the service but to the communion of the "saved".

The form of the ceremony may be interpreted here as a compression of the ritual procedure, where the congregation's own gift, the offering of salvation, is given as an immediate reciprocation to the visitor's gift, his first visit. It was apparent, in this case, that the congregation did not consider the first-time visitors as undecided seekers, but as persons who by their very visit had also opted for conversion and a changed life.

Goodenough has pointed out that this kind of behaviour is common, in society at large, when it comes to "helping our fellows prepare for changes in their social identity" (1963:228). He submits a word of warning, however.

Such ways of stimulating commitment to change can be highly effective with changes in social identity, especially those changes that are part of the normal life process. They help to overcome reluctance generated by anxiety and shame about changes that are at the same time valued and desired. They can only stimulate and reinforce, however. The actual act of commitment can be made only by the person making the change. (ibid.:229)

A characteristic feature of the Bolivian Pentecostal service is that the conversion is usually described only in positive terms. It is portrayed as if it were almost "magic". The prospective convert is, in brief, promised a wonderful life as one who is saved. More incidentally, it is said, beforehand, that there are, to be sure, difficulties and that there is a continuous need for redemption and improvement even for the decided Christian. The demand for a changed way of life, for commitment and the assumption of responsibility is, as we have already seen, rather directed to the one who is already saved.

The ceremony which confronts the first-time visitor and which may be described in terms of gift theory, indicates something very important about the concept of conversion. I adhere to my own experience that the ceremony is a means of stimulating and even "tying up" the visitor in a way which facilitates

the decisive step towards salvation. The one who feels observed and welcomed to church should more easily be able to accept and perhaps even feel "forced" to receive the message delivered in the service. This "compulsion" is mitigated by a conversion, which is described as problem-free.

The question is whether some people might become accidentally converted because they feel they have been well received? Such a conversion comes about on erroneous premises. The one who is thus converted has participated in a gift exchange, a reciprocity, but he is for that reason not prepared to change and commit his life. When he realizes that the church expects sacrifices and reform from his side, he pulls out. His conversion was not based on any "woe for sin" or any need for "a new life" but on the imperative to reciprocate a positive treatment and answer an urgent request affirmatively.

A prerequisite of individual commitment to change is that he/she understands what needs to be changed (Goodenough 1963:217). The degree of commitment, moreover, is revealed in the connection between behaviour and self and how swiftly this behaviour can be disposed of, if necessary (Kiesler 1971:31).

Scaffolding

After a pioneering period of revival and widespread conversion, i.e. of intensive and successful evangelization, there follows a phase when achieved positions ought to be secured and the "broken ground" cultivated and brought to harvest. This is a period of stabilization and organization, in brief, of congregational edification. Considering the dynamic of the commitment system, I have suggested that this foundation should ideally be established within a generation of the peak revival.

The Mission's own account of evangelical achievements in Bolivia is somewhat confusing. In Infobol 1986(2), for instance, the number of members in the congregations (Nordic and Brazilian mission) is stated to be about 9,000. In *Dagen* (September 21, 1988) the 1980 figure is stated to have been about 5,000 while "the number of members today" is said to be 40,000 with a growth of 35 per cent a year. The latter statement should imply that the 1985-86 figure would have been 25,000 (instead of 9,000). The report from the annual meeting

of the Mission in January 1987 gives a total number of 10,000 (while the number of *simpatizantes* (sympathizers)³ is reported to be 20,000) for 1986, and the total number of 343 for the year 1967. Minutes from the Bolivia conference in Tranås (August 30, 1988) state: "The congregational work embraces about 30,000 people. A growth of 35 per cent was mentioned for Swedish-Norwegian-Finnish-Brazilian-supported congregations. God's work shows success"*. In the weekly *Hemmets Vän* (The Home's Friend) (1989(23)), Keith Frampton states the present growth rate to be 20 per cent and the expansion between 1980 and 1989 800 per cent (from 5,000 to 40,000). Between 1969 and 1980 the growth, according to Frampton, was tenfold (from 500 to 5,000). Boberg (1990:13) states guardedly that the congregations now "number several thousand members". The latest figure, given at the annual meeting in 1991, is a growth rate of 20 per cent and a figure of 50,000 members as a result of the Nordic Pentecostal Mission (*Dagen*, 3 May 1991).

The varying data given by the Mission are due, among other things, to the fact that the congregations' lists of members, if they exist at all, are unreliable as statistical sources for the number of "truly saved".

Congregations created under the direction of a missionary are usually considered to be of a higher quality than churches that have arisen spontaneously. The congregations, it appears, should preferably be "built" by the Mission in order to be "transferred" later on, in due time, to the converts. Such groups may have an extremely fast growth. They often grow, however, under the protection of the Mission and do not develop according to their own inherent qualifications. The crises are not permitted to blossom and have a "natural" solution.

Swedish Pentecostal congregations stand out as miracles of stability when compared to their Bolivian counterparts. A quick historical flashback is necessary to understand that difference. When the Swedish Pentecostal Movement broke through in earnest, in the 1930s and 1940s, it was by no means a question of any one-hundred-per-cent fresh recruitment of believers from the outside ungodly reality. Rather, the main part of the developing movement was recruited from the already existing Free Church, primarily from the Baptist Union and the Holiness Union Mission (*Helgelseförbundet*). This secondary recruitment was valid, above all, for the leader cadres in the recently forming congregations. The staff of pastors and preachers did not come from "the world". They were already spiritually trained within other Free Church unions, and they were able and stable already before they went over to the Pentecostal Movement (Samuelsson 1983:129). Bloch-Hoell correctly states that

the early Pentecostal Movement "aimed more at leading believers to Spirit baptism than non-believers to conversion" (1964:89).

The evangelical movement has existed in Bolivia during a great part of the twentieth century but its structure is completely different from the Swedish one. While the Swedish Free-Churchism to a large extent developed through relatively united and concentrated "breakings out", the corresponding movements in Bolivia have developed through contemporaneously working foreign missions. The Pentecostal Movement in Bolivia is not the result of any break-out, but is a transplant from a quite different religious tradition. So one may safely assert that the development of the Pentecostal Movement in Bolivia could be entirely different from that in Sweden.

The Swedish Mission tries to assert the "Swedish model" for congregational organization in its mission fields. The model entails, in principle, that each congregation, large or small, and in spite of the worldwide spiritual affinity among Pentecostals, should be an independent unit and not part of any all-embracing union. This model, characterized by Lewi Pethrus as "decentralized unity" (1969:185), is considered to be the most biblical one. Reacting to the "excellent report" of the anthropologists Gerlach and Hine (1968), Lewi Pethrus salutes the model.

This - that in a purely scientific investigation they come to the conclusion that the Pentecostal Movement lacks an earthly head, a jointly chosen leader - is a statement of the most wonderful kind. This, at the same time as they establish that the Pentecostal Movement is the most successful of all religious movements and has a decentralised unity which is matchless.* (Pethrus 1969:185)

The Swedish model was probably brought in from the United States, together with the movement itself. According to Willems (1967:7) "local autonomy and lay control" were important structural factors in the emerging American Protestantism.

The insistence on the principle of free churches, however, has its foundation in the experience of the first Pentecost. The great congregation ("about three thousand souls") which was the result of what happened then (Acts 2) entailed a transcendence of the existing moral and social order. To let the Pentecostal congregation, in its emulation of this original happening, deprive itself of this hard-won freedom, for the benefit of an all-inclusive union, would be to conform to an "existing social order". The freedom of the congregation is, it seems, the collateral condition of the self-realization of the individual member.⁴

National authorities everywhere dislike too large a splintering in the religious sphere. In some mission countries, this has forced a deviation from the Swedish model. The restrictiveness of the Bolivian authorities, combined with the Mission's own policy, has created a situation where many congregations lack juridical personality. Since the Mission usually owns the ground as well as church building, the Swedish model has been possible to maintain, artificially, despite the stance of the authorities.

The Bolivian Pentecostal Movement is polymorphic. There are contrasts not only between different missions but also within one and the same mission. The differences follow dimensions such as ethnic and socio-economic composition, urban/rural, literate/illiterate, etc.. This inconsistency is new to missionaries propagating the Swedish model. The creation of a Bolivian Pentecostal Movement without an all-embracing union might be impracticable.

According to a report of the Mission's annual meeting in January 1988 the Mission may, in its relation to the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement, be compared to a "scaffolding" (para. 7).

Keith Frampton: MSLB functions like a scaffolding for the edification of the congregation and is not a permanent part of the building, though important enough. The Mission has, as its primary aim, in the first stage, to evangelize, but not any longer. The second stage is to educate the pastors and the final stage is social work in the congregations... We should feel from God when it is time to remove the scaffolding.*

Keith Frampton, originally a Londoner and a Master of Engineering, went out to Bolivia as a missionary for a British mission society. There he met and married a Swedish nurse and missionary, and joined *MSLB*. Frampton defends the Swedish mission more vehemently than any Swede would care to do. He was, at the time, president of the Mission. His picture should reflect the official interpretation of the Mission's relation to the Bolivian Pentecostal Church.

The image is interesting and ambiguous. There is always a danger in over-interpreting analogies and the quotation is quite probably only a fragment of a more elaborate discussion and comparison. The scaffolding metaphor, however, awakens some ideas.

A scaffolding might not only be left standing despite the structure in fact being finished, it might also conceal the true splendour of the creation. A scaffolding has little importance when it comes to the inside of the house. Perhaps its most important task is to produce a correct façade.

The scaffolding is, I think, an apt metaphor of today's mission. A scaffolding is a parallel structure, only slightly leaning towards the developing

edifice. An alternative strategy would be to work together with the workers from within the very structure, the way houses are usually built in Bolivia, by raising floor after floor *from within* the already existing body. From that position one would have a better overview of the quality of the construction. One would also work together with those who are finally going to live in the house and, above all, one would know whether the house is really standing firmly, on its own ground, when the whole thing is ready. Otherwise, there is the danger that the building leans so heavily against the scaffolding that the structure collapses when the scaffolding is finally removed.

Inter-ethnic worship and spiritual community

Calle Uruguay now consists of three different groups: one Spanish-speaking, one Quechua-speaking and one Aymara-speaking. The Aymara group was constituted in October 1986 and held about 50 persons a year later, while the Quechua group is older and twice as large. The division has occurred under missionary leadership but the Mission considers itself not to be part of this development. The idea seems to have come from each group separately. Distinct Quechua groups also exist in Quillacollo and Sucre, at least.

It should perhaps be noted that differentiation along ethnic lines also occurs in Sweden. For instance, Södermalm Church has its separate Spanish-speaking group, Filadelfia Church has a Gipsy congregation with its own leaders and localities, and City Church (all three Stockholm churches) has a Korean, a Finnish, and a Romanian group.

The official explanation of the division of *Calle Uruguay* is that the influx of members/visitors has become so great, especially at the Sunday morning service, that several meetings must be arranged at different times.⁵ It was natural, it seems, that the division should be made along linguistic lines. Moreover, some Quechua and Aymara members, especially older women, are said not to have a sufficient knowledge of Spanish to profit from the message. Fernandez (1975:141) has observed that the language factor is important when it comes to inter-ethnic worship. The ethnic group which imposes its own language in the worship inevitably dominates. To perform the service in more than one language is burdensome and restrains the experiential dynamic.

The Quechua and Aymara groups have to meet in smaller and poorer

localities than the Spanish-speaking group, and at less convenient times. Visiting preachers and missionaries keep to the white/mestizo group and general information does not always reach out to the other ethnic groups. It is my impression, however, that the Quechua and Aymara groups really want their own work and their own services. Nor are there any distinct barriers between the three groups. Nothing appears to prevent a Quechua or an Aymara from participating in the Spanish-speaking group and the ceremony of baptism still mostly takes place at joint services.

The notion of totally independent congregations in the future, with separate localities, is in the minds of the respective leaders, however. One can observe that the congregation, by its division, more and more reflects Bolivian society outside the church walls. One of the white lay workers explained that the segmentation was only temporary, "while waiting for their social and educational level to be improved".⁶

Some Bolivian leaders, within the Spanish-speaking group, find the spirituality and the commitment greater and more genuine in the socially more homogeneous groups (the Aymara and Quechua). It was also in their services that I myself found the greatest similarity to the forms of collective spiritual renewal which I remember from my youth. It appears as if the social distance from the Mission is sufficiently great for these groups to be able to establish a comparatively independent and working metanoia-process of their own.

The tendency towards a division along ethnic lines, both in Sweden and in Bolivia, may generally be seen as a means of facilitating social consensus by eliminating some of the risk of a too obvious lack of cultural consensus.

A development towards increased social and ethnic differentiation is not illogical, as seen from the viewpoint of the missionary enterprise. The Mission does not pretend to be structurally remodelling in a socially and economically equalizing direction. It works instead for the development of society by the conversion of the individual. It is natural for the Mission to maximize the probability of individual conversion. To turn towards the upper classes apart and the lower classes apart, carefully separated, may be a requirement for winning the individual. The mission command applies to all, even to the wealthy. These perhaps want to take in the evangelical message and to accept conversion but are not prepared to do so together with socially inferior groups. The Mission has to accept this, in order to succeed and grow.⁷

It is inconceivable that someone from the "white group" in the Bolivian congregation would even dream of letting himself be assimilated into the Quechua or Aymara group. A deliberate descent to a situation marked by

lower status and less knowledge (the way these concepts are apprehended by the moving group) generally does not happen. Such a thing demands commitment, calling, vision, revelation, duty, obligation and the like. The missionary no doubt is a conceivable candidate for such a process. (To the anthropologist it is sometimes a professional method and strategy, for a limited time, to step downwards on the status ladder, and even to put on the role of ignorance and inanity (Kulick 1990:255).)

A layman, employed in one of the Mission's projects, commented about the Quechua group: "Why should I participate in their services? I have nothing to learn there!" This attitude is akin to the missionaries' own general sense of being at home and their parallelism. And it means that the native, polymorphic, congregation may well have a problem in bringing about a mutual renewal in the church as a whole. The goal of 'communitas', in this context, is obviously subordinate to ethnic and social hierarchy.

The segmentation of the Christian congregation into different status groups legitimates, in some sense, the missionaries' non-participation in the spiritual renewal. It is logical that the missionary staff should remain intact, as a separate group, at the top of the hierarchy. Their presence in the church always tends to be considerably greater when the sermon or the Bible study is performed by a missionary or a visitor from one of the missionaries' homelands.

The ethnic differentiation gives a hint of how one may apprehend the missionaries' temperance when it comes to mutual metanoia. Reciprocal spiritual renewal and the continuous accomplishment of new and better social orders might happen most easily within relatively homogeneous communities. Nothing could be more logical, since the new social order is essentially a symbolic phenomenon, whose primary goal is to strengthen, periodically, the group's coherence and to instigate the members' expansion of the self. The differentiation may be seen as a strategy to facilitate the mutual experience within the respective layers.

Fernandez (1975) has examined the pan-ethnic aims and accomplishments of some independent religious groups in Africa. It is said that these generally "transcend" local particularism. Fernandez, however, finds "plenty of evidence that religious movements, at least, develop along ethnic lines and make little or no progress when they come to an ethnic frontier" (1975:131). He also finds something immediately relevant to my argument.

Existing ethnic antagonisms constitute a drag upon religious exaltation... and tend to be in conflict with it. In contrast, the religious exaltation achieved tends to confirm an existing ethnic group identity and discourage pan-ethnic membership. (1975:141-142)

The general uniformity in Pentecostal groups with a functioning renewal process may partly be explained by their pattern of recruitment. The most efficient and natural model for the Pentecostal system, and perhaps for commitment systems in general, is face-to-face recruitment. Such a design obviously produces a rather homogeneous structure, since the persuasive power seems to be greatest among friends and relatives. The foreign missionary enterprise imperceptibly violates that rule. Nelson has studied *Congregação Crista no Brasil*, a fast-growing Pentecostal church which actually prohibits public proselytizing. "Friendship and kinship networks, therefore, are the principal source of members" (1989:42).

If social and ethnic homogeneity actually is a prerequisite of a common process of renewal, the unity of the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement may be in trouble. The result might be parallel but socially and ethnically stratified national movements, each within its own "social order". In that light the missionaries' separation will emerge as consistent, especially when the participant evangelical activity is completely transferred into Bolivian hands. It even appears as if the problem would be settled once and for all if the missionaries in fact constituted a supreme status group within the overall Bolivian Pentecostal Movement. Their separate metanoia-process comes out as logical in such a light. The dilemma, however, is that the missionaries, by definition, have come to instruct, to give, and to change, not just to *exist* as an independent category. They constitute, in other words, a "mission", not a "diaspora" (Flodell 1974:175).

Crapanzano (1985:300-301) provides an example of the obviously possible but extremely difficult mutual renewal between Whites and Coloureds in South Africa (Andre Roussouw speaking).

I was at a prayer meeting, a gathering of brethren, last June. There were people of all races there. We had gathered to pray and fast for our country. It was during the heat of the riots on the anniversary of Soweto. That was the first time I worshipped with a Coloured person. He was filled with the Spirit, and I could feel it. We held hands. If they had taken a picture of us and put it in *Die Burger* (an Afrikaans newspaper), it would have caused a scandal. You realize it is possible to mix. You don't have to live in the same house or on the same street to be able to pray together.

Mutual spiritual renewal certainly does not eliminate the status differences outside the congregational community. It gives it "a different key", however (Burridge 1991:156). That key, in a way, puts a transcendable stamp on cultural difference and general hierarchy, and almost turns them into expedients, used "to assist the realization of that deeper *communitas* to which socio-cultural divisions will ultimately surrender" (ibid.).

I tend to describe the problem of social and spiritual commingling as if it were a question of either/or. All the missionaries, of course, take one or two steps on the road to mutuality, depending on disposition, personal interest and external stimuli. Missionaries who intend to stay only for a short time perhaps see no meaning in trying to merge into a Bolivian pattern. A few missionaries try to go the whole way and are criticized for that, by their colleagues. The fact is, nevertheless, that the Mission, in general, does not aim at either social or spiritual mutuality, and does not see that as a proper strategy.

Leadership crisis

The Mission asserts that there is a leadership crisis in Bolivia. It has laboured there for 70 years and during the last 30 years in an increasingly intensified form, with a growing number of missionaries. A Bolivian staff of Pentecostal leaders, who have the Mission's full confidence, is, however, still largely lacking. Those trained at the Bible school are still young and relatively inexperienced and the number of vacant jobs, where the evangelist can dedicate himself full-time to preaching and congregational work, is relatively small. The financial situation of the congregations is a constant worry.

One common explanation of the leadership problem was that the Mission formerly had always concentrated on helping and converting the poorest in society and that these had later turned out to be unable to carry on the work, without help from the Mission. However, this idea is not defensible. Leaders always come up, in all groups and constellations, provided stronger powers do not prevent such leadership from emerging.

It is a different matter that some congregations prefer a missionary as pastor and head of the church. Such a preference is understandable. The missionary usually brings economic resources of different kinds, he has time and ability to manage the necessary contacts with the authorities, he gets his salary from abroad, and he is not really a competitor in any hierarchical game.

When Florencio Sanchez, former president of the *ADB*, had to replace the Brazilian missionary as pastor in the Plan Tres Mil congregation (the missionary had come into conflict with the local Swedish missionaries), the members suddenly had to cough up a salary for him. During all the previous years the missionary's salary had come from Brazil.

Another cherished explanation is that the leadership crisis is a matter of education, of *enseñanza* and *capacitación*. The first concept stands for the supply of knowledge, the other for the individual's own will to profit from the instruction. The argument is that you can become a good leader if you exert yourself and receive instruction. The notion is a good example of the idea that "problems which are mostly of an economic and/or social nature are transformed and expressed in pedagogical terms. In that way the solution to the problem is given: fostering and teaching!"* (Ulla Johansson 1988:33).

The Mission seems to prefer leaders who primarily are sensitive to the ideas and aims of the Mission and who, secondarily, have a decisive influence over the members. A person close to the Mission told me the story of a Swedish missionary and pastor, who had expressed great satisfaction with a Bolivian evangelist and collaborator on the grounds that he had not "contradicted" the missionary "for two years".

A strong and independent head, on the other hand, may lead the whole flock to destruction. The congregation might change direction, it might weaken, and be splintered by internal antagonisms. The Mission in Bolivia has had several depressing experiences of this kind, which have contributed to a considerable precaution. A strong native leader, however, is a threat even when he runs things in good Swedish "Pentecostal spirit", since that would question the need for further missionary presence.

One strategy is to assimilate the presumptive leader into the missionary group, to a certain extent. This was once done, I was told, by giving him certain privileges, like letting him live in the missionary's house, use his car, travel to Sweden, be better paid, and so on. The presumptive leader was given, in brief, a certain access to the world of the missionaries, which is comparatively closed to converts in general. This strategy has so far not been successful, to say the least. Pétursson (1990:162) reports similar difficulties for the Swedish Pentecostal Mission in Greenland in the early 1960s.

The core of the Bolivian leadership is a handful of now rather worn out men, recruited in the late 1960s. Two of my best informants were also two of the most committed evangelists and leaders in the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement. Both had, according to their own statements, a past as committed

Catholics and zealous persecutors of the evangelical missionizing. When they finally, after much resistance, went over to the opposing side they became, following Simmel's pattern, the most loyal and faithful spokesmen for the new.⁸

The significance seems to be clear; the one whose conversion is marked by a greater contrast shows a greater loyalty towards the new. The leaders who today carry the greatest responsibility for the activity, and who work most loyally and selflessly, were converted during a period when it was comparatively difficult to leave the Catholic faith and become a renegade. They converted during an era when the missionary work was still characterized as hard and when the Catholic resistance was obvious. The Bolivians who took the step over to the Mission took certain risks.

Today it is different. The success of the Mission and the evangelical message is apparent and the reports from the different mission fields are often impressive. A new element in the reporting has come about, however. Worried voices talk about the need for "education", for "stabilization" of the converts. The influx of newly saved is counterbalanced by an unexpectedly great "falling away", a second backsliding, this time from the evangelical community. Relations with a relaxing Catholic Church are likely. To become evangelical today is no longer dramatic. The move back or elsewhere is equally simple.

The strong appeals, now heard within the Pentecostal Mission in general, for more Bible schools in the mission field might be, I think, a manifestation of a dubious strategy, if the present lack of reciprocal renewal and new social orders *common* to mission *and* native church is neglected. The difference might be one of "leaders qualified through act or experience rather than through institutional training" (Gerlach and Hine 1968:33). There is a risk that the supposed evangelists will see "instruction" as a way to success as a preacher.

When the Swedish Pentecostal revival had reached a phase corresponding to that in today's Bolivia, the idea still prevailed that theoretical training for preachers was unnecessary and even prejudicial. The essential thing was that the Lord had called. On the Swedish preachers of the nineteenth century Lewi Pethrus wrote.

When in their testimonies they tried to interpret what they read, it was no brilliant thoughts or cunning narrative art which affected their listeners, but it was the heart-transforming experience, that spoke in a natural and unconscious eloquence, unheard-of from the preachers taught at the preacher schools (*predikantskolor*).^{*} (1929:18)

The leadership crisis is a matter of deficient cultural competence, more precisely the missionaries' inability to judge the potential qualities as a leader,

irrespective of their innermost purpose for the recruitment. It goes without saying that Nordic Pentecostal Missionaries, however gifted they may be when it comes to the "discerning of spirits" (1 Corinthians 12:10), can not always be expected to make correct judgements concerning qualities of leadership.

There is, however, an interesting but scarce category in the missionary collective, which seems to be remarkably suited for the job. Moreover, it epitomizes, in a way, the ideal missionary enterprise.

Mixed couples

Marriages, where either the husband or wife is a missionary and the partner a native, possess, of course, exceptional potential prerequisites for mission work. The "romance rule", the Mission's stipulation that members in *MSLB* should fulfil their calling without change of civil status (the rule will be discussed later), has not hindered the advance of love. The contracting parties have often been able to manoeuvre smoothly against the Mission's application of the principle. In the course of the years, therefore, a far from negligible proportion of the missionary staff have married Bolivian partners. That the couple after marriage should continue as missionaries is, on the other hand, not self-evident. This is, perhaps, a logical consequence of the rule.

The mixed couple has a stronger position than that which is otherwise due to missionary or native believer separately. The native church knows that the couple knows things, in a totally different way from the way a foreign couple would ever realize. And the missionary collective knows that the mixed couple knows more than the rest of the missionaries will ever be able to find out. A mixed couple might, in favourable circumstances, retain maximal missionary authority at the same time as they keep maximal convert expertise.

Their suitability is clear, for instance, in the recruitment of native leaders. While ordinary missionary couples run the risk of strengthening each other's erroneous judgements (perhaps further strengthened by an entire missionary collective) the mixed couple, at an early stage and by specific cultural competence, is able to unmask the wolf in sheep's clothing, and to take in the Mission's wishes in the recruitment process.

It may be difficult for mixed couples to be accepted as missionaries by

Swedish congregations. There are also a few examples of mixed couples who, when back as missionaries, have not been completely accepted by the rest of the staff. The couples known to me (three in all) appear, to some extent, to be marginal in the missionary collective and to have some divergent views of how the missionary enterprise should be carried through. The partners in mixed marriages assume interstructural roles which are easily associated with unconscious, involuntary, sources of risk. Mary Douglas gives the example of the wife at Kachin, whose mission is to link two groups of power, the husband's and the brother's, the maternal uncle among the patrilineal Tikopia, and the father among the matrilineal Ashanti.

These people are none of them without a proper niche in the total society. But from the perspective of one internal subsystem to which they do not belong, but in which they must operate, they are intruders. (1966:102)

The Swedish party in a mixed couple loses some of his/her interest in what is going on back home. He or she does not feel the same need to keep up with what happens there. "I feel no need to work for the 'preservation of Swedishness abroad' (*svenskhets bevarande i utlandet*)", said one Swedish missionary, married to a Peruvian woman. This might explain some of the hesitation of Swedish congregations before a commitment to mixed missionary couples. It is quite logical that such persons easily "drift away" from the home country and church. They may thereby get lost as usable "symbols" for the home congregation.

The mixed marriage may also function as a kind of "forum for truth", at least on the side of the convert. The missionary just mentioned told me that he was constantly told, by the wife's relatives, that the Swedish way of thinking was by no means always the best. He saw this as a healthy and necessary correction of his missionary role.

The marriage between missionary and native may be looked upon as a metaphor of the ideal missionary enterprise. Crapanzano (1985:295) notes that "marriage", in South Africa, is often a metaphor for "cultural mixture", a concept well suited to the Mission in general. For a marriage to come into existence and to work, both parties should leave their respective being "at-home" and let themselves be assimilated, more or less, into the world of the counterpart, or rather, into a world that is new to them both. Those mixed couples, who are also active as missionaries, are consequently interesting as examples of a situation where the missionary, otherwise being "at-home",

chooses to leave his abode in order to share the renewal of the convert group. The mixed marriage as metaphor for the "consummate" missionary enterprise makes "teaching" appear an inefficient strategy of change. Mutual renewal, on the other hand, or rather "being spiritual" instead of "teaching spirituality", emerges as a natural method of alternation.

Teaching spirituality

Zudañes, a small town in the Chuquisaca department, with a couple of thousand inhabitants, is the favourite outpost and resort of Reijo Ahtela, a Finnish missionary stationed in Sucre. He rents a house in Zudañes for US\$ 25 a month. It has four rooms, a store and a garden leading down to the river. The house is in disrepair but he can deduct his expenses from the rent. In the garden he has planted potatoes, rye, maize, carrots, lettuce. He relaxes there, and missionizes.

There are some forty converts in the town, but only fifteen of them are baptized. For a period "almost everybody" wanted to be a convert. It became almost abnormal to remain a Catholic. But Reijo eventually saw that something had gone wrong. The converted did not demonstrate any greater enthusiasm for a change from their old ways of life, nor did they appear to see any reason for such a change. The missionary's usual invitation to come up and repeat the prayer for salvation, after the missionary, was taken, Reijo believes, as only a variant of the Catholic confession. They thought perhaps that they were roughly the same.

The missionary is perplexed. His only strategy is not to put pressure on, when it comes to the confirming baptism, but to let it emerge in practice who really wants to start a new life. More instruction is needed, he says, and he assumes the responsibility for what has happened, because of a lack of cultural knowledge on his part. The dilemma now is that a number of individuals are already "converted". He cannot declare that they were not really saved the first time and that they have to do it all over again.⁹ Wait and see is the only possible strategy. Has Reijo made the mistake of "teaching spirituality" instead of "being spiritual" (Burridge 1978:27)?

The missionary is a very popular figure in Zudañes. When we arrive, on his 58th journey to the place (since 1982), he has not been there for five weeks. He is greeted from pretty well every house as we walk along the main street.

They wonder where he has been. No services have taken place, it appears, during his absence. He is a bit disappointed: "You must help yourselves", he says, "I cannot come here every week." He uses sports as a means of reaching out with his message. Several actually ask when Reijo is going to arrange the next soccer match or the next basket-ball match. He speaks just as easily with converts as with non-converts. The great mass of converts some years ago was, perhaps, a response to Reijo's more or less conscious charm offensive. Is Reijo celebrated as a prospective leader, a symbol of liberation from the gloom of the Bolivian countryside, rather than as a mediator of spiritual salvation and a new social order?

Reijo had worked completely in accordance with the missionary field manual (had there been one). The prayer (even if prescribed) and the genuflection are, in principle, what is needed for the miracle to happen, provided the seeker is sincere. The subsequent biblical education is the basis for continuous salvation. In Zudañes, however, the converts obviously showed no interest in changing their lives. They were pretty satisfied with their former existence and the evangelical salvation seemed to offer nothing new. To become *evangélico* instead of *católico* was, rather, a link in a reciprocal gift-exchange between the sympathetic missionary and his sympathizers.

What happened in Zudañes brings us again to the issues of conversion and renewal, no doubt very central concepts in the evangelical mission. Let us start back in Sweden, in the 1950s.

Salvation in *Betania* was mostly preceded by a prolonged period of indecision and inner struggle, a careful consideration of the pros and cons. When the conversion finally took place, if it did, it often bore, in spite of the long hesitation, the character of a dramatic and abrupt "breakthrough", rich in contrast. Such a conversion, without exception, immediately caused a rich experience of renewal in the whole congregation. The newly saved was, for a long time, a source and a centre of the group's mutual process of metanoia.

Conversion in Bolivia, on the other hand, comes easy and without observable ambivalence and inner combat. When the preacher in the Pentecostal church in Cochabamba exhorts "seekers" to come up to the rostrum, *para entregarse*, to deliver their lives to God, generally a large group of people go up to the platform and kneel down. But the formidable response produces only modest reactions among those assembled.

Certainly pleased by the ease with which the conversion seems to take place, the missionaries also wonder at what actually happens. When asked about it one of them said that there is actually no problem in getting people

"saved" in Bolivia. To bring about the first step - the genuflection - is no longer a difficulty. The problem is to instruct and stabilize the converted, to keep him saved and an active member of a congregation. The missionaries sometimes ask themselves, he said, whether the newly saved have as a matter of fact experienced anything at all, whether they understand what it is all about.

Those who go up to the platform, invited by the preacher, usually belong to a category which goes up over and over again, despite being regarded as relatively solid Christians. The missionaries trace here a survival from the Catholic confession. The difference between that and the need for "renewal" and "sanctification" in the Pentecostal Movement is, however, more a question of frequency and form than of difference in kind. Both phenomena should go into the concept of metanoia.¹⁰

A second category goes up for the first time. After the conversion ceremony they are asked to leave their names and addresses and are urged to come back soon. But many of them will not appear again. When the visiting staff look for the new convert, at the address given, perhaps neither street, number, nor person, are where they should be.

When pastor Flores, on the last evening of the week-long evangelizing campaign, took courage and asked how many were present of those who had been saved during the week, no one responded. I was present at most of the meetings of the crusade and could see at least seven or eight "first-timers" go up each night. But we have already discussed this category, in terms of social exchange, so let us return to the first kind.

The form of renewal, apparently most common in the Bolivian congregation, is that the individual leaves the rest of the crowd and goes up to the rostrum, for special intercession. This pattern certainly had its equivalent in *Betania*. There, however, the affair was more dramatic. Such a believer considered himself to be in apparent danger of losing his faith and the communion, owing to some special circumstance, usually a "fall into sin". It was a question of a new "conversion" rather than of a regular renewal. The congregation mostly knew the reason beforehand and had usually prayed to God for some time in favour of the endangered member.

The regular renewal moved on another level, where the need for sanctification did not depend on any special event but on spiritual attrition.

Sometimes we are affected by downheartedness and despair. We experience that our Christian life has become gloomy and monotonous. It has become a routine, everything goes on in the same old rut... Everything has become routine. The spiritual life has lost

its freshness, colour and joy. It feels so heavy and hard. The faith, which should carry us and be a source of joy in our lives, has almost become a burden. The way of faith has, strange to say, become a burdensome way, cheerless, without song of praise and rejoicing.* (Tägt 1985:26)

The most important thing in the collective life of the Christian congregation is its regular spiritual renewal and sanctification, its endless series of metanoias. This ordinary process of collective effervescence (Durkheim), of moments of grace (Stromberg), of outpouring of the Holy Spirit (*Betania*), is precisely collective. The individual renewal is intimately connected to the experience of everybody. It is the *use* of the experience that is individual, not the renewal in itself. I do not mean to say that spiritual renewal could not be experienced in solitude. But the commitment system will not survive if its members do not regularly transcend its social order mutually.

I cannot positively comment on the extent to which this collective effervescence takes place in the Swedish Pentecostal Movement today. Much seems to indicate that its occurrence has diminished considerably or, as in Immanuel Church, been "transformed" (Stromberg 1986:51). I have been able, though, to observe that it is unusual in most of the Bolivian congregations. However, I assume it to be more frequent than I was able to see. Otherwise, the instability would be even larger.

The many personal manifestations of the need for renewal may become, in the eyes of the missionaries, a source of irritation, a "bad habit" reflecting ostentatious needs rather than spiritual ones. To go up "without reason" certainly marks, in a conspicuous manner, one's presence in church as well as conversion. This behaviour should, however, I would suggest, rather be interpreted as a protest against the lack of experience of collective renewal, against the lack of a metanoia which simultaneously strengthens the coherence of the group and promotes the individual's self-fulfilment. The individual's separate manifestation hardly leads to any collective renewal/coherence, however.

What I did see, though, and I think that it is clear from my ethnographic snapshots, was that missionaries as well as native leaders have a strong disposition for "teaching", "education", "fostering". This stress on *enseñanza* is, I think, reflected in the absence of two phenomena, otherwise typical of the revival phase of the Pentecostal Movement (Austin 1981:236-237), namely voluntary personal testimony and individual vocal prayer in public. Prayer in the Bolivian service is almost exclusively said from the rostrum. The impulsive

testimony by members in the audience, which characterized the services of my childhood, is almost lacking in Bolivia.¹¹ Occasional exhortations from the leaders usually fall on deaf ears. Both phenomena emphasize, however, when they happen, the common identity of the congregation as well as acknowledging the legitimacy of each individual's personal and free way to God. The individual ideally is encouraged to use his own words and his own experiences in both prayer and testimony, and he is usually intensively supported by the audience, by praying sighs and glorifying exclamations. The emphasis on education instead of common mutual rebirth, seems to hinder spontaneous expressions like testimonies and public individual prayer - as if these could not be done without previous learning.

Why is the collective process of renewal inadequate in its present form? One key may be found in the fact that joint spiritual renewal appears to be more prevalent within the ethnically exclusive groups (Quechua and Aymara). There everybody seems to take part in glorification and prayer in a way rarely seen in the more heterogeneous Spanish-spoken service.

The missionaries' participation (exclusively in the latter service) is often restrained. They usually do not take an active part in every physical manifestation, such as clapping, gestures, ups and downs, and they do not serve as examples when it comes to testimonies and vocal prayer. Nor do they initiate any sort of exalted behaviour. Their restrictiveness thus contributes to the disparate expression of the service. This reserve is, I think, a signal to the congregation that the missionaries are not prepared for a mutual experience of renewal. They are not ready for immersion into any common new social order. So it often fails to come about altogether. I recognize the phenomenon from *Betania*, where it went under the epithet of "closed in the Spirit" (*stängt i Anden*). The implication was that some of the participants, in one (often subtle) way or another, made it clear that they were not prepared for a mutual spiritual experience.

Imagine, for that matter, a different scenario, in the Zudañes case, in which the missionary primarily seeks to attain his own spiritual renewal together with his new proselytes in Zudañes. No collective effervescence would spring up unless the proselytes *also* were prepared for a change and for a new order. A bunch of faking converts would accomplish no mutual experience.

Social work

Out of 59 Swedish missionaries in Bolivia (in 1990), 17 (29%) are reported to have been "employed in church and congregation", 13 (22%) were assigned to health-care, 14 (24%) were teachers (mainly for missionary children), 5 (8%) were administrators, 9 (15%) were reported as technical staff, and 1 as "other" (*Svensk Missionstidskrift* 1991(3)).

Social work has always been an integral part of Swedish Pentecostal Mission. Evangelizing and social work are, to most missionaries, impossible to separate and unthinkable to carry out separately. From the beginning the medical services were the most typical, such as dispensaries, clinics and hospitals. It was a question of curing the body as well as the soul. Health and medical care are still important elements in the missionary enterprise in Bolivia. They are, however, increasingly overshadowed by institutions like schools, boarding hostels, and children's homes. These institutions are more easily combined with the conversion effort. They are in many ways religious settings, more or less equivalent to Pentecostal congregations. Their aim is, besides their charitable and social function, to facilitate and confirm conversion and the reproduction of a spiritual system.

The Mission prides itself on being a forerunner in "development aid". That is certainly correct. Increasing financial support from secular sources has, however, plunged the Mission into a state of possible "imbalance". The concept of evaluation is connected with the development issue. But it is, I suggest, a principle alien to the missionary venture.

The Mission's increasing social venture is largely an offshoot of the missionaries' striving for self-fulfilment. Such a striving is ideally inspired primarily by the fusion between believer and faith symbols, characteristic of the

commitment system. I suggest, however, that this kind of blessed giving might also become a substitute for a spiritual renewal which is on the decrease. Anyhow, this chapter begins with the culmination of missionary self-expansion, the completion of a large and important school.

Inauguration

Months ahead the missionaries are working night and day. They do not resist the pleasure of adding extra zest to the building. Big birdcage. Fountain with dribbling swan. Labyrinth. Lawn at the main entrance. Flowers. Flags. Sundial.

A school like *Buenas Nuevas* is extremely important to an area like this. A few years ago *Plan Tres Mil* (Santa Cruz) was an emergency zone accommodating the victims of a flooded area in the north. The inhabitants now note that someone considers it worthwhile to take an interest in their future. This interest is combined with a subsidiary (primary) concern, namely that the inhabitants shall eventually become evangelical Christians, but they can live with that. They are used to that kind of engagement. They also know how to profit from it without loss of integrity.

The missionaries talk about the fostering function of the school, such as keeping things clean and tidy. If the children's wash-basins are always clean they might get used to that and demand similar conditions at their parents' and at their own future homes. They will also leave the wash-basin as nice and clean as they found it. The missionaries believe, in this case, in the power of example. The obligatory mobile sweetshops outside the gates must provide waste-paper baskets, if they are to be allowed to stay.

April 25, 1987, is inauguration day. The responsible missionaries bustle about like lightning, putting the finishing touches to everything. All are very kind and happy. It is a festival.

Benches and chairs are arranged in the school yard. At the very front Sweden's ambassador in Lima and his wife, the Mission's president and his wife, and the president of the local education authority. Behind, the missionaries in a long row. Behind them parents and others. At the back, standing, the students.

The ceremony is supposed to begin at ten sharp. The official representative of the town, the mayor, is late, as expected. The missionaries have decided, however, for once, not to wait for the constantly tardy authorities. A small band

from the local regiment strikes up the Bolivian national anthem. A missionary hoists the flag. The Swedish national anthem follows on an electric organ. It sounds, in comparison, a bit weak.

The function is run by the school's Bolivian headmaster. It gradually assumes the form of an Evangelical meeting. The local Brazilian missionary is the first orator. His congratulations are mixed up with spiritual rhetoric and glorification of the Swedish Government. The president of the Mission praises all those who have done their share. He emphasizes that *MSLB* has always been committed to the most needy. He also stresses the need for salvation in order to get to heaven. In order to go to hell, on the other hand, you do not need to do anything, he says. Good deeds will not help. A personal surrender is necessary. He emphasizes that this is a Christian school.

The ambassador congratulates the Mission on the extraordinarily successful result. This is not only a contribution to a catastrophic situation. The Swedish Government sees the school as a tribute to democratic developments in Bolivia.

The president of the local educational authority, a woman, does her very best to show the estimation of the local authorities. At the last moment she had been ordered to replace the Minister of Education. A five-man-strong delegation, promised from the ministry of education in La Paz, has stayed away. The inauguration day had been accommodated to the minister's agenda and the Mission had delivered five air tickets to the ministry. A new agreement between state and Mission, in the educational field, was to have been signed at the ceremony. To say the least, the missionaries were upset.

The ministry of education is trying maybe, by this conduct, to moderate the loss of face involved in the inauguration of schools paid for by a foreign government. In this case, another factor may also be added. Bolivia is a country tormented by its regionalism, that is to say, its interregional antagonisms. Santa Cruz, in the east, is gaining ground when it comes to inhabitants and the economy and lies, in many ways, closer to the big world than La Paz. Santa Cruz may soon claim to be the most important Bolivian metropolis.

My strangest experience at the impressive inauguration was my short encounter with a son of Märta and Gustaf Flood, who were briefly honoured at the inauguration ceremony. Now, in his late fifties, he had lost his job in Argentina. He had come to see an old friend in Santa Cruz, where he had not been for 41 years. The son had not seen his father since 1971 when Gustaf delivered a cargo of sewing-machines to Villa Montes, and he was very touched when I told him that I had seen his father the previous year. For economic

reasons he had not visited Sweden since 1964. Maybe he would go now, if he got a new job. It had not been easy, he said, to be a missionary child, often at school in Buenos Aires, too far away from his parents. He wished he could see his father once more.

In the evening of inauguration day, the first evangelical service was held in the playground of the new school. The next evening I pass the buildings, on my way from a service at the adjacent (Brazilian) Pentecostal church. With its floodlighting, low slender buildings, flying flags, and green lawns, the whole thing looks almost unreal. The establishment seems to float above the ground, as if it were on a casual visit in a strange environment. The district is, however, in a state of rapid transition. The inhabitants are hurriedly changing the area from a catastrophic zone to a rather attractive suburb of the expanding Santa Cruz. The Mission likes to think that the school is the motor in this transformation.

Schools

Schools are important in mission work all over the world. In Bolivia the Mission is at present engaged in large-scale schooling in Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, and Villa Montes. Two small schools have been transferred to the Bolivian state (Paichu and Gonzalo Moreno). The schooling is regulated by a special agreement with the Bolivian state or with the local school authorities. Construction and equipment are financed by SIDA.¹

The evangelical schools are an important means of complying with the mission command. The primary purpose therefore is that students and teachers shall be converted and "come to the faith". Tactfulness, personal commitment and a soul-winning spirit are certainly demanded from the management in order to win students and teachers for the spiritual message. A missionary with many years as pastor and principal of several Bolivian congregations confided to me that, during his relatively short period as director of education, he had "prayed with" more sinners than he had formerly done during many years as a missionary and pastor. The evangelical element in the overall education seems, however, to be moderate. Above all, the regular education must be efficient and appropriate. You could say that the Mission successfully reaches its most important goal by primarily concentrating on achieving its secondary aim, a good education. *Buenas Nuevas* in Cochabamba has, on several

occasions, been highly successful in national and local knowledge competitions and stands out as one of the most distinguished schools in the town.

The missionaries responsible emphasize that they look for good teachers, and not primarily for evangelical ones. But many teachers will become converts after some time at the school, and the same is true for the students. A comprehensive camping activity, where groups of students (80-90) go annually for a four-days camp out in the countryside, appears to contribute strongly to the students' personal decision to become *evangélicos*. The camps seem to be a combination of evangelizing and a nature excursion, where the students, for instance, collect plants. The teachers share the living conditions with their students, which of course contributes to close relations between personnel and students. These camps are similar to the "Youth weeks" which are part of the movement's reproductive strategy in Sweden.

In the accounts of how students and teachers at the schools become Christians, the concept of "conversion" is usually not employed. They rather talk about students and teachers being "positive" to the message, "interested", and that they have "decided" to join the evangelical road. The regular "rebirth" seems to be superseded by a successively acquired "conviction". It is suggested, by the Mission, that the school in Cochabamba has given such a positive image to the Gospel that the people in the surrounding area have, to a great extent, chosen to side with the evangelical faith.

A risk may lurk, after all, in the conversions taking place among teachers and students at the Mission's schools. The positive and interested attitude, which the Mission perceives as a genuine spiritual interest, might be a return service, from teachers and students. The first gift, given by the Mission, is a good working environment, a first-class education and the not unimportant status, for students, teachers, and parents, of belonging to one of the best schools.

My visits to the schools confirmed the image of a very positive atmosphere and a good relationship between students, teachers, and missionaries. The Mission's own explanation, in addition to the impact of an evangelical atmosphere, is that they recruit good personnel, expect great things from the students, and that the school head (a missionary) has an open status-free attitude towards his subordinates. I am sure all this is correct. One thing, however, must be added.

The missionary, at the top of schools and other social institutions, has an exceptional position as being "different". He does not participate in the hierarchical game. No "antecedents" handicap him. He is very middle-class. His

salary is not taken out of the school budget. None of his relatives must be "fixed in" at the school. He is unlikely to be suspected of using his position out of sheer greed. He may be exchanged and replaced by another missionary without any visible complications of a personal nature and he aspires to no post in the Bolivian bureaucracy. In brief, he stands alongside and is, in many respects, harmless to teachers as well as students. All this will change the day a Bolivian is substituted for the missionary. That change will, I suggest, be perceived by many as a change for the worse, supposedly depending on inferior human and cultural qualities on the native side. In reality, however, the present successful venture is maintained by artificial organizational means.

Children's home

Children's homes have for a long time been important in the missionary enterprise. The reasons are obvious. The suffering children first grip the missionary and the suffering of children is also the argument which most directly speaks to the generous home front. Children's homes are also a most potent form of mission, in addition to the evangelical schools. The concept of "children's home mission" (*barnhemsmission*) is accepted usage.² In the children's home the Mission has control over the individual and may, from the roots, build up the correct attitude to the evangelical message. To stay at a children's home is to be as close to the missionary's own home as possible without being a member of his family or his domestic servant.

Even the children's homes have their problems, however. The most obvious is that the children grow up to become youngsters, who have interests and needs which the children's home cannot satisfy. The Mission is preparing to meet even this problem. This involves the Mission more and more in functions which by rights are the Bolivian society's own concern. At present the Mission is engaged in two children's home projects; *Nueva Esperanza* (New Hope) in Cochabamba and *Vida Nueva* (New Life) in Quillacollo.

Boarding hostel

Boarding hostels for young students are a common element in the missionary enterprise in Bolivia and elsewhere. At present the Mission runs boarding

hostels in Villa Montes, Entre Rios, Tarija, Rurrenabaque, and Riberalta. The hostels are generally connected to the local church building. The phenomenon has been taken over from the Catholic mission. There is no equivalent in Sweden. There, when necessary, the much more simple and cheap system of individual board and lodging in Christian families is used instead. (I went through junior secondary school lodging with an elderly and rigidly religious single lady who, on behalf of my parents, kept me in good order.) The possibility of such lodgings exists also in Bolivia, though the Mission chooses for the time being the more unnatural and expensive model of boarding hostels.

The hostels must be seen in the light of their potentiality for evangelization. The close contact with the Mission and the continuous supervision may involve an efficient spiritual education. The boarding hostels are not always efficient, though, as a means of evangelization. When the responsible missionaries in Tarija, in December 1987, went on holiday and left the hostel in the hands of the saved students the activity immediately went astray. The result was truancy and bad reports.

Setting and socialization

The missionaries look at themselves, at the situation in Sweden and at the shortcomings in Bolivia. Their conclusion seems to be that an insufficient amount of spiritual knowledge has been transferred to the Bolivian setting. The missionary often cannot avoid, as Hughes observes, the expectations from congregational members as well as outsiders that he should be their teacher, leader and spokesman. The often inevitable role involves "teaching rather than learning, giving rather than receiving" (Hughes 1978:67). In his capacity as educated Westerner the missionary easily ends up in the role of "dispenser of truth" (*ibid.*). Some effort is needed if he wants to break out of that role.

What seems to happen is that the originally spiritual mission becomes a moral task, an attempt to produce human beings with certain moral qualities. The frustration of this self-assured teaching causes the missionary to devote more and more time to ordinary, mundane, chores (Burridge 1978:27). The forsaken mutual metanoia might become, in other words, a driving force behind the more tangible social effort. Nevertheless, I think that the individual self-realization in the social ventures is their major positive motor.

The convert has small chance of internalizing, in a rational way, the

spiritual and social order which the missionaries try to instil into his mind. His "training" opportunities are limited to the services and other contexts where the missionary teaches. For the rest, at least 95 per cent of the time, he is left in the context from which he should be marginalized through his conversion. The only case in which there seems to be a tendency towards rational assimilation, is when the convert attends the Mission's school, lives at the Mission's children's or boarding home or takes a place in the missionary's home. A fairly good portion of the first generation's pastors (in Africa) had, says Sundkler, as young people been working as "house-boys in missionaries' homes". The first congregation was composed of the missionary household (1960:92-93).

The idea of conversion generally underestimates the importance of the setting. In the missionary's homeland that setting, a stable and integrated congregation, provides not only the relevant knowledge on salvation but also brotherly communion, continuous renewal, and a chance of expanded self-fulfilment. The re-socialization, which is needed if the moment of conversion is to last and be taken seriously, presupposes a true "physical" process of assimilation and of mutual metanoia. Teaching is not enough. The newly saved must, as soon as possible, start to abandon his estrangement and approach the group, at home in the new order of salvation. If no such group (a well integrated and renewal-disposed native congregation) exists (or if it is replaced by "instruction" in the form of "courses") the conversion is imperilled. The "stranger" runs the risk of being left in marginality and becoming a "marginal man".³

Schools, hostels, and children's homes obviously produce a better result when it comes to evangelization than solely a preaching of "God's pure word". These social institutions are no doubt created as a contribution to Bolivia's development, by helping the individual. Children and young people are great losers in a country like Bolivia. At the same time the missionaries recreate a bit of their own Pentecostal setting, within the walls of the establishments. These are sufficiently secluded to generate a "ritual setting" (there are of course differences between the three kinds). A situation may be produced which fairly assumes the character of a Pentecostal congregation.

When I speak about ritual and ritual setting I mean the whole practice characterizing everyday life. For a Pentecostalist that life is often mixed up with ritual in a wide sense. It is permeated by faith and spiritual experience. The quiet prayer, the unbroken "sighing to God", and the perpetual thanksgiving, are normal ingredients in any chore. The ordinary day offers endless occasions for God's benign intervention. In the Mission school, boarding hostel, and

children's home the setting is sufficiently consistent to generate Christian people. In the church the time is too short. Besides, the members of a church might shun the situation in a way the student, the boarder or the child could not so easily do.

The mode is to create a ritual environment resembling the setting which needs to be reconstructed, namely, a living spiritual community, the home of the Pentecostalist. A combination of the church and the Christian home might be efficient as the reproductive unit. At least it is easy to observe and understand that the Swedish missionaries now prefer to work within these institutions. Mind you, I do not mean to deny, by all this, that the Mission's purpose is not also, and perhaps primarily, to help people in physical and mental distress.

Thus the Mission generally seems to use at least two models for the creation of a spiritual commitment system in Bolivia. In the one model they attempt to re-create, in institutional form, the mental ambience which back home takes care of the reproduction. In the other model they try largely to replace the mutual experience by spiritual education. One may say that the former (environment-recreated) favours assimilation, or a gradual growth into salvation, while the latter (instruction) resembles accommodation, or a kind of "mutation" (Park and Burgess 1930:736), which may easily change back if it is not stabilized. The model tending towards accommodation appears to produce unstable and dependent spiritual communities. It is not practised in the missionary's homeland, so he has no real experience of such a method. To create a controlled ritual setting in the form of social institutions is, I think, a way of remaining "at home" in the missionary enterprise. The Mission is left at peace in its institutions by virtue of being a welcomed financier and promoter. The local Bolivian church has no economic or administrative capacity to take any decisive part in this endeavour.

The institutional strategy might be compared to a critical phase in the regular commitment system, namely when the recruitment starts to occur secondarily, through socialization instead of free individual choice. This form of recruitment represents, I have suggested, a step towards the stagnation and ageing of the system. The Mission certainly asserts that teachers as well as students and boarders are saved through a personal and voluntary choice. I suspect, in any case, that the choice is not entirely free. To some extent it is influenced by the circumstances and by the strong wishes of the missionaries.

Why is it that the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement has not by itself created a sufficiently good ritual setting, independently of the Mission and

independently of whether the missionaries participate in the congregational renewal or not? Let me say that such an environment probably exists in some places, such as in Valle Alto or in La Paz (*Vida Nueva* church), where the missionary influence is marginal. The problem is, I suggest, that the Bolivian church is often not left alone to develop according to its own inherent spiritual and social logic. The still strong and multiple connection with the missionary enterprise entails that the Mission still "decides" what is the "right" moral and social order.

To sum up, the Mission, on the one hand, seems to bring about unstable congregations, largely by means of a spiritually and morally distorted instruction. On the other hand it generates spiritual settings, by means of spiritual and moral socialization. These institutions lack, however, the primordial drive of the commitment system, the free personal choice of the adherents, and they probably represent, for that reason, an initial stage of the ageing process.

Mission and development

The Mission's official view of how society should "develop" may appear simple. The individual ought to be "saved" in order, thereafter, to become a "better" human being. This bettering should be produced in more and more believers and the society will eventually be influenced and successively transformed. Missionaries work, so to speak, "from people to structures" (Burridges 1991:224), while development activists in general work the other way round. When I press my informant on this matter he admits that he does not believe that the whole world or even a whole nation will ever be changed in this way. The converted will always be a minority.⁴

In addition, the Mission's view of "development" might, in its extreme form, lead to a neglect of situational factors (Schwartz 1978:240). The question is one of the difference between religion and ideology (Béteille 1978). Since personal salvation implies a renunciation of "the world", being in it but not of it, it is "antithetical to the spirit of ideology which is concerned with either a defence of the world here and now, or its transformation through the struggle for power" (ibid.:55).

It is not fair, therefore, to criticize the Mission's development perspective. The Mission has never, as far as I know, claimed to have any such "perspective". The Mission's engagement in what today is called "community

development" precedes that term by decades. The concept nevertheless deludes us into believing that the Mission also has an explicit theory on how the change will happen. Generally one may say that the Mission's two dimensions, namely social work and evangelizing, correspond to two different approaches in the development enterprise, the one concentrated on change of environment or the physical conditions of the community, the other concerned with change of the members' customary practice (Goodenough 1963:17).

What makes the Mission's development work special and different is, above all, that the technical and intellectual aid is complemented by another dimension, the emotional and the spiritual. Community development in general, if successful, requires "a reorganization of many if not all aspects of living" (ibid.:306). An emotional involvement and commitment, "uncompromising" and "totalitarian", might be necessary.

It is difficult,..., to see how a development project that plans for any major reorganization of a people's way of life can succeed without acquiring some of the religious and totalitarian overtones of spontaneous revitalization movements.... It is not invocation of supernatural power, but emotional involvement, that imparts a religious character to an undertaking. (ibid.:302)

SIDA's policy, to substantially increase the aid channelled through private organizations, is a pattern taken over from the United States. According to Linden (1976:29) the voluntary relief organizations assert that this relation does not entail any accommodation to the governmental aid policy with all its political implications. One can say, correspondingly, that SIDA channels more and more of its funds through mission and other voluntary organizations because these, in their aid practice, show the same policy as SIDA is assumed to have.

It is easy to understand SIDA's acting in this way. The authority has for a long time been able to lean safely on the solid confidence of the general public in the honesty of Swedish mission. Gone are, in this case, the troubles with unreliable native recipients in the poor countries. The policy is politically safe since the top representatives of Swedish Free Churchism have excellent personal relations with corresponding members within most political parties. No criticism is expected from that quarter. The Mission's administrative resources for taking care of the grants are well developed and efficient and its experience of developing countries is still a long way ahead of SIDA's own. Ideologically Swedish mission can show a homogeneity only dreamt of by SIDA's own personnel. That the Mission increasingly uses SIDA resources for the indirect

promotion of the Mission's own cause is, compared to all this, of very marginal importance.

Linden (1976:29-30) suggests two obvious dangers in the fact that voluntary organizations suddenly have a lot of money to spend. (a) Their integrity is in danger when the organizations start to do things just because money is available. (b) When the objectives of the aid are largely identical between SIDA and the private organizations, it is very likely that the latter will make minor adjustments in their programmes in order to keep SIDA happy. Especially when these small adjustments may imply so much money and such great possibilities for action. The argument is interesting and important but will not be developed here. It belongs to what Gellner calls "the sociology of the grant" (1987:211) and is probably a "coming" field of research. It remains to be seen whether the Mission is able to set bounds to how large a share of its working capital can be accepted from the government. Not all missionaries approve of the fact that the volume of the missionary enterprise is increasingly directed by decisions in the Swedish Parliament.

There is also an increased tendency to put the Mission away on contract. This is above all valid for the economy. It is easy to get money for both personnel and the other ventures from supporting organizations. We have reason to be grateful for these organizations, but we run the risk of becoming too dependent upon them. A great part of the health and medical service, for instance, carried on by Swedish Pentecostal Mission, would collapse were the support of these organizations to be withdrawn.* (*TAF* 1982(1):2) (Åke Boberg)⁵

Up to fiscal year 1989/90 inclusive SIDA's total aid channelled through private organizations amounted to 2,975 million SEK (about US\$ 500 million). Of this *PMU* had received about 450 million SEK, or about 15.1%. Among the mission organizations *PMU* was superseded only by the Swedish Missionary Council (*SMR*), which received 695 million SEK, or 23.4% (SIDA 1990). *SMR* represents more than 20 religious organizations.

There is, I suggest, a connection between the Mission's increasing venture into social projects, like schools, children's homes, clinics and so on, and a certain disappointment about the potential for change of religious conversion in Bolivian society. The increasing concentration on community development offers a missionary role which is much more "in command" than when it comes to regular evangelizing work. Moreover, the social institutions have shown themselves to be efficient instruments in evangelization, not least through their good-will function.

However, the Mission's social venture takes place in a context and a social order which is separated from that of the local spiritual congregation. A certain criticism is discernible in the relations between SIDA and PMU. In a recent "Capacity study" (*Kapacitetsstudie*) (SIDA 1991:52-53) the consultant recommends that the "national churches" should take over a larger part of the planning and co-ordination of social projects. "National project leaders" should be recruited and the "nationalization" should be urged on. In plain language the criticism is formulated thus: "You work hard for but not with the people in the receiving country" (*Dagen*, September 19, 1991). The study has been enthusiastically received. PMU appears almost happy that an outsider has finally disclosed its weak points. For the moment no one seems to fear the consequences of a sudden release of the mission's grip.

In terms of my own critique the mission's parallelism, namely, its general independence of the recipients, runs the risk of remaining untouched though in reverse. The converts may be left with the responsibility. SIDA certainly recommends further "education and support" (SIDA 1991:53), a measure well in line with the mission's own inclinations. However, there is still no talk of *mutual change* as a necessary foundation of social as well as evangelical endeavour.

It is a common opinion in the Pentecostal mission that there should be a "balance" between direct evangelizing and social work. Some may even assert that mission without social work loses its credibility or simply is impossible, that in such a case one could not speak of "mission" any longer. But the social part of the missionary enterprise might also become too big.

Biblical support for the balance perspective seems to be meagre. The narratives of Paul's various missionary journeys contain nothing special on "social work". When the disciples in Antioch "decided to provide help for the brothers living in Judea" (Acts 11:29) it was a question of "severe famine". And when the same Paul goes to Jerusalem "in the service of the saints there" (Romans 15:25) it is a question of the ex-heathens in "Macedonia and Achaia" having made "a contribution for the poor among the saints in Jerusalem" (Romans 15:26), that is to say, a sort of social mission in reverse, from the "converts" to the "missionaries".

A more substantial point of view is that social work of any scope, as an attribute of evangelical mission, presupposes that the missionary's home church is "richer" than the group of converts. In traditional mission that is generally the case. Mission between poor countries, as from Brazil to Bolivia, exists and is expanding. The Brazilian Pentecostal mission in Bolivia engages in no social

work which could balance the evangelical venture. If such a balance were to be a prerequisite, a great part of the world's nations would be disqualified from the mission task. The idea of spiritual and social balance is thus a demand connected more with relative wealth than with religious doctrine.

There is reason to assume that there is a "natural" balance in the Mission's commitment to charity. That adjustment is achieved partly by the congregation's "spirit of sacrifice", a phenomenon which is sensitive to different kinds of "states of the market", and partly by the supply of missionaries called to missionize through social work. In the present situation, when national authorities increasingly benefit from the Mission's commitment and good-will, there is no longer any "natural balance" between evangelical and social work.

The Mission's linking up, according to formal agreements, of evangelization with useful social ventures for the country may, in the future, strike back against the general freedom of the Bolivian church. It is not inconceivable that the government in the host country will eventually decide that a "sound" balance between social projects and evangelizing mission exacts a constantly increasing share for "projects". From Burundi pastor Samuel Niyungeko reports that the regime there "in order to give us a piece of land for the building of a church demands... that we also shall build something which is of social significance for the country" (*Dagen*, April 4, 1986).

Evaluation and mission

Some leaders in the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement would like to see an *evaluation* of the mission enterprise. Home congregations, having their missionaries in the field for maybe six or nine years, should send out a representative in order to scrutinize what has been accomplished. The Bolivian leaders certainly could envisage doing it themselves, on request. The demand is founded in a certain discontent with the use of mission resources. That the idea could be expressed at all indicates that the missionary is not conceived of as altogether "holy".

The leaders' wish for a formalization of the evaluation procedure is caused by the experience that informal valuations, or "complaints", from Bolivia to the missionary's home congregation in Sweden, are mostly not possible. The loyalty between home congregation and missionary is strong and charges from the converts might strike back.

An evaluation of the missionaries' work may appear natural at first. The activity costs money, which could always be used in alternative ways. No formal appraisal of the evangelical work in Bolivia has been made, however. The effort is based on tradition and well-trying experience, hardly on any formal analysis of what is "efficient" and "rational". Planning, evaluation, and analysis are, in fact, contrary to the fundamental ideas of mission, and to the conception of the human effort as a subordinate part of God's great plan. While evaluation stands for a scientific principle, mission is based on a spiritual precept. To evaluate mission is to rank the two principles and put the spiritual one lower down. That notwithstanding, *PMU*, the development agency of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement, in 1987 started the Mission Institute (*MissionsInstitutet - PMU*),⁶ in the main financed by SIDA, and with tasks like "evaluation, documentation, and education". The existence of the evaluation concept in the Mission is, above all, caused by its increasing commitment to social work. It is certainly easier to measure the result of social and economic ventures than of spiritual activity.

In Mission doctrine social work is defensible as an integral part of the mediation of evangelical faith, either through the compulsory "you ought to help the whole man" or the efficiency of social work as an evangelical instrument. When social and evangelical work are so intimately connected it is difficult to apply a purely scientific evaluation to the social work alone, since it obviously has a dual purpose. The one is presented, primarily, to SIDA and emphasizes, I suppose, traditional developmental advantages of a social and economic nature. The other is presented, first and foremost, to the Pentecostal congregations in Sweden and stresses the spiritual advantages of the project.

Imagine that the social evaluation of a project concludes that it ought to be shut down. Such an outcome is possible in the Villa Montes case, for instance. Then there is always the other, the spiritual side of the matter. This might counterbalance the non-spiritual evaluation and make closing down appear indefensible. Since the spiritual activity is centred on the individual one can assert that a particular social activity is justified, even if it saves only one soul "from eternal perdition". To discontinue social activity on the plea that "only a few souls are within reach of saving" would, by many mission friends, be perceived as cynical and unrighteous.

Most missionaries see themselves as "instruments through which anyone might accept or reject the divine will and purpose" (Burridge 1978:14). This view puts human rationality out of play in several different ways. You may say that even if things have gone wrong, God has a special plan which we do not

understand and which we should not disregard. A well-done but critical evaluation might be nullified by such a plea. An evaluation, which demonstrates a successful result may, correspondingly, be considered to confirm the divine wisdom, and at the same time prove its own redundancy. Why spend money and effort on an evaluation when God knows best anyhow? It would only confuse, and, worse, be interpreted as a doubt about the divine intervention or as a presumptuous test of God's wisdom.

Evaluation of the Mission's activity has, it appears, the same problematic character as my own study. One reason for the dislike of my study was, I think, that were it to result in a critical report, it would put the Mission in the dilemma of either remaining silent and going on referring to God's all-embracing plan, or of defending itself by the means used by the researcher, namely following the "worldly" rules of the game. Both alternatives are dangerous to the Mission. To be silent might be perceived as that the Mission *could* not defend itself, while to speak might be perceived as an acceptance and a legitimization of the superiority of the "scientific" principle. This is perhaps the key to the Mission's general fear of criticism. A secular critique leaves the Mission defenceless on the level of the critic. It might be interpreted as an attempt to entice the Mission into an area to which it has not pretended to belong and where it runs the risk of renouncing its own ideal foundations.

It is consistent that the Mission should create its own agency of evaluation, where foremost Christian researchers will be given assignments.⁷ Only in that way can the proper balance between the secular and spiritual dimensions be made. The consequence, anyway, will be that the evaluation of mission work becomes a special kind, partly different from "worldly" evaluation, i.e. without elements of spiritual strategy. In the same breath, however, it should be emphasized that evaluation, which is influenced by factors specific to the executing or evaluating agent, is by no means an exclusively missionary phenomenon.

Evaluation of the downright evangelical work is no less complicated. The very thought of it is associated with mistrust. To send out someone (who is not called) to inquire whether the God-chosen messenger has carried out his assignment satisfactorily would be an incongruous act.⁸ To incorporate the concept of evaluation implies, in other words, a new way of missionary thinking. The former absence of the concept did not entail, however, that the missionary could do anything without anybody's intervention. The idiom was different and linked to the idea that even the called individual might enter into erroneous ways and deviate from God's prearranged plan. The assertion of such a *faux*

pas is, of course, a matter of internal hierarchy and power structure in the missionary enterprise as a whole. The outcome necessarily depends on the wrongdoer's ability to mobilize support, even if the process will appear "soft" and marked by "prayer". It is symptomatic that the native congregation has no significant influence on this type of evaluation.

To the Bolivians the matter might be simpler. From their point of view the spiritual dividend of the missionary venture is sometimes unacceptably low. One leader asserted that he could employ ten Bolivian evangelists (*obreros*), "who really work", for the salary of only one missionary, whose contribution he judged as possible to do without. The problem is that the money available to pay missionaries is not equally accessible for alternative uses.

It is no easy thing to measure the result of the missionary effort. The simplifications and assumptions needed are unacceptable (Burridge 1978:14). The evangelical work has, however, its special chance of being evaluated in an objective way, a way which still, as seen from the Mission's perspective, may appear too radical. A congregation founded and edified by the Mission might eventually be expected to help itself. The most objective way to find out whether its effort has been adequate is for the Mission to withdraw completely. What then happens, in the long run, might be seen as a true evaluation.

The demand for an evaluation of the Mission's spiritual effort is a powerful expression of the fact that native congregation and Mission are far from existing in the same spiritual and social order. Evaluation is no solution to that problem. An evaluation of the spiritual result (were it feasible) would further confirm that Bolivian congregation and missionary collective exist in parallel but separate processes of spiritual renewal. A common and mutual metanoia would, on the other hand, eliminate any need for evaluation. Who would evaluate if both parties were existing in one and the same social and spiritual order?

Part IV:
Dispositions and Tendencies

Calling and Organization

To be a missionary is to be committed to some powerful symbols. The most powerful is the *calling*. Put in Stromberg's terms, the relation between the missionary and his calling may be "physical" (1986:13).¹ It is not so much a matter of ideology or idiom as of experience and involvement. He often remembers precisely the time and place of his reception. A missionary is sunk into, absorbed by, enclosed in, the most important symbol of missionary-ship, the calling.

The amalgamation of man and symbol does not entail that all the called share the same meaning of the calling. Rather, it allows for individual freedom and an expansion of the self. The calling is not blabbed about. It rests like a mighty power reserve in the heart's interior, charged, again and again, by spiritual renewal. Someone once said that the missionary candidate bears the calling, but on the mission field the calling bears him. Conversion and Spirit baptism generate the compulsory testimony, of which the missionary calling may be considered a special case (Gerlach and Hine 1968:32).

Consistent with the system's reluctance to debate cultural consensus, the calling is usually not described at all. The decisive thing is the divine recipience, the experience itself. The calling, moreover, is a spiritual gift and as such a potential trigger of spiritual inequality in the congregation. I have suggested that the repeated mutual renewal of the group should make such a latent hierarchy emerge as fictive. Not to talk so much about the implications of the calling might contribute to such a hierarchical fictiveness. It simultaneously keeps its freedom of interpretation.

Spirit baptism and the calling are definitely experiences of the same kind. Early in the movement's history they were, as a matter of fact, believed to be

linked. The gift of glossolalia, ideally accompanying Spirit baptism, was believed to be attached to the calling. Ability to speak with tongues would enable the missionary on the spot immediately to preach the gospel to the pagans, in their own language. Various attempts made in the years 1906 - 1908 were unsuccessful, though. The xenoglossia assumption might actually have been the original instigation to missionary activity of the Pentecostal Movement (Bloch-Hoell 1964:87). The origin of this fantastic idea is, of course, the account in Acts 2:6-12 where, during the first Pentecost, Jews "from every nation" suddenly heard the local Galileans speak a variety of recognizable languages.²

The calling is the most important legitimizing principle of the missionary enterprise. However formulated, it authorizes the missionary to be present in the mission country, to lead the converts, and to be the privileged interpreter of God's will.

However, in missionary practice, the divine intervention is confronted by another principle, namely organization, the application of rational planning and bureaucratic routinization in order to maximize efficiency. I argue that there is currently a drift towards organization rather than godly inspiration as the prime guiding principle. This drift is part of the ordinary ageing process of the commitment system. Differentiation, organization, and efficiency (increased debate on cultural consensus) compensate, in my terms, for a decrease in the spiritual commitment. This is hardly recognized by the missionaries themselves, as is certainly not the alleged contradiction between the two, that the growth of organization could endanger the supremacy of the calling.

It is nonetheless the argument of this chapter that the missionaries by increasingly emphasizing organization run the risk of being seen, in the eyes of the convert, as men and women of a lesser passion, of a much blander persuasion than the one they profess to be at the very core of their own message, and so separating themselves from the fire they intend to ignite.

The calling

One day, back home in Sucre, the missionary Reijo suddenly feels that he must go to Zudañes (about three hours by car, a rough trip). He has actually nothing to do there, he just feels that he must go. One of the "sisters" in the church joins him and off they go. They pass Tarabuco without, as Reijo always does otherwise, stopping there and having a beef and pork sausage sandwich and a

cup of coffee on the plaza. When they arrive none of the *hermanos* are where they should be. "*Dónde están los hermanos?*" "Where are the brothers and sisters?" They are, it appears, gathered in the house we are passing as Reijo tells me the story.

A man lies dying there. He has formerly been a believer, like his wife and mother, but there were marriage problems. Now the man has tried to kill himself, in a common but cruel way, by drinking pesticide. For a week he has been sick, slowly burned from within by the poison. The mother is pleading and praying.

When Reijo arrives the man is unconscious. Reijo speaks to him anyway. Asks if he recognizes the missionary, if he still believes in God, believes that Jesus died also for his sins. The man opens his eyes and looks for a moment at Reijo. "*Creenipuni*", "I certainly believe", he says. After another moment he opens his eyes again and asks: "Is that enough?" Reijo assures him that it is enough. Fifteen minutes later the man is dead.

Why was Reijo's presence necessary? There were already several "brothers" to help! He does not know, but he is glad that he went when the Lord called.

The event is an example of the supernatural touch of the calling. Experiences like this confirm, to the missionary, the authenticity of his calling.

The calling is usually received early in life. A study, reported in *Dagen* (September 12, 1987), reveals that 30 out of 50 had had their calling at the age of twelve or earlier and three out of four before the age of fifteen. One of the missionaries had her calling even "in the womb", another had a vision of future missionary work as a five-year-old. Several had written compositions in school about their interest in becoming a missionary. To accept the calling bestows "a wonderful peace".

The Pentecostal Sunday school has obviously been an important recruitment basis for the Mission. There one was told about "the black children" and the collection usually had them in view. The songs sung dealt with "red, yellow, white, and black" kids, who were all loved by Jesus and to whom the missionaries had gone in order to help. Books for young people dealt with the adventures of the missionaries and their visits to the church stimulated thoughts about mission.

The calling has, of course, its biblical foundation.³ Three Bible passages represent what I am talking about here. When the Lord tells Ananias to go to the Straight Street and ask for Saul from Tarsus, and Ananias for obvious reasons hesitates, the Lord says:

Go! This man is my chosen instrument to carry my name before the Gentiles and their kings and before the people of Israel. I will show him how much he must suffer for my name. (Acts 9:15-16)

When this Saul, now being Paul, writes his letter to the Romans he presents himself like this:

Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, and set apart for the gospel of God ... to call people from among all the Gentiles to the obedience that comes from faith. And you also are among those who are called to belong to Jesus Christ. (Romans 1:1,5-6)

Paul, finally, out on his second mission journey through Asia Minor, has some kind of revelation:

During the night Paul had a vision of a man of Macedonia standing and begging him, "Come over to Macedonia and help us." After Paul had seen the vision, we got ready at once to leave for Macedonia, concluding that God had called us to preach the gospel to them. (Acts 16:9-10)

These passages sketch the biblical conception at the root of the mission calling. There is the personal call, the prediction of suffering, the supernatural experience, the being set apart for the assignment, the separation into believers and gentiles (later to be heathen). There is even the conceivable calling to a certain geographical place.⁴

The still secret calling should ideally be confirmed by a prophecy, at least it was so in the 1950s. The prophecy, in itself a multifaceted concept (Poloma and Pendleton 1989:421), could be a real prediction and ought to be conveyed by some other believer, known for his serious spiritual life. The gift of prophesying (Romans 12:6) is in itself a powerful "physical" merging of believer and symbol. It provides a confirmation of the calling, to the called as well as to his surroundings. The prophecy is usually formulated without specification of name or place. The called knows, all at once, that the prophecy is aimed at him. Clarifications are superfluous. I must admit that I myself, in mission services with a calling atmosphere and prophetic speech, have sometimes wondered whether I was in fact being called to be a missionary.

Calling and prophecy do not exclude deliberately secular activity, if its purpose is to ease the fulfilment of the prophecy and to give the calling and the self-realization a chance. Many missionary candidates invest years of their lives

in special vocational training with the ultimate motive of making the calling practicable. It is paradoxical in the sense that, on the one hand, it is associated with sacrifice, and on the other seems to involve an unusual possibility of self-fulfilment. The missionary "gives his life" in the mission field. But the calling also makes it possible for him to realize himself. Few elderly people express such satisfaction with their often tough lives as do life-long missionaries.

The presumptive missionary may today "try out" his calling. He may go out to a mission field during his holiday or a longer leave of absence. The still active missionary may test his calling to a new place. A need for replacement can come up and the missionary may be persuaded to change his place of stationing, a case in which he may resort to his calling. I have some information about one such case in Bolivia. The family concerned, after some time, gave way to exhortation, and, in order to test their calling, went to the new place and stayed there for a week. When the week had passed they were able to inform their comrades that they were now convinced that they were *not* called to the place in question. The matter was thereby settled. Given the superiority of the personal and direct calling, there was no way of asserting an objective need as a sufficient motive for a transfer.

To put the calling to the test should not be conceived of as a questioning of God's will. It is rather a manifestation of a deferential doubt about one's own receptivity and ability. It indicates that the called admits a risk of contamination by human wishes and considerations. The test also, of course, is a way of giving the "personal chemistry" a chance. The visit in the field gives both parties (old and new missionaries) a chance to judge the practicability of a future co-operation. In the above example the testing was a way of eliminating a potential conflict within the missionary staff. Two callings, one direct and one indirect, were set against each other. The missionary who was trying to persuade the family to move, implicitly asserted the Lord's guidance for this, while the targets of the attempt asserted the opposite. The test demonstrated brotherly love and the human will to comply, but also that these had to be subordinated to God's will.

The concept of calling is closely related to the general concept of (spiritual) freedom, ideally applying to congregation as well as individual member. The called is free to follow his calling. The missionary's interpretation of this freedom keeps him free also in relation to the wishes and possible planning of the native congregation. The Bolivian church can not order the missionary to one or another place or to the or the another task, should it not coincide with the missionary's own calling. It creates a preferential right of

interpretation of God's will, though always submitted to the guidance of the Spirit (*andens ledning*). The significant difference between missionary and native church justifies the fact that God talks first through the missionary, not through the convert group.

The freedom is also a freedom to a special self-sacrifice. A Finnish family initiated pioneering work among Japanese immigrants in eastern Bolivia, in a relatively isolated and unhealthy area without any comforts worth mentioning. The couple was, missionary colleagues asserted, driven by a particularly strong calling. Thus, the concept may be used as an excuse, or, rather, as a justification for individual self-realization. Differences in "strength" and "endurance" may be explained by inequalities in the force of the allotted calling. The emic word would be that the calling is used "in proportion to his or her faith". The calling may even be stronger than the denominational affiliation. Missionary Ingmar Bergfors told me that he belonged to *Svenska Missionsförbundet (SMF)* when he received God's calling to Bolivia. Since *SMF* had no mission there he went over to the Pentecostal Movement, to be able to carry out the charge. Like most "renegades", he is now an ardent defender of Pentecostal values.

The environment's reaction to an asserted calling may generally be said to correlate to the expected amount of hardship in the presumptive mission field. The person who is asserting a calling to missionize on some of the sunny islands of Hawaii should count on more scepticism than the one who declares himself chosen for work in Mongolia. It may, in other words, be less easy to proclaim a calling to a place where you would obviously like to live, even if you were not called to do it. Hence the difficulty for missionary candidates from poor countries to assert God's calling to missionize in richer quarters ("mission in return").

The freedom of the calling is implicitly opposed to the concept of organization. The person insisting on the calling as a superior principle is asserting God's organization. The incalculable rationality of several missionaries' different callings is a manifestation of God's plan. On the other hand, the person who is stressing the advantage of an overall organization is assigning a secondary role to the individual calling.

Asked about the reason for the many conflicts between missionaries in the field, a very experienced Bolivia missionary is said to have replied that it could be attributed to the fact that missionaries are usually very strong-willed personalities. They must be, he asserted, in order to come out into the mission field at all. The strong will might be necessary to get away, but why should it cause dissonance in the mission field?

It is a general problem for the missionary enterprise that its lack of cultural consensus is somewhat prone to disclosure. In the field, where missionaries are supposed to work together full-time, the collaboration often needs to be made clear and explicit. Suddenly those "brethren" appear "discordant" who were always unanimous while they were still at home. The fate of the Bolivia-farers has been presented as an example of this phenomenon. Any assumption that "problems" in the mission field are caused by "strong personalities" might be qualified by the statement that there, more than at home, one discovers an otherwise veiled lack of consensus.

A general strategy is used to uphold the prime value of the calling and to tone down the lack of cultural consensus. The missionaries do not "interfere" with each other's work in any other sense than generally to encourage and pray for each other. This means that the missionaries do not criticize each other's work, nor do they co-operate to the optimal extent, but they let each one do his own thing. The result may be that some activities become "one-man operations" and that the missionaries sometimes find it difficult to finish (or redirect) projects by common and joint effort. I have already discussed the tendency towards "soft" decision-making. A long-term line and planning are difficult to combine with individual callings. The Mission's work easily becomes a conglomeration of individual wills and projects without mutual consistency and homogeneity. Potential "mistakes" are quickly stowed away instead of being brought up for treatment and analysis, for learning for the future.

I have talked to some ten missionaries about Villa Montes, more or less thoroughly. Each one had his own personal idea of the difficulties and his own recipe for a solution. A common attitude does not exist. Should it exist it is, it seems, limited in time to the period when the unanimous missionaries are together on the spot. Change of staff often implies change of strategy. The increasing influence of *PMU* (supported by SIDA funds) successively entails, however, a considerable tightening up (organization). The large projects in Bolivia, financed by SIDA or NORAD, have been carried through with an admirable efficiency and collaboration, and with notable results.

The calling principle, which probably causes the most strong-willed and enduring candidates to win, is parsimonious of effort. It does not demand any laboured institution of selection but automatically sifts off the "weakest". It cannot be helped that perhaps some candidates are sifted out who might have other suitable qualities. We do not know anything for sure about that. The calling is apt for a system lacking aspiration towards cultural consensus. It is, as the Mission sees it, God's own instrument of selection.

Traditionally the calling has been the subject of economic restriction. The called, previously, often had to wait many years before the economic prerequisites would emerge for an accomplishment of the assignment. During these years, as a "missionary candidate", the firmness of the calling was put to the test. The congregation that was sending the missionary out, the group that took common responsibility for his maintenance, had good opportunities to judge the candidate's personal qualifications. What tended to look like a painful period of waiting and an unnecessary postponement of an urgent task, was, in fact, a period of apprenticeship with highly secular elements. It could, for instance, be a matter of waiting for the candidate's choice of a suitable marriage partner or the single person's firmness to stand by his/her choice to remain so.

The prospect of sending out missionaries with the help of SIDA grants has changed and complicated the calling institution. The subsidy, *lönbidrag*, is fixed at 90 per cent of the ordinary missionary salary, which is regulated through a general recommendation from *PMU*. The remaining 10 per cent are paid by the church which is sending out the missionary. This financial feasibility has eliminated the prolonged period of probation and reflection. "In Sweden it is now like this", said one missionary, "when a person comes and says that he/she is called to go out as a missionary, the management of the congregation will say: Oh, and what are your skills so that we can get a volunteer grant for you?"⁵ The SIDA grant has, no doubt, secularized the calling concept. It is now, sometimes, a matter of having the right education and professional experience, rather than of having received a holy commission.

The weight of the divine calling is generally a function of the prospect of financing its realization. Those who asserted a calling in earlier years mostly had no economic means of their own for the outward journey and for living expenses. The "maintenance"⁶ had to be arranged through voluntary collections and informal future undertakings among the congregational members. Things are different today. He who wants to test his calling may take a flight out of private means. The lively pensioner can make a contribution, as a self-supporting missionary, entirely without cost to his fellow members. A SIDA volunteer may calmly trust his professional skill more than his calling, when it comes to financial support.

Another concept now appears alongside the calling. That is the missionary's personality. This displacement, from a spiritual to a secular, psychological, and everyday concept, may be seen as a necessary accommodation. The modern mission demands, simply, a more refined instrument of selection. The

calling is allowed to stay at the base as an ideal and fundamental factor of discernment, while the personality may manifest itself in the details. That is the way it has always been but now the recruitment is such a fast process that the personality has no time to manifest itself naturally. A special emphasis is necessary. In the latest edition of *Missionsbetänkandet* the dramatic kind of calling is toned down in favour of a calling that "comes to maturity" (*mognar*).

"The need is my calling" (*behovet är min kallelse*) said one Swedish missionary in Bolivia. The attitude is representative of a changing view. A leading Swedish mission ideologue even suggests that the factual need for workers may suffice as "calling".

The Spirit may speak in many different ways,... The great demand for new missionaries both within the evangelical and the social work may be a calling. (Boberg 1989:16)

Such a stance opens the door to an increased formal management of the mission venture. The personal and general calling (to save whatever souls) will remain as the keynote while the actual period and geographical stationing can be laid in the hands of a central authority. Such a development seems plausible and is in line with a general tendency towards increased formalization (planning) of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. It is also, I think, a kind of prevention. *Pari passu* with the systemic ageing, a decreasing prevalence of divine experience is to be expected.

The problem is that the "need", a concept which might be disputed and allowed to rest on statistics and other secular forms of comparison, will not be able to compete favourably with the traditional "calling" when it comes to symbolic capacity. The question is, in short, whether the missionary could have the same "physical" experience of a statistical "need" as of "God's calling".

Holiness and efficiency

Calling and organization, the basic antagonistic dyad of this chapter, might be supplanted by holiness and efficiency, both potential consequences of individuality (Burridge 1978:15-16) and possible rejectors of a traditional order. While holiness is a spiritual quality, efficiency is secular in character.

The native congregation determine whether the missionary is holy or not, in their context. The missionary who not only instructs, helps, and mediates, but is also spiritually transformed in the same way and moment as the congrega-

tion, may become holy in the eyes of the members. The mutuality between missionary and convert in the spiritual renewal is, I suggest, a critical factor.

The holiness goes with a self-evident and a fictive hierarchy. It is a quality obtainable for each and every believer, closely tied to the Holy Spirit. The efficiency, on the other hand, is typical of the pragmatic hierarchy which must be maintained by status-promoting measures. The efficient person must occupy a position, a specific role, a task, to which the reputation for efficiency could be tied and for which its standard might be specified. He must surround himself with symbols of status and appropriateness, such as a bungalow, car, aeroplane, salary, holiday, insurance, conferences, contacts, special training, and so forth.

The holy person, on the other hand, might do without materialistic symbols but has anyway, by virtue of his holiness, i.e. his fusion with spiritual symbols, a self-evident authority and an inevitable power. The holy man does not produce any "projects" which later must be "delivered". He transforms by means of the power of example. The holy missionary may not be characterized as "efficient" or "inefficient". He would not be measured by such secular standards. No one demands an "evaluation" of what a holy missionary has achieved. He certainly could also lead the flock astray, as seen from the Mission's point of view.

The efficiency which the missionary unquestionably demonstrates, and which sometimes brings him to his sickbed as a result of overstrain,⁷ might lack significance for the common Bolivian. Its purpose is certainly to help the natives, but it is most easily observed by colleagues and home congregations. Efficiency is a consequence of the "expansion of the self", realized in a non-spiritual context. It is also a symbol of the missionary's "being at home" and he sometimes looks with contempt at the waste of time and human resources to which the Bolivians seem to devote themselves.

The converted Bolivian cannot assess the missionary's efficiency since generally he does not see him "at work". The Bolivian "sees" other things, like the missionary's high living standard. Moreover, the missionary's efficiency may show, and do justice to itself, only in a specialized assignment, which the missionary alone will master, for instance in running courses, being a nurse, a teacher, a doctor, a pilot, and so forth.

Missionary efficiency no doubt brings advantages to the native congregation and its members. One benefit is particularly evident: the missionary's exceptional competence in his contact with the Bolivian bureaucracy. His official position, the Mission's formal agreements, and the special weight attached to foreigners in a country like Bolivia, make the missionary outstand-

ingly competent in his relations with the authorities. (That does not mean that the missionaries' relations with Bolivian officialdom are problem-free.) An important motive of the congregation in Villa Montes, to keep a missionary as principal, was that such a person would be more able to stand up to the troublesome local authorities.

This "efficiency" bears, however, the stamp of manipulation, since the Mission's dealings with the Bolivian administration do not result in any change in the latter's manner vis-à-vis the common Bolivian citizen. The Mission's efficiency with the Bolivian bureaucracy is of the same kind as the potency generally characterizing those privileged in power. The missionary gets results with the bureaucracy largely because he is a "missionary" and a foreigner, not necessarily because he is "efficient" as an individual.

The missionary's home church usually sees no antagonism between holiness and efficiency. There holiness rather presupposes a certain amount of productivity. All that contributes to a successful mission is holy, or could at least not be characterized as unholy. This stance is reflected in the fact that the title "missionary" is given also to non-evangelizing categories.⁸ In the eyes of the home group the ordinary missionary would jeopardize his holiness if he were not to return regularly to the mission field, without an acceptable reason, or if he were deliberately to abandon the "social order" of the home congregation and let himself be transformed mutually with the native church.

A third kind of conduct might endanger the missionary's holiness vis-à-vis his home church, namely if he were to give up a piece of work which had already been started. Mary Douglas has pointed out that the demand for completion is relevant to the Old Testament concept of holiness (1966:52). Besides, Jesus says, in Luke 9:62, "No-one who puts his hand to the plough and looks back is fit for service in the kingdom of God". This obligation tends to prolong missionary control.

The missionary, who commits himself to the calling and the mission system, discovers new possibilities opening themselves to him. He conceives of these potentialities as compatible with his calling, i.e. with God's will. Probably he would not consider these new prospects as in any way negative to the spiritual activity he is out to promote. One may even say that missionary work offers a special chance for the believer fully to express the "expansion of possibilities" which the conversion and the calling are generally considered to give.

Back home, the saved person has to "fulfil himself" mostly outside the church context. Not so in the mission field. There the whole missionary

existence, a priori, is marked by spirituality, embedded as it is in missionary ordination and played out in a supposedly spiritual arena. Here lies the dilemma. There is, I think, a discrepancy between what the missionary perceives as spiritual (his whole existence) and what the group of converts sense as relevant to a spiritual and holy assignment. The convert mostly has to enact his own expansion of possibilities on the non-spiritual scene and might think that the missionary, if he does anything, thereby loses some of his holiness.

A successful missionary enterprise requires, I think, that the group of converts is able to see the missionary in action, not only as preacher or teacher, or as church visitor once a week, but as someone who is almost identical with the congregation. His whole existence, all his time, should create and recreate the local pattern for the Christian life, the converted existence. This would, I think, entail exactly the mutual metanoia, looked for by Burridge and myself.

The transfer of spiritual initiative and spiritual guidance to the leaders of the native church is problematic since it may be perceived, at least by the ordinary member, as a missionary dissociation and a declining holiness on their part. When the missionary stays away from the services, when he does not pray in public or sit at the front, when he ceases to participate in every prayer meeting and Bible study, it may be intended as a signal of confidence to the Bolivian believers. Such behaviour might, however, on the other hand, legitimize their own absence or uninterested performance. It also makes the pragmatic hierarchy visible. The missionary does not *need* the community and does not *need* the spiritual renewal.

The missionaries in Bolivia have, to a large extent, abandoned spiritual example as a means. They rely instead on "teaching". The transfer of the spiritual activity is a consequence of the missionary's appearance as a spiritual teacher, not as a spiritual being who himself needs change and constant renewal. The missionary finds his own spiritual renewal and sanctification within his own individual context, not in communion with his "pupils".

Efficiency is a concept often used by the missionaries. The demand for efficiency is, among other things, a motive for the missionaries' relatively high standard of living. Whether the missionary should employ a domestic servant or not is often a delicate question for the recently arrived missionary family.⁹ Ideals of equality assert themselves but are usually overcome. One missionary couple, with a year and a half in the field, emphasized that, at first, they considered it a luxury that most of the missionaries had a domestic servant. Later they completely changed their minds. It takes, they asserted, an awful lot

of time to shop and prepare food in Bolivia. To have a domestic servant is necessary if one wants to be efficient and not constantly occupied with housework.

Strictly speaking, the missionary's whole privileged situation may be legitimized by the need for efficiency. The Bolivian Christians note, however, that the missionary, in order to be more efficient, always tends, at the same time, to make his life more comfortable. Less often does he dedicate himself to weeks of prayer and fasting, to meticulous and trying language studies, or uncomfortable evangelizing trips, for the sake of "efficiency". The missionary is no doubt impressively hard-working, though in a secular rather than a spiritual way.

The problem is, I think, that convert and missionary move in two parallel but non-uniform spheres of spirituality. Missionary avoidance of mutual metanoia ends up in a situation where missionary and convert belong to different orders and differing concepts of holiness (and efficiency).

A mutual spiritual experience would produce a common distinction between the spiritual and non-spiritual spheres. Some of the manifestations of missionary self-expansion would then be perceived as private or secular rather than spiritual, though (as for the converts) inspired by the collective ritual experience. Such a process would tend to equalize missionary and convert. Furthermore it would reduce the internal splintering among the missionary staff (now caused by the disclosure of a lack of cultural consensus). The missionaries' various operations, outside the evangelical endeavour, would not appear as "mission" but as (social) work, carried out by missionaries, in their "spare time". A mutual metanoia would probably limit the missionary's potentialities for "freedom". The missionary pattern of self-fulfilment at least would change.

Mission and institution

To say that the Mission is putting more emphasis on efficiency and organization, as against calling and holiness, is to say that it is undergoing institutionalization and ageing. In the early twentieth century the Swedish Pentecostal Movement was considered dangerous to Swedish society. The same thing had happened formerly to the Baptist movement. Today the *Livets Ord* (Word of Life), a recent "faith movement", is aggressively attacked as being anti-social (Coleman 1991). What primarily was considered "dangerous" was the

movement's services, its rituals. Ritual may be potentially subversive. Under tribal conditions,

from the perspectival viewpoint of those concerned with the maintenance of "structure", all sustained manifestations of *communitas* must appear as dangerous and anarchical, and have to be hedged around with prescriptions, prohibitions, and conditions. (Turner 1969:109)

Under non-tribal conditions, as in Sweden, the taboos are replaced by condemnations through the media and even questioning by the social sciences. However, what usually happens, independently of such external pressures, is that the commitment system becomes institutionalized. The external constraint is replaced by an internal structure in which the revolutionary nature of the *communitas* is reduced to "a subversive flicker" (Turner 1982:44). In short, the ritual is "tribalized". My point is that this form of "tribalized ritual", a ritual which is controlled by the movement's own internal structure, is transferred on to the mission field and maintained there. The missionary logic is that "mission is not supposed to be political", assuming that tribalized ritual is compatible with Pentecostal revival. My point is not, however, that the Pentecostal ritual is in fact socially subversive, only that its ideal expression has a subversive nature, sufficient to frighten those concerned with the maintenance of structure. Social consensus might inspire "an impassioned plea to act without saying what to do" (Stromberg 1986:47). Lack of (debated) cultural consensus however, hinders consorted subversive action.

The Swedish Pentecostal Mission is today an integral part of official religious and philanthropic Sweden. Authorities like SIDA and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs have great confidence in it. The Nordic Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia is a highly respected venture, not least by Bolivia officialdom. The Swedish Pentecostal Movement is apparently satisfied with this situation and happy in its role as an accepted partner, socially presentable, and in the same category as Save the Children Fund and the Red Cross. I characterize this process as the Mission's institutionalization and a manifestation of its ongoing ageing.

The Mission is today a societal institution, a genuine and accepted part of modern secularized society. Gone, to a great extent, is the supernatural touch. Gone also, it is to be hoped, is the time when the Mission was subjected to persecution. The Nordic Pentecostal missionary in Bolivia does not suffer any longer "for the Word's sake". His object lies *within* the worldly order, not outside it. The ideal purpose of the Mission is not to be an unpleasant critic.

The Mission cares for its reputation within the same worldly structure which it prides itself for having rejected through conversion.

The institutionalization is apparent also in its formal attachment to the surrounding structure. The Mission has several agreements of co-operation with the Bolivian Government. As noted earlier, one of the missionaries (a Bolivian citizen) has in recent years simultaneously been mayor in a small town, as the representative of one of the governing parties. Another missionary is Swedish vice-consul in Cochabamba. Sweden's ambassador (in Lima) (or Norway's in Santiago) regularly inaugurates those of the Mission's larger social ventures which have been financed by SIDA or NORAD. At least two of the missionaries held honorary posts with the Bolivian police authorities. The Mission has a special priority agreement with the national airline company. Diplomatic driving licences and tax-free car imports are also some of the phenomena which characterize the Mission as an institution. It has a rather "secure" position in the Bolivian society and is partly incorporated into the traditional system of privilege.

The wished-for revival, on the other hand, needs no "institution" to expand. The institution is rather a surrogate which becomes necessary when the ardour of revival is dying down.

The Nordic Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia, after more than 70 years, evidently wants to stay on, feeling responsible for what has so far been achieved. The question is whether the Mission runs the risk of bringing the Bolivian Movement into a premature institutionalization. I suppose that, in general, a smaller contrast, when it comes to the revival stage and even in social circumstances, between missionary and convert, would facilitate the necessary communion and reciprocity of the renewal process.

The gradual development towards stagnation and institutionalization of revival movements is a well known and widely described phenomenon, discussed by authors like Max Weber (1956), Ernst Troeltsch (1912), Richard Niebuhr (1964), Howard Becker (1959) and Milton Yinger (1970). The argument is summarized by Dahlgren (1982). I am primarily interested in that aspect of the evolution which Becker calls "The Aging of the Sect" (discussed in Chapter 2). The whole thing is largely a matter of time, of demography, and of one's love for one's own offspring. It is, in other words, a matter of endogenous dynamics.

Training missionaries

The adherents of a commitment system certainly share an understanding of its central cultural elements. However, on a deeper level they show divergent interpretations of these symbols, not least of their importance in the devotees' own lives (Stromberg 1986:11). This lack of cultural consensus corresponds to the formerly restrictive attitude on the part of the Pentecostal Movement towards formal, theoretical, education. The dominant opinion has been that theological instruction extinguishes the revival glow rather than the other way round.

Education means a move towards consensus, or rather towards a debate on its necessity, reducing the individual believer's latitude of interpretation and idiosyncratic use of symbols. In view of this, one may wonder about the present "teaching strategy" used by the Mission and the native church. They attempt, it seems, to create a consensus which they assume for the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. The teaching is certainly kept on a fundamental and biblical level, but the principle is nevertheless the same: The *teaching* of spirituality tends to replace the spiritual *existence*.

The degree of consensus debated could perhaps even be a standard for the ageing of a movement. The more committed to "paper", the higher the degree of discussion and striving towards uniformity. Correspondingly, the believer's liberty to adopt an idiosyncratic and un-debated interpretation will diminish. The usefulness of the experience of the faith symbols will decrease. Burridge asserts that: "Holiness, piety, and devotion to God and community do not in any way depend upon literacy and a formal education" (1978:13).

The stance of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement, concerning intellectualism and theoretical teaching for pastors and missionaries, was initially formulated by Lewi Pethrus in his *Predikanten och hans utbildning* (The preacher and his education).

When God gives to his congregation one of the witnesses He himself has chosen for his work, He has taken a decisive step for the creation of its capability. The God, who endows his messengers with the necessary spiritual gifts for service, is also the one, who has created and formed the human vessel. And since He selects his messengers from the womb (Galatians 1:15), He begins also at the same point of time to prepare them for their godly duties. You therefore might expect that he, whom God has chosen for a special task in his kingdom, will have the natural gifts suitable for the premeditated godly assignment.* (1929:14)

Lewi Pethrus here sides with God's organization, the calling, in preference to teaching or human organization. There is still today a lingering resistance against "too much" formal and theoretical education for the missionary assignment.¹⁰ The most important thing is still that God has in some way called. As might be expected, a change is under way. Some of the missionaries have asserted that the present preparation for missionary activity is insufficient. No one has expressed the opposite view. The increasingly differentiated missionary enterprise demands educated collaborators. The ongoing differentiation has, on the other hand, automatically resulted in an improved general level of education in the staff.

The supposed need for additional formal training forms part of a current trend towards the centralizing of the Swedish Pentecostal Mission. A regular formation of key personnel is a well established way of increasing uniformity and facilitating management. Several of the Pentecostal folk high-schools now have special "missionary programmes". A special Mission Institute is working in education, evaluation, and documentation.

There is, in the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement, an enormous cultural knowledge of what it is like to "handle missionaries". This fund of knowledge is not utilized in the missionary training, since it is against the missionary logic to take the position of disciple in relation to the missionized people. The "significant difference" cannot, it seems, be so openly attacked. The very point of departure for the Mission is to teach and to give, not to be taught and to receive. A training based on the recipients' accumulated experience would involve a restriction for the Mission. The Bolivians, however, would get an excellent forum for criticism and a channel of longed-for influence.

The fact that the missionary group itself takes care of the new missionary's introduction into Bolivian society could be interpreted as another parallel function, one more factor which will preserve the missionary's thinking as usual. The actual receiving group, the Bolivian congregation, is, correspondingly, locked out from important information about the stranger, the new missionary.

Some mission ideologues in Sweden want to incorporate more anthropological theory into the fundamental missionary education. Behind this trend lies, I think, an assumption that the most appropriate mission strategy now is the "inoculation" of Christianity into already existing cultural conceptions (see Burridge 1978:21). Called a "paradigm of incorporation" (Alvarsson 1988b:11) this strategy is characterized by "cultural relativism", in which the Mission's task is not to change the culture of those who are missionized but "to combine with complementary knowledge, for instance on Christ as mediator between God

and man, which could be incorporated into all cultures and societies"* (ibid.:12).

A supposed need for more knowledge in other subjects than the Bible and congregational care is, to my mind, an example of the penetration of organization, or even science, into the missionary enterprise. Alvarsson (1988a:6) appears to suggest that the mission process runs the risk of dying down if anthropological science, in the form of "Missionary Anthropology", is not given more space. He himself contributes actively to the successively improving reputation of anthropology among Swedish missionaries. This is done by the introduction of courses on cultural knowledge into missionary education.

I personally remain a sceptic about the notion of anthropology as a general blessing for evangelical mission. The missionaries may, Alvarsson writes, by studying anthropology and its methods, expand their knowledge and their understanding so that they can "... bring up the message they want to convey in such a way that it gets the optimal result without undesired side-effects"* (1988c:4). This is probably an exaggeration of the capacity of anthropological science. In addition, it is, I think, a principle alien to missionary zeal.

The Mission's general purpose is to use anthropology as a means. My objection is only that the prime contribution of anthropology as a science, to practical and personal life, is clarity. This "clarity entails distinguishing ends from means and evaluating their consistency with one another" (Willner 1973:548). There is, I think, no guarantee that the missionary use of anthropology as a commodity will not result in "clarity" and a separation of ends from means. That may involve an extinction of the mission ardour.

To become a professional evangelical missionary, a trained spiritual agent of change, is no doubt sufficiently demanding to exclude, in the majority of cases, the feasibility of any other additional professionalization. The most important aspect of any training would be, I suggest, "to help individuals achieve purposive changes in themselves" (Goodenough 1963:27), or, in my terms, to achieve preparedness for mutual metanoia.

The insistence on more education for missionaries (and converts) is, I think, a manifestation of a generally felt uneasiness about the unstable situation in many mission fields. An expected stabilization of the work tends to remain absent and the morally pervasive force of the conversion appears to be insufficient. Expected social consequences of the Mission's efforts do not take place. The need for continued missionary presence does not lessen as expected. The Swedish Pentecostal Mission attempts to master this situation by an increasing rate of organization and efficiency, not to mention an escalated amount of "blessed giving".

The Blessed Giving

Mission is almost synonymous with giving. First of all, the Gospel, the "message of joy", is given. Salvation through the agency of the Mission is the prime gift. The missionary may give his whole life in the mission field. He himself is a gift from far away to the mission field. The missionary inspires his home-church members to give spiritual and tangible love-offerings, ranging from intercession and concern to second-hand clothes, new cars, big schools, sheltered orphanages, and beautiful churches. Officially, the spiritual is the most important. Most conspicuous and problematic is the material.

Any attempt to analyze the problems of gift-giving is easily apprehended, by the Mission, as a malevolent and depreciating interpretation of a self-sacrificing work of love. My aim is, in any case, not to present, once more, the traditional and unambiguously bright image of the giving. For a change I shall attempt to pull out the less debated and more ambivalent side of the enterprise. I shall try to uncover the root of those problems which the Mission, after all, acknowledges do exist. For it is a common opinion among missionaries as well as among Bolivians that material help to converts easily results in a superficial spiritual commitment, easily abandoned if and when the help comes to an end. A bias towards the material side could give quantitative success but could also result in qualitative deficiency.

My general purpose, in this chapter, is to point to the reverse of "the blessed giving", the not so blessed receiving, and to the consequences of the fact that an equivalent return is consciously excluded from the outset. To help "the poor" is sometimes insisted on as the special mission of Christianity. Those rich Bolivians who will never lift a finger to help any of their poor *paisanos* (compatriots), will be excused by the Mission with reference to their not being

"saved". The duty to help can even be described as perhaps the most important, the decisive, duty for a Christian.

Erik Byrén, the Bolivia-farer, once delivered a lecture lasting about an hour, in his kitchen in Entre Rios, to me and the young maid, the constantly busy "sister Bertha", on Matthew, chapter 25, the latter part. Jesus speaks there about the "Son of man" who will separate the sheep from the goats, depending on how they have treated those "hungry", "thirsty", "strangers", "needing clothes", "sick", or "in prison". The Bible passage is a strong argument for the idea that charity is critical for the righteousness and final salvation of man. Erik's point was that chapter 25 and chapter 26 have been deliberately separated to take away the sternness in the words. Chapter 26 opens with the message that this was Jesus' last speech to his disciples. Accordingly it was, Erik thought, the most important one. Had that been more evident, the message would have appeared "too powerful", he felt.

The giving of the Mission thus rests on the Scriptures. In Acts 20:35 we find the well-known maxim *It is more blessed to give than to receive*. That sentence formulates, "in a nutshell", the anthropological status theory on the gift. Here the Bible seems bluntly to encourage unilateral gift-giving and to legitimate the missionary indifference to the consequences of a balance of exchange being lacking. The passage was, however, formulated in a very different situation. Mission is no longer the individual task of the called, but the material and spiritual outcome of the joint effort and combined resources of many. The "blessed givers" in Sweden have no direct contact with the final "poor receivers". The gifts are supplied by the missionary whom the givers have sent out. In that way "the charity chill" (Linden 1976:6) is avoided. The missionary is a buffer between donor and recipient. The problem remains, nevertheless, out in the mission field, in the shape of operational instability. The receivers tend to transfer the responsibility for their spiritual as well as their material well-being to the giver, the Mission. The receiver's initial gratitude might, furthermore, after some time turn to insistence on more help and perhaps to aggressiveness if his demands are not satisfied.

In this chapter I shall try to lay out the ideological foundation of the blessed giving, including its counterpart: independence vis-à-vis the recipients. The inescapable negative effects of asymmetry are exemplified, as is the (usually latent) Bolivian criticism of the Mission. The keynote of this chapter is the antagonism between giving and receiving, or rather, between the blessed giving and its alternative, as I see it, namely, mutual spiritual experience. I finally relate such a possible case.

The blessed giving

Paul, the first Christian foreign missionary, on his way home to Jerusalem after his third mission journey, sent for the Elders of the Ephesus congregation, and had the following to say.

In everything I did, I showed you that by this kind of hard work we must help the weak, remembering the words the Lord Jesus himself said: 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.' (Acts 20:35)

The latter part of the quotation is thus frequently used and entails in a sense a sanction of asymmetrical giving. The Christians should give to "the weak", so as to become "blessed" themselves, if nothing more. What the words "by this kind of hard work" might involve usually receives no attention. The missionaries also refer to various other passages which support an asymmetrical gift-giving.¹ But while the Bible speaks here about the duty of the individual Christian, mission is largely about vicariousness. The missionary does not give only what he himself owns. Above all, he mediates what other people have collected, mostly from their abundance.

The message is that the need in the mission field is so great that the blessed giving has to increase and not only remain on a constant level. An outsider might get the impression that the giving must increase, if for nothing else, so as to keep up the blessing. The giving from the Swedish congregations to the Mission must be progressive for the process to go the right way. The increased spending on the Mission could, consequently, be seen as a sign of decreasing spiritual intensity on the home front. The want of blessing at home could be compensated for by an escalated giving, all in accordance with Paul's formulation. It should be noted, though, that the last few years have shown a decrease in the "offerings". Some voices suggest that this slow-down depends on a third party, SIDA, now inflating the blessed market of giving.

One can probably say that the Mission's gift-givers need gift-receivers, who are no longer that easy to find, close at hand, since their temporal needs are supplied by the welfare state. This is valid at least for receivers who may be the impersonal targets of charity. They exist in abundance, on the other hand, in the mission field.

Even if the missionary needs the convert, his own living conditions seem to imply that he in no way depends on any gifts in return from the proselytes. Gift-giving is the missionary's privilege. Even gifts to him from the home

country or from colleagues or mission tourists may cause problems. AnnGerd, in whose house I had the invaluable privilege of living for a few weeks, flatly refused my contribution to the housework and rejected any compensation for her trouble and expenses. The same applied to money which was sent to her from Sweden. Everything went to her mission work, irrespective of whether it was a personal gift to her or her own pension.

Her stance was unshakable. I was permitted, twice, to take care of the dishes. On the first occasion she had stuck a knife through a finger, on the second she was half unconscious with flu. She told me that once, when a Finnish missionary couple had visited her, she had completely run out of money. Despite the awkward situation she had refused to receive the US\$ 50 which the wife wanted to give her. The missionary insisted anyway and finally resorted to a trick. She said that God had asked her to give the money to AnnGerd. Under great torment she had finally received the contribution.

I tried to suggest that it was not that much fun just to receive all the time and not be permitted to reciprocate, but she refused to surrender. She talked about her pride and thought that she would feel ashamed if she took anything from a guest. Besides, she would lose "the blessing". AnnGerd drew her favourite argument from the Bible - what else could be expected? - more precisely from the epistle to the Hebrews: "Do not forget to entertain strangers, for by so doing some people have entertained angels without knowing it" (13:2). The missionaries' general avoidance of the receiving position and of any factual dependence on the converts might be interpreted as a dissociation, since "to accept a gift is to be bound to the giver" (van Gennep 1960:29).

It is tempting to see the asymmetrical giving as a justification, an apology, for the missionaries' disposition towards non-participation in the spiritual life of the Bolivian congregation. Unilateral giving maintains the hierarchy, the significant difference, and makes a joint experience of renewal, a mutual metanoia, stand out as unnatural.

Home congregations and missionaries are usually satisfied with this continuous unilateral giving. When they are displeased this is not because of default in repayment but because a certain expected gratitude may be missing. The gratitude is perhaps replaced by demands for *more* help for *additional* needs. The Mission observes that it is much more difficult to stop giving than it once was to begin. In some cases an expected appreciation may turn into aggressiveness and hostility. The missionary stands bewildered asking himself what has gone wrong. Why is it sometimes so hard to help?

The difficult giving

One day AnnGerd and I pay a sick-visit on a elderly couple in the Mataco camp. Both seem rather weak and have pain in their chests. There is, just at the moment, a troublesome insect-transmitted influenza epidemic in the area (the illness strikes us both a few weeks later). A filthier place it would not be easy to find. The stench is unbearable. The man lies on a "bed", the woman on the floor. AnnGerd has prepared a restorative based on honey, sugar, and sundry other ingredients. She provides them with febrifugal pills, which they swallow while she watches. She tries to inform herself about their condition. The answers fail to come or are monosyllabic. The sick appear totally apathetic. AnnGerd does not think they will survive the crisis.

She tells me that missionaries and other visitors from outside wonder how she can accept all this filth and disorder in the Mataco camp. They have no idea of how she struggled in the beginning, how she tidied up and washed for them. Eventually, however, she gave up, since she observed that they themselves took no interest whatsoever in keeping things in order. But she has not given up completely. When we stroll about the camp she "reproves" the people who have not tidied up, despite her giving them "both scouring-powder and swabs".

A few days after our sick-visit, when AnnGerd has been there several times a day with food and drink, someone suddenly appears and starts to complain about AnnGerd's indifference to the sick couple, suggesting that she has not done enough. She tries to defend herself. Perhaps the critical person himself might help? But nothing works on him. AnnGerd gives a deep sigh when she closes the door behind the complainant and I see that she is very upset by the criticism and ungratefulness. What has just happened is not unusual. But she never gets used to it.

If the Mission considers itself to be entrusted by God with helping the Mataco people in Villa Montes, the Indians themselves, for their part, appear to feel the same. They feel that the Mission should help them and no one else. If the missionaries want to help others they have to do it surreptitiously. The Indians seem to have an infinite need of aid. What the Mission does for them is not enough. They complain and are often displeased, and they obviously think that the Mission ignores them. Nor do they see any reason to express their gratitude. The missionaries are simply doing their duty!

Amazed, the missionaries wonder, for instance, at the lack of interest in

the Mission's school for the Indians. The missionaries themselves, at times, have to go out in the encampment to look for some of the children. The obligatory fee (US\$ 3 a year per child) is, to the Matacos, a waste of money. The charge, marginal to the school economy, has educational purposes and is an attempt to counteract the negative consequences of unrestrained giving. The principle is hard to maintain. The Matacos see through it and understand what the Mission is after. They reluctantly accept the school, it seems, as a necessary service in return. They would happily give up going there. The school is certainly not there because of the Matacos' own social dynamics.

The Mission wants to give the Mataco children a fair chance even if the parents do not bother. However, the Indians perhaps observe a certain ambivalence in the missionary attitude. Some of them try to keep the traditional Mataco culture alive (paradoxically by translating the New Testament into their language). Simultaneously the Mission offers, through the bilingual school, an opening to a different life.

Even the local authorities in Villa Montes now hold the view that the Mataco Indians are the Mission's responsibility. When the inhabitants of Capirendita (a village rebuilt by the Mission after a natural disaster) once gathered to complain that the Mission did not give them sufficient help, they were offered lorry transport by the local authorities, in order to go to La Paz to complain to the central government. When representatives of the Mataco group go to the administration to complain it is not to demand anything from the local authorities but from the Mission. The Matacos show no attitude whatsoever of claiming from the Bolivian Government or the local authorities in Villa Montes, who completely ignore the needs of the Indians.

The missionary reaction to all this is usually not anger but a kind of bad conscience, as if the Mission were really responsible for this remnant of a people far inland in South America. There is, furthermore, an uneasiness at the Mission about what the local authorities would do if the Mission were to decide to close down its activities in Villa Montes. After 45 years of presence the Mission appears to be more responsible for the Mataco people than the Bolivian state itself, not to mention the Indians' own responsibility.

A missionary nurse, moving from Villa Montes to the emergency area Plan Tres Mil outside Santa Cruz, observed that while the Matacos never had enough and never expressed any gratitude, the people of Plan Tres Mil demanded nothing free of charge but were always willing to pay some money for the help. Such findings are mostly interpreted, by the Mission, as reflecting differences in mentality. The missionaries seldom find that their own strategy

may determine the reaction from the people they strive for.

The Mission is split into several parties when it comes to the general attitude towards the work in Villa Montes. A few missionaries attempt to discuss winding up the activity while others want to continue and put in even larger resources. According to information received, the discussion at the *Boliviakonferens* of 1987 (Tranås, Sweden) had been fairly specific. It was declared, it is said, by representatives of the home congregations, that if the Indians really wanted the Mission to stay, they should show that they valued the work done for them. In the official record of the conference this remarkable pronouncement was, in any case, passed over in silence.

There is, obviously, an increasing awareness of the complex problem attached to the asymmetrical gift-giving. That process has been going on for many years (cf. Küng 1977a:95-107). The awareness is still valid mainly for the most obvious forms of giving, for instance the cash assistance and the mediated sponsorship allowances. The Mission is probably also aware that a more radical elimination of "gifts" could jeopardize the whole enterprise.

The Swedish and Norwegian Pentecostal missions in Bolivia have one "problem child" each (the Finnish mission has avoided such problems by refraining from any major social venture). For the Swedes it is Villa Montes, for the Norwegians it was Gonzalo Moreno, a small village in Rio Beni, in the north, one day up the river from the town of Riberalta, or five minutes by the Mission's plane.

The Norwegian Pentecostal Mission started its work there in 1957 and practically all the present Norwegian Pentecostal missionaries in Bolivia had their first experiences of mission life there. Gonzalo Moreno seems to have been an old-fashioned "mission station" with most of the work concentrated in one spot. When the activity was at its peak the congregation in Gonzalo Moreno had about 250 members. The withdrawal started in 1979 and was completed in 1981. A school was transferred to the Bolivian authorities and a boarding hostel was moved to Riberalta. The closing-down of the station met with hard resistance from the organization back in Norway. Nor did all the local missionaries agree. Because of this disagreement Gonzalo Moreno can still not be frankly discussed in the Mission. My data on the case are consequently meagre.

In Gonzalo Moreno the Mission had become a "good milkcow" for the mestizo inhabitants of the village and its surroundings. The area stood out, and still stands out, as extremely poor. It was natural to combine the evangelizing effort with economic help. The demands on the Mission increased, however.

The needs appeared insatiable. Free and moderate initial gift-giving eventually changed into a situation where the Mission felt pressed and exploited. The recipients became aggressive instead of grateful. The spiritual work suffered.

A culmination was reached when the Mission decided to wind up and move to Riberalta. Practically all the buildings were transferred to the village except for one big building which the Mission intended to take down and rebuild in Riberalta. When the Mission sent two carpenters to the village to carry out the job, they were turned away at gunpoint and had to withdraw. The villagers wanted the building as their dance-pavilion. A lawyer and threats of legal proceedings finally convinced the inhabitants that their cause was lost. The crisis resulted, of course, in a serious setback for the evangelizing work. An initially prospering spiritual and social activity contracted to what one Bolivian pastor described as "a sad sight".

The negative experiences in Gonzalo Moreno have influenced the subsequent activity. In Riberalta and Rurrenabaque (centres for the Norwegian enterprise) the Mission now tries to be restrained in its gift-giving. But it is difficult to carry on mission without one type or other of social relief work. The contrast between the missionary's homeland and the mission field is often so great that the Gospel, at least for the Mission itself, stands out as not credible if it is disconnected from earthly aid. The missionaries are aware, however, that gift-giving, combined with evangelization, may result in conversions of low spiritual quality.

However, the quantitative/qualitative argument must not be carried too far. The missionary may assert, BurrIDGE says, that "The Spirit... chooses a medium appropriate to the person" (1991:152). In Bolivia, Erik Byrén emphasized that he had seen several men, who were obviously converted in order to be employed more easily in his workshop. After some time, though, treated with love and care despite their initial deceit, they had grown into serious and devoted Christians.

The giving mind of the Mission is great and the receivers are used to unilateral donations. A gift from Sweden, via the Mission, is a natural source of financing when a material need emerges. The missionary knows that it is usually fairly simple to collect the money back home, if he makes an effort. "The needs are so great", the missionaries say and come to the conclusion that the external help must increase. But the needs tend to amplify continuously.

Gifts from the Mission to private receivers or to the Bolivian church are sometimes depicted, by the recipients, as the result of prayers to God. This is, of course, a way of counteracting the status-related consequences of the

asymmetrical giving. When, after a morning service in Cochabamba, I had with some hesitation assented to the request from a young, relatively recent convert, for a minor contribution to a meal and a necessary trip to La Paz, the man raised his face towards the sky, whispered "*Gracias Jesús, gracias Jesús*", and vanished.

The Mission's gift-giving tends to "push" the Bolivian congregation into premature actions. In January 1988 the pastors at *Calle Uruguay* were able to inaugurate a new and imposing set of loudspeakers, just arrived from Sweden. A special control room was set up at the back of the church. Two big loudspeakers, eight microphones and six stands were paraded on the platform. A representative from another evangelical church had exclaimed, at the sight of the equipment, "You brothers certainly have everything in this church". The pastor had replied "You too may have" (*ustedes también pueden tener*), meaning that it was all a matter of faith in God. That the Swedish congregation had nevertheless acted as an intermediary in the transaction was noted by the unanimous decision to send back a letter of thanks. The gift also included a film projector. The pastor announced that, now that they had obtained all this equipment, they would get together a team in order to show religious movies and evangelize in the Cochabamba surroundings. One question inevitably comes to mind: How is the congregational work affected if material gifts are the incentive for spiritual activity? What will come next as an indispensable requirement for continued evangelization?

Technology has played its part in the ageing of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. The automobile made it possible for the members of *Betania* to prefer a passive membership in town to an active position back home. Urbanization gradually emptied *Betania's* recruitment area altogether. Radio, gramophone, and television not only distracted the believer's spiritual attention, they also defused the issue of sin and made the *Betania* "stringed music" (*strängmusik*) sound almost insupportable.

The entire missionary enterprise is built up by a great and multifarious gift-giving. A gradual elimination of the asymmetry in this pattern would, in practice, bring about a gradual liquidation of the Mission as we know it today. Such a process would entail a serious disturbance for the many gift-givers in the missionary's homeland. There the giving represents a vital part of the spiritual life, not to say a substitute for it. To whom would they give if not to the Mission? And where would the blessing otherwise be sought?

There is an important connection between the problem of giving and the missionary's feeling at home, to be discussed in the following chapter. Thanks

to his economic independence (through the giving disposition of the home church and others) the missionary may retain his "thinking-as-usual" and remain "at home", in a separate process of renewal and self-fulfilment. Imagine another scheme of things, where the missionary's presence in Bolivia depends on the ability and wish of the native church to find the money for his subsistence. The idea need not be elaborated. The image of a quite different situation emerges, with little resemblance to the present order.

Let us return to the Bible verse about the blessed giving. Paul appears to lay down conditions for the help to "the weak". It should be done "by this kind of hard work". The formulation indicates, I guess, that aid and giving should be carried out within the framework of, and in communion with, the circle which may take a "natural" responsibility for its poor (Simmel 1971:162), in this case the Bolivian Christian congregation. So let us take a look at the general situation of the poor in society.

Mission and the poor

The first Pentecostal missionaries had very few tangible assets to give away. The help to the poor in the congregation had to come from the converts' own resources. The economic success in the missionaries' homelands has since caused an outward flood of material gifts. The home churches' joint efforts have recently been supplemented by large grants from their national development agencies. The Mission's slogan "help for the whole man" expresses all our supposed obligation to "help the poor". But to whom should the call for the poor's rights be directed?

The poor man who perceives his situation as a cosmic injustice, and who demands compensation from the creation as a whole, often, says Simmel (1971:152), regards all individuals who are better off as jointly responsible for his precarious position. There is a scale ranging from the hooligan, who sees the "exploiting class" in every well-dressed person, to the humble beggar, who "for the love of God", asks for money.

The Mission sees itself as the extension of God's arm. From this perspective, gifts are not given to the poor because of their right or because of one's own feelings of guilt, but in order to complete the creation, "filling the holes of the order which God desired but has not fully implemented" (Simmel 1971:152). God's congregation and its mission are "an instrument to mediate

God's message on the restoration of the creation to his original plan" (*Dagen*, August 27, 1988).

If the help to the poor man is grounded in an "organic link" between him and the helper, the poor's right is especially pronounced, Simmel asserts. This is valid also when the link is religious. But when the help derives from an argument about appropriateness (for instance, to fulfil the creation), the rights of the poor tend to "dwindle to nothingness" (1971:153). The rights of the poor become sensitive to economic fluctuations. The help that is "suitable" rather than "organic" has its special names, such as philanthropy, charity, generosity, almsgiving, etc. Such help is unreliable from the poor's point of view. It has a touch of accidental occurrence. The relations between giver and receiver are symbiotic rather than social. Notions like reciprocity and solidarity are alien to this kind of help.

An "organic link" may emerge between the missionary and "the poor man", if for instance the poor man is "converted" as well. In such a relation the right of the poor should be especially emphasized. Despite the fact that there is no relation whatsoever between the original gift-giver (in Sweden) and the poor receiver, an organic link might be maintained by the missionary as stand-in. The construction is unstable, however, and the right of the poor runs the risk of dwindling the day the missionary leaves the area. In charity, the arbitrariness is a conspicuous trait. There is a similar quality in the missionary enterprise. To a representative of modern Sweden most Bolivians emerge as "poor". He is very likely to help the first one that comes along.

The missionary enterprise applies ideas of the welfare state in its relation to the poor. A kind of social allowance, i.e. assistance in individual cases, is sometimes used, in cash or in provisions, mostly to needy members of the congregation. The idea of the welfare state is not applied here to the entire Bolivian society but to "God's congregation". The subjective egoism (the salvation of one's own soul) is thus overcome, not, however, to the benefit of the poor as such, but "for the sake of the Mission". The sponsorship allowances, mediated to needy families (nowadays on a minimum scale), are attached to "the demand ... that the mother or an older sister should first participate in the sister-meeting and after that get the money" (annual report, 19 January 1987). Even when it comes to other types of gifts to "a poor Bolivia", like schools and children's homes, the Mission's express aim is that these "gifts" are an important means of fulfilling the great commission. The help for the poor is a means of mission, not an end. But where, then, do the poor belong, in their capacity as poor?

In his essay on *Der Arme* (The Poor) Simmel eventually reaches the conclusion that the poor belong to the largest practically effective circle (*zu dem grössten, praktisch wirksamen Kreis*) (Simmel 1923:356).

No part of the totality but the totality itself, to the extent that it constitutes a unit is the place or power to which the poor as poor are linked. It is only for this circle which, being the largest, has no other outside it to which to transfer an obligation, that a problem pointed out by the practitioners of welfare in the small corporative entities ceases to exist: the fact that they frequently avoid giving assistance to the poor, for fear that once they have taken care of them they will always have them on their hands. (Simmel 1971:162)

An important trait of human society manifests itself here. Simmel calls it "moral induction" (1923:356).² It is, he says, a very common experience that those beggars who regularly receive alms, rapidly begin to see them as their right and as the givers' obligation.³ If the giver is deficient in this supposed obligation this will be interpreted as the suspension of a legitimate contribution. The bitterness which the beggar may direct towards the giver has, strangely enough, no correspondence in his attitude towards those who *always* denied him alms. It does not help if the giver has already decided beforehand for how long the giving will go on. The giver feels anyway a kind of guilt when he stops giving. The moral induction works on both sides.

This is relevant to the Mission, which is certainly a "small corporative entity" within the poor relief system. The phenomenon of moral induction is most easily observed at the individual level, for instance between missionary and convert. It is, however, valid also at other levels, for instance between the Mission and a village or between rich and poor nations. Often only the one side is identified as a problem of moral induction. "Welfare mentality", "hospitalization", and other similar terms all banish the problem to the receiving side. The problem is mutual, though. The giver's as well as the receiver's reactions to the moral induction tend to prolong the asymmetrical exchange, at the risk of an increasing discomfort for both parties, feelings of guilt for the giver and aggression for the receiver.

Simmel seems to assert that the proper place of the poor, where his problems may be solved (which probably means where he will "survive"), is not within any part of the whole but within the totality itself, in the "greatest active circle". This is the unit which does not have any unit outside itself to which it might submit the problems of the poor. In today's world this unit is usually the state. The state may delegate the responsibility to some other administrative

level. In Bolivia, to be sure, the state is formally responsible also for its poor. That is, however, a duty without practical importance. The nation does not work as a totality in the simmelian sense. The vulnerable position of the poor is only one symptom of this. In poor countries, however, other "circles" may work as totalities within which the poor could have their place. Such totalities may be of various kinds, all the way from entire "peoples", villages, lineages, and families, to some kind of spiritual community.

When a private organization, like the Mission, comes in to help "the poor" in such a circle, the existing totality, to which the poor "naturally" belong, is broken up. To offer help of any kind in such a totality is to reveal that there is another totality outside, to which the problem of the poor may be transferred. The old circle ceases to function as responsible for its own poor. When the help suddenly comes to an end, or is made conditional, it is perceived as an injustice and an offence. The poor, during the temporary giving, have regarded themselves as admitted into this larger unit.

The natural circles, in which the problem of the poor may be solved, often no longer exist in countries like Bolivia. A large portion of the immigrating poor, in the big cities in the world, have no natural circle in which to seek help. It is, however, conceivable that such "circles" may eventually be recreated.

The spiritually based and inspired "circle", the Christian congregation, is one such potential natural unit. The experience from the first Pentecost confirms that. The dilemma in the mission field is the ambivalent character of the Mission's relations to this circle which, according to the current mission perspective, will eventually take over the help to the poor.⁴ The dilemma, put clearly, is that the Mission has once and for all disclosed itself as a new responsibility-taking "largest active circle", i.e. as another circle than the local congregation. I heard more than one leader express the desire to "do something", referring to some social project, primarily to help the poor members of the church. However, they did not see any other way out than to solicit the means from the Mission. What might have been the alternative?

Another scenario presupposes, I suggest, a mutual process of renewal between missionary and convert. After such a transformation, the two will end up in the same new order, the same "circle". Dissimilarity in social order is thinkable only prior to the first mutual experience. As long as the missionary remains then at the place, the new social order (the active circle) is henceforth, after each new transcendence, mutual to missionary and convert.

The dividing line, which today runs between the national congregation on

one side and the missionary and his Swedish church on the other, will instead run between Swedish church and Bolivian church. The missionary will be concordant with the latter and, as long as he stays, merged with its spiritual and social order. The consequences of such a thing, for the poor, for the missionary, for the Swedish church, and for the total strategy of the Mission enterprise, are not possible to foresee. The need to realize the mutual renewal is, I think, the mission's most urgent problem, even in its relation to "the poor".

Let me say, to avoid misunderstanding, that by a common social order I do not necessarily mean any kind of economic and social equality. Some levelling out might result, but that is not the vital point. The vital point is the mutual spiritual experience, which causes "organic" bonds between the adherents, and individual expansions of the self.

Now let us return to the more primary interaction between giver and receiver, or rather, to the adversities of the latter.

The not so blessed receiving

Charity is intrinsically divided. In its initial stage it is warm and friendly but it is inclined to cool and to turn into chilliness and dissociation at the giver's confrontation with the object of the charity. In this light, one may wonder at the perseverance in Christianity's giving to the Mission. The donors appear indefatigable and immune to this "charity chill" (Linden 1976:6).

In missionary giving, however, the consequences of the charity's bifurcation are avoided. The original givers do not give directly to the final receivers but to their missionary. The missionaries are the primary receivers and ultimate guarantors. They know which response the givers need. Besides, the missionaries are themselves dependent, for their own work, on a continuous inflow of gifts. The result is a pseudo-interaction, where the giver gets the middleman's somewhat arranged reaction, instead of the real receiver's direct response. The missionary is the filter which guarantees that the chill of charity will not befall the giver. That part of the giver's self which goes with the gift (Mauss 1990:12) will end up with the missionary, not with the final beneficiary. Few Swedish givers would dare to "cast their bread upon the water" were there no Swedish missionary on the other shore to see to it that everything is all right. "We know", said one Bolivian leader, "that the congregations in Sweden have no confidence in us Bolivians. No money will come if no missionary comes at the

same time."

Some missions in Bolivia have a straightforward prohibition of direct correspondence between sponsors and sponsored children. The purpose is, I was told, to protect the sponsor from additional demands and to avoid inequity between sponsored families, as a consequence of givers yielding. There seems to be no such prohibition in the Nordic Bolivia Mission. On the other hand, a general restriction seems to prevail, since I, as an outsider, was contacted twice, by the stand-in of a sponsored family, with the request to translate a letter to the Swedish sponsor. The notes, no doubt, were prudently formulated begging letters.

The missionary, who finally has to confront the objects of the "blessed giving", is in a certain sense shielded against its negative sides since he is himself not a giver but an inter-agent. The being at home, the independence, the asymmetry, also involve a shelter. Vicarious donor and benefactor, the missionary cannot be expected to react by the rules.

In the spring and summer of 1989 the Pentecostal Movement in Sweden, in a special campaign,⁵ collected altogether 4,000 cubic metres of clothes which were packed into 60 containers in order to be sent to Africa, Asia and Latin America. Each container incurred a handling cost of 50,000 SEK before reaching its destination, where the clothes were distributed under the supervision of Swedish missionaries.

The continuous collection of money for the Mission sometimes takes a somewhat corrupt form which could be characterized as "charity consumption". *Dagen* recently reported a gimmicky gathering called "We eat for the Mission", referring to the invitation to a "Christmas table" where the profit went straight to the congregation's missionary efforts (December 27, 1990). I am inclined to see this variety of blessed giving as a sign of decreasing commitment to the Mission.

The artificial interaction between receiver and mediator (missionary) is clear from the fact that the gifts are sometimes given a symbolic "price". The Mission's explicit purpose is to counteract the negative consequences of "just giving and giving". The mothers of children sponsored from Sweden are bound to wash a certain amount of children's clothes each month for the Mission's children's home (Quillacollo), proportional to the sum received but always with a considerable margin between the allowance received and the work required (in favour of the mothers). This system, which must be arbitrary and is easily perceived as "unfair", brings about a certain confusion among the receivers who tend to lose the feeling of the real value of the gifts. In Villa Montes one of the

missionaries had a good laugh when a Mataco woman appeared asking for "trousers and shirt for her husband" and "clothes for the children", for all of which she was willing to pay six eggs.

The asymmetrical gift-giving of the Mission entails not only an inequality when it comes to the blessing of the giving. It also establishes, and maintains, a hierarchy, a significant difference.

To give is to show one's superiority, to be more, to be higher in rank, *magister*. To accept without giving in return, or without giving more back, is to become client and servant, to become small, to fall lower (*minister*). (Mauss 1990:74)

Blau brings up the element of power inherent in the asymmetrical, unilateral, giving. The general advantages of the power make it possible, he says, for those who cannot pay for the services they need to get them in exchange for indulgence and compliance. The imbalance of power establishes a kind of reciprocity in the exchange: "Unilateral services give rise to a differentiation of power that equilibrates the exchange" (Blau 1964:28). Symmetry is achieved by two interacting diversities: unilateral giving and unilateral power. But it is a symmetry which strengthens the imbalance of dependence and power.

To receive gifts which one is not able to reciprocate and surpass is to accept inferiority. The ability to give in a unilateral way is a sign of superiority (ibid.:108-9). The Mission often asserts the necessary combination of a social engagement (material gifts) with the evangelical venture (spiritual gifts), as if the material asymmetry ought to be necessary to manifest the superiority of the message and to establish the dominance of the missionary enterprise. The Mission's generosity and asymmetrical giving, of course, do not deliberately aim at establishing social dominance over the receivers. The awareness of the dilemma is, nevertheless, suppressed in the Mission. Its ideology rather asserts an equality between the parties, if not even a serving from the missionary side.

Aristotle points to the difference between the granter of credits and the philanthropist when it comes to caring for the object of their respective activities. While the giver of credits looks after the borrower mostly with a thought to the security of his own claims, the benefactor really likes his "victims" even if they are of no practical use for him (1988:262). The foundations of charity are completely different from the motives of the creditor's anxieties, and Aristotle observes that the philanthropist loves his object while this shows what charity may bring about. Apart from the pleasant and lasting memory of the kind deed, the human being is fonder of things he has achieved by his own

efforts. He who has managed to amass a fortune loves it more than the one who inherited it or made it by gambling.

To Aristotle the protégé's discontent with his benefactor is no paradox. It is a question of blocked self-fulfilment. Carrying out the charity, the good deeds, gives a lasting value to the benefactor, the merit of the blessed giving. This persistent value has, however, no counterpart for the receiving party. The only thing left for him is the memory of a perished good (ibid.:263-4).

The commitment behind charity is well-known. The charitable movement is a commitment system, with its typical merger between "believer" and "symbol". The symbol itself (charity, mission) offers a chance for the need for self-fulfilment, for the expansion of the self. The giving of alms, says Heilman, transcends the pure giving of money. It is also "a sacrificial brush with social and spiritual contamination. One allows oneself to be touched by the poor" (1975:393). The regular giver-believer touched by the mission and the missionary touched by the heathen fall perhaps into the same pattern.

It is not particularly surprising that charity and mission get on well and complement each other. It is the grace of the blessed giving that constitutes the repayment and which establishes a kind of balanced reciprocity, from the giver's point of view. This form of "heteromorphic equivalence" (Heilman 1975:391) is still asymmetrical. It occurs independently of the receiver's reaction.

Emerson makes things plain when it comes to the conceivable feelings on the receiving side in asymmetrical gift exchange. The law of charity, he says, is a channel which it is hard to navigate and which demands great prudence.

We wish to be self sustained. We do not quite forgive a giver. The hand that feeds us is in some danger of being bitten. We can receive anything from love, for that is a way of receiving it from ourselves; but not from anyone who assumes to bestow. We sometimes hate the meat which we eat, because there seems something of degrading dependence in living by it. (1936:359)

Emerson perhaps gives the key to a successful charity. The Mission considers itself to be driven by love and there is not much opposition. But the missionary is a vicarious donor. Mediated love may not always work. What is more, love is a concept involving reciprocity, equality and community. Those giving and receiving love exist in the same social order.

Organizational greed keeps the personal commitment at the "right" distance with the help of asymmetrical giving. Reciprocal rights and obligations vis-à-vis the convert group, are not compatible with asymmetrical exchange. A

downright dependence on the native church would weaken the mission organization. Dependence might become a bond, an organic tie, between mission and native church. A basis might arise for a common process of experience.

Already in 1984, on my short reconnaissance trip to Bolivia I met one of my best informants, Enrique Rodriguez and his wife Mery. They were asked, by the Mission, to take me out to the village of Chaqeli in Valle Alto, then a place of interest for parts of my fieldwork. Enrique has for a long time been the Mission's evangelist in Valle Alto and we were well received in the far-off village, where nowadays almost everybody is a Pentecostalist. I remember in particular the naturalness with which the back of the old Jeep was filled with newly lifted potatoes when we were about to leave. The gift from "the brothers" to their evangelist had a self-evidence which I recognized from my childhood.

Much later Enrique told me about his attempts to end the Mission's generosity concerning the evangelical conferences held in the countryside (*Juntas*). Such gatherings may assemble up to 400 individuals, who hold divine service for days at a stretch under primitive circumstances. For a long time the Mission contributed food to these *Juntas*: rice, potatoes, macaroni, and so forth. Enrique suggested eventually that the Mission should cut down its giving and instead challenge the believers themselves to take turns at bringing food to the conferences. The reaction from the believers was at first strongly negative. Enrique was accused of being against the "brothers". He went on, anyway, preaching and teaching that the Bible promises that the one who gives to God's work will get back a hundredfold.

A few believers eventually tried and could later gratefully report to Enrique that the word of the Bible had kept its promise. They had got back what they had given to God, with interest. As far as I know, the Mission no longer contributes anything to these *Juntas*.

My criticism concerning the asymmetrical giving perhaps needs an important qualification. Charity is not without worth, neither to receiver nor giver, and far be it from me to have contempt for the phenomenon as such. To the philanthropist the mutuality is no prerequisite of an experienced advantage. To the receiver the giving may mean the difference between life and death. In such a situation the lack of qualities like mutuality or solidarity is less important. For the Mission, however, special and far-reaching purposes are valid, which may demand exactly these qualities. In the case of a catastrophe the reciprocity might be eliminated but not in the congregational edification where symmetry and dependency are necessary conditions for a mutual experience. Hence my critique.

There is, also among the Bolivian believers, a kind of criticism directed against the Mission. I suggest that this critique originates in feelings caused by the missionary blessed giving.

Native criticism

A notable article was published in *TAF* in the spring of 1987. It was written by one of the female leaders in *Calle Uruguay* church in Cochabamba, Nohemi Flores. The article is straightforwardly critical of the way in which the Swedish Pentecostal Mission is carried on in Bolivia. By using different metaphors Mrs Flores asserts that the Mission lacks spiritual power, that it lacks knowledge of Bolivia as a country, that the missionaries refuse to leave their inveterate security, that the Mission augments the national list of privileged people, and that the missionaries are more dependent on material means than on the Holy Spirit.

I read the article in the Summer of 1987, when in Sweden for a break in my fieldwork. My first reaction was that the missionaries' fear of my study would now completely vanish. Such a devastating criticism as this, coming, furthermore, from the Bolivians themselves and passed on to the whole of Pentecostal Sweden, I would hardly be able to produce. One might say, alluding to the broken silence of the ethnographic workshop (Clifford 1988:26), that the tranquillity of the missionary seminar had been interrupted, not by anthropologists, but by the rasping pencils of converts.

Through the guidance of the Holy Spirit the mission work ought to attempt to fulfil the needs of the body. The missionary may give the examples and instruments needed to attain a better function.

But what happens when that part which ought to be transplanted to another place in the body is not strong enough to infuse life? It is pushed away and little by little it dies from the antibodies which the receiving part develops.

Let us imagine for a moment that the part which ought to be transplanted says to the doctor: "I am willing and ready to be moved. But let me bring along all there is around me. Without it I would feel very lonely and couldn't live..."

In our country 90 per cent of GNP is distributed among 10 per cent of the people, while 90 per cent of the inhabitants have to share the remaining 10 per cent of GNP. Then it is fatal if a missionary comes and adds to the list of the privileged...

Our circumstances are totally different. You cannot understand that if you don't live in the same predicament. We are specialists in observing when people are approaching,

or alienating from, our life situation...

When the missionary deprives himself of cultural values, defies inconveniences and unites with the people, when we see power, healing and spiritual gifts of grace, then the missionary is a key person when it comes to reaching out with the Gospel. Then the Lord might come to us through the missionary and become a source of blessing, as we might become a blessing to him and to the congregation in his homeland.* (Flores 1987:11)

So when I returned to Bolivia I expected the Mission to be in total uproar at being the target of such violent criticism. I foresaw a heated discussion on how all this might be corrected. Before long I found, however, that the article, to be sure, had reached the Mission but that it obviously had caused no observable reaction whatsoever. When I inquired at the Mission how the article had been received, the criticism was instead turned against the author. She was characterized as alone in her criticism, ungrateful, a poor mother, a social climber, and envious. Moreover, no one had informed her of the publication of the article (it had been written a few years before). When Mrs Flores later criticised the organization of an industrial project in Chapare, one missionary argued that she was suffering from a "complex about Swedes".

Bolivian criticism of the Mission, delivered in such an undisguised manner as in Mrs Flores' article, is very unusual. If it is delivered at all, it is usually formulated in circumspect terms, carefully wrapped up and in passing.⁶ There is, among the Bolivian leaders, an understandable ambivalence when it comes to criticism. On the one hand, they have, in the course of the years, collected so many negative experiences of missionary acting that they could make up a rather comprehensive catalogue. The logical consequence of this would perhaps be a formal rupture and an explicit dissociation. But, on the other hand, they are aware of the fact that it is, in many cases, thanks to the Mission that they are "on the road" at all, that they are saved and that, after all, they have a position in the growing Bolivian Pentecostal Movement. After having seriously criticized the Mission's and individual missionaries' conduct the critic, as a rule, ends up by saying that he is by no means "bitter" about what has happened, that he does not have negative feelings towards the Mission and that, moreover, it is not for him to judge. The one who knows that he is saved through missionary agency has an obligation, a first gift to repay. He must do that for the rest of his life.

This ambivalence, the need to criticize as well as to defend, explains the absence of open confrontation on the part of the native leaders. The individual partly solves the dilemma by distinguishing between today's and yesterday's

missionaries. Some of them, who are now dead or old and who left Bolivia a long time ago, may be depicted as spiritual ancestors. They are often credited with different and better qualities than the missionaries present today.

The Mission is perceived as a phenomenon of strong continuity, a corporate group or a bureaucracy, not a gathering of private individuals. The enterprise remains, while the individuals are successively exchanged. The corporate character is strengthened by the shift from participant evangelization to social work, from "free missionary" to "missionary role". To the individual believer, who has seen many missionaries come and go, they do not stand out as individuals in the same way as do his brothers and sisters in the congregation. The individual missionary is rather a representative of a category, who behaves in a certain way and who is also expected to perform according to a special pattern.

The missionaries cannot avoid, now and then, making one or two mistakes. These faults have a tendency to "accumulate" in the Mission as organization. They may be taken out and used, by the Bolivians, when convenient. The mistakes may excuse a criticism, irrespective of whether the erring person still remains in the Mission or not. A Swedish missionary, who is popular and liked by the Bolivians, certainly facilitates relations for other and future missionaries, but it is the negative events that are stored up first and foremost, in the subconsciousness of the converts. The positive happenings and behaviour, which of course dominate, are noted as matters of course and are not stored up in the same way as the corresponding negative streaks. Only the deviations from a previously given and expected positive pattern of behaviour are accumulated as a negative account.

This negative attitude, which was quite often apparent in my conversations with Bolivian leaders, is, I think, based in the asymmetry characterizing the exchange between Mission and Bolivian congregation. The asymmetry creates feelings of inferiority, loss of status, and dependency on the receiving side, an excellent breeding ground for a vaguely aggressive attitude. The mistakes which the missionaries make and which accumulate in the Bolivian memory are mostly insignificant. Nevertheless they become vehicles of an underlying structural dissatisfaction, caused by lack of balance in the general exchange, by the lack of spiritual mutuality, and by the absence of a common social order.

Mutual metanoia is a subjectively experienced *communitas*, which might sometimes be supposed even by an observer, since its most conspicuous attribute is redeeming love, primarily between the members of the system.

Correspondingly, its absence might be perceived, for instance in a disposition towards intra-systemic criticism.

The Mission also tends to store up negative incidents. These are given a general character and are usually not tied to single, remembered events. This difference is logical since the missionaries gradually move while it is to be hoped that most of the members of the congregation remain. The negative happenings promptly become vague second-hand information in the Mission.

Despite the general blessed giving, much remains in missionary hands. Sooner or later everything should be handed over to the hosts, a process which is far from unproblematic.

The transfer

The result of all missionary activity should finally be transferred to native hands - both a matter of course and an official problem. Which is the most suitable moment and what is the best procedure? The Mission's standpoint may be summarized by the following quotation from one of the mission conferences in Sweden.

- The difficult question is just how to know what is the right moment for the transfer. If it is done too early and if problems arise, then the Mission must resume its responsibility. It is important that what we have started should also be completed, said Ingemar Rahm.

- It's a question of devolve but never desert, elucidated Sven-Erik Grön in his statement. He also stressed that our calling is to constantly move on - I don't think we should cry over empty mission stations but as good parents be pleased when the children stand on their own feet, he declared.* (*Dagen*, 19 September 1987)

The Mission decides what is the right moment for the devolution. It determines whether the "problems" which have arisen demand resumed responsibility. The Mission, furthermore, assesses when an enterprise is "completed", and must, like "good parents", not "desert" its "children" but be happy when the kids "stand on their own feet". A well-known Pentecostal leader (Sven O. Svensson) warns the movement of "forgetting the spiritual babies born in the revival of the mission fields". He thinks that "literature and instruction may prevent a spiritual infant epidemic" (*Dagen*, 21 August 1990).

The existence of a "transfer" concept points to a fundamental principle

in the mission enterprise. The Mission "produces" something *for* somebody who is not involved in the work from the beginning. It therefore seems reasonable for the Mission to express itself in terms of protection and guardianship. It is, after all, "at home" and the creator of congregation and projects, by virtue of the supremacy of the first gift and a continuous "blessed gift-giving". It does not always realize that its handling of the transfer issue is a question of power.

Let us for a moment pursue the metaphor in which the Mission assumes the parenthood and the native congregation is allotted the childlike role. The Mission gives birth to the congregation by its own effort (though with the help of the Holy Spirit). This means that the Mission should continuously supply "nourishment" to the native church, in order for it to be able to grow and reach maturity. An everlasting supply of missionaries, education, material, money, know-how, and other gifts to the mission field is, it seems, a necessary prerequisite for Bolivian Pentecostalism to grow big and self-reliant. The Mission does not dare, it seems, to test the opposite hypothesis, namely, that the "child" may grow without continuous support and supervision from the "parents" (cf. Norman 1991).

The result of an exaggerated patronage may be, as for the women in male-dominated Baruya (Godelier 1986) or as for Assyrian immigrants in Sweden (Björklund 1981), that the congregation refrains from doing a lot of things which it in fact would be able to do, were it only given the chance. The Mission's instinct of protection means that native congregations are not allowed to grow according to their own inherent qualities. For decades they are "forced" with the Mission's "seed" and the idea is conveyed, directly or indirectly, that they may not develop or renew themselves according to sound principles, without the missionary presence.

However, the parent metaphor can be given an alternative interpretation, in which the Mission represents only one of the parents. The Mission in this case is dependent on its Bolivian counterpart for a "conception" to take place. What then is "born", in a continuous process of reciprocal spiritual transcendence, is not the exclusive responsibility of the Mission but a mutual concern of both the Mission and the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement. This interpretation allots to the Mission a very different role, which, if practised, would change the Mission drastically. There would be no problem of devolution, only a lingering and languishing shared responsibility, for what the Mission has been only one party in producing. The real responsibility would, after some time, lie with "the child" itself. There would be no responsibility for the Mission to transfer, nor to resume.

The devolution of social institutions is not possible without continued external budgetary support. A transfer to the Bolivian secular authorities would probably be equivalent to plunder. A Bolivian headmaster at the *Buenas Nuevas* school in Cochabamba said that soon "only the walls" of the school would remain, were it to be transferred to the state. Such a perspective makes the Mission do whatever it can to retain the management. The big grants from SIDA, for the construction of large institutions, contribute to a situation where Swedish mission will remain in the country for a long time, at least in the form of these institutions.

The devolution is not only a question between Mission and Bolivian church. The former is responsible to the donors back home. The transfer must not jeopardize the resources invested, but rather give them permanency and protection against a transformation beyond all recognition. Expressions like "give to the Mission" have a real meaning here. What is given is often given to the Mission, not to the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement. The definite handing over still remains to be done, in many cases. But when Lewi Pethrus in the 1930s recommended a quick transfer to native forces in Brazil (Küng 1977a:104) he had his way, with a splendid result. In 1953 Pethrus returned to the subject:

...you often find that mission questions and mission property are treated as if they were for the missionizing congregation's own sake. But that is not the case. What we give to the external mission we actually give away.* (1954:82)

The evangelical activity is, in general, easier to transfer than the social work. Therefore, the latter may be perceived as more important, since the Mission keeps hold of it longer. Prayer meetings and Bible studies, which are easily transferred, appear less important. When pastor Flores (*Calle Uruguay*) at the end of January, 1988, announces a day of prayer and fasting (*oración y ayuno*), he cannot neglect to call attention to the fact that the support recently has been slight. Only six people participated on the last occasion. Somewhat dejected he says, "Now when we have prayer and fasting only once a month more people should be able to take part. This is, after all, Bolivia's largest Pentecostal congregation!"

The missionaries' general withdrawal from the reciprocal spiritual experience tends to make prayer meetings and fast-days an almost purely Bolivian concern. But the concept of transfer is not, as a matter of fact, used in connection with the internal activities of the Bolivian congregation. It applies

to the "formal" church, the leadership, the building, the ground, and the juridical person, the doctrinal abode. There the Mission might keep its influence without being involved in any actual mutuality.

My argument is that the existence of the transfer problem is a strong indication of the Mission's general lack of mutuality in the renewal process. The absence of a common social order makes it possible for the Mission to introduce "culture-alien" elements in the first place. The same lack may later preclude a transfer of these elements.

In a social order, common to both missionaries and converts and founded in a mutual process of spiritual transcendence, social ventures would certainly be attempted, but then as the result of individual "expansions of the self" (of missionaries as well as converts), and in a way which would make it unnecessary to "transfer". The main part of the strength drawn from in the collective renewal would, however, be used in the ideally urgent effort to expand and strengthen the commitment system itself, by the winning of individual souls.

Let me end this chapter by relating a notable case, flashing past on one of my days with Reijo Ahtela, the Finnish missionary.

Blessed mutuality

In Pasota, outside Zudañes, the missionary and I visit a relatively "newly saved" family. The wife is at home. The man has seen us come and hastens home-wards. They are aged perhaps about 35. The man is a travelled person and speaks Spanish, the woman keeps to Quechua. Their house is extremely simple though beautiful and well-kept. They live on the slope towards the river, Rio Zudañes. The scenery is stunning.

Reijo asks how things are going. How does it feel to be saved? "I feel calmer", the man summarizes. The wife does not need to say anything. She is sort of radiant. She turns to me. Asks whether I am *hermano* too. No. She becomes terrified. How is it possible to refrain voluntarily from this? I attempt an explanation, but am not able to express myself in her language. The missionary steps in. Says that I am "not yet" *hermano*.

The neighbours are critical, says the man. They want them to "cut out that rubbish". But they continue their co-operation with their fellow peasants, as before, when the farming calls for it. The missionary has encouraged them to do so. The family needs, in any case, more spiritual knowledge and

experience in order to resist the attacks from the fellow villagers. They have got a booklet from Reijo. He wonders whether they have read it. "*Sapa ch'ist*", the wife answers, "Every night". But they have missed Reijo. Despite visits from a Bolivian evangelist, it is not the same as with the missionary. But he will not manage to come every week-end even if he wants to. He wonders if they want to be baptized during the week at the end of February when it is carnival and when a great Pentecostal gathering will be arranged in Zudañes. They look at each other. They hesitate. Must they wait so long? Reijo suggests the 20th of December as an alternative, in about two weeks. They accept. Before we break up, there is a moment of prayer. The man and the missionary pray.

When we leave we have our hands filled with eggs, onions, maize and bread. At first I do not react. Perhaps I connect with what was self-evident in my childhood, that the pastor, when he came to see us, was provided with gifts of whatever the farm could produce. However, this is an unusual experience for me in Bolivia. The missionary gets gifts from the converts! I had heard the Norwegian missionary Oddvar Bauge in Rurrenabaque tell how they now and then had received gifts, like eggs or a chicken, from the members of the congregation. Apart from that, I had not seen or heard anything about gifts to the missionaries before this visit to the newly saved in Pasota. It was perhaps no coincidence. The Finnish missionaries (like the Norwegian in Rurrenabaque) have a policy of minimizing their giving.

A long time after the visit to Pasota the memory remains of this newly converted family and their relations with the Finnish missionary. I recognized the image from the Pentecostal community of my childhood. A feeling of simplicity, of undisguised joy at a positive change of life. They had understood the secret of the conversion, the necessity to work on the personal change, the liberty, the chance for self-fulfilment in communion with others. They seemed to comprehend that the whole thing depends on themselves, not on the missionary. The spontaneous reaction to such an experience is to give gifts to the benefactor who has mediated the change. One cannot mistake the joy of their giving. And the missionary is himself saved enough to understand. He therefore gratefully receives all he is given.

The "Being At-Home"

The spatial relation is a condition and a symbol for relations between people (Simmel 1923:509). This is easily overlooked. The spatial condition is particularly prominent in the Mission enterprise.¹ It implies leave-taking, outward drift, leaving behind, missing, arrival, welcome, absence, home-coming, reunion, and then leave-taking again, and so on. The Mission ideally consists of a perpetual swing between, and unity of, "at home and away", "nearness and remoteness", "freedom and fixation", where the actual meanings of these spatial concepts eventually tend to disintegrate and maybe change places. The stranger and the estrangement as sociological forms describe, Simmel says, the unity of the two extremes in this spatial oscillation (ibid.).²

The concrete spatial quality of the Mission corresponds to a symbolic spatiality which, to missionary as well as convert, is a matter of sticking to, or leaving, a faith and a way of living, of staying "at home" and holding on to one's own or of giving up and deliberately becoming a "stranger", potentially open to another community, and to mutuality and reciprocal transformation. The spatial aspect makes the Mission related to a pilgrimage, though with a more changing destination and with the elevated status already materialized at the holy spot itself. I argue, in this chapter, that the fictive status characterizing the not-yet ordained missionary in his home congregation changes into a real, pragmatic hierarchy the moment he arrives in the mission field.

Like other true strangers, the missionary supplies a new and "culture-alien" element to the in-group (the prospective proselytes), a novelty which makes the stranger's encroachment possible (Simmel 1923:510). This new element which is transplanted from the stranger's homeland, is found in the highest degree in the missionary enterprise. Siu gives some examples: "Christian

church, the hospital,... the modern school" (1952:36). The Nordic Pentecostal Mission in Bolivia can produce many more examples besides the evangelical message of Pentecost, namely, the children's home, the sponsor system, the air Mission, the Bible school, the drug rehabilitation, the social assistance, the "culture care" (*kulturvård*).³ Common to all these elements is that they may disturb the social order in the society into which they are introduced. In the Mission's case this is precisely the aim of the encroachment, the establishment of a new and better social order.

In the missionary enterprise, this system of spatial human relations, a special constellation predominate: the encounter between the missionary and the group of converts. Like the wanderer who becomes a "stranger" only when he meets the new group, the missionary candidate becomes a "missionary" only when he bumps into his mission field and his presumptive converts. Correspondingly, the missionary status as having been "sent out" starts to vacillate the moment he begins to assimilate with the convert group.

The missionary, who ideally leaves the domestic security and after ordination is sent out to the mission field, shows, objectively, every indication of being a "stranger" in the simmelian sense. He has left his firm point in space, the home congregation, and has encountered his new counterpart, the presumptive converts, still fixed at their point in the universe.⁴ The practical requirements exist for a successive "organic" amalgamation between missionary and emerging congregation, through a constant recurrence of mutual spiritual experiences of renewal and sanctification, and of common fusions between believer and faith symbol (social consensus).

My argument, however, is that modern Mission entails a special form of "being at home". The missionary/stranger tends to retain his usual way of thinking (Schütz 1944:501) in the middle of all that is new and different. The missionary is at home, of course, in the "message of joy" he has come to deliver. He remains, however, quite often "at home" even in his non-evangelizing existence, in every-day life.⁵ And the purpose of Mission is not only to influence the convert's inner spiritual life: "the whole man" should be helped, i.e. influenced and changed.

The missionary tends to live a parallel life, alongside the emerging congregation. Mission is, above all, teaching and giving, and aims at a change in the objects, not in the missionaries. This asymmetrical quality of the Mission and the pragmatic hierarchy it produces, tend to strike back and result in the converts' insufficient experience of the conversion.

In this chapter I attempt to explore the opposition between the present

missionary strategy of parallelism and its alternative opposite, i.e. mutuality. I see the missionary ordination as a decisive moment for the future relation between missionary and convert, triggering off the pragmatic hierarchy between the two. I discuss the "romance rule", my term for a regulation of the missionary's social life, and the missionary gathering is presented as the core and main symbol of the general being "at-home" of the Mission. The modern missionary is trying to live a "double life". In the one he is expected to accommodate to a primordial phase of commitment, in the other he is part of today's aged version of the system. I assert that this duality is impracticable and may lead to a premature ageing of the native system.

Stranger at home

The ceremony preceding the departure of the missionary candidate, the missionary ordination (*missionärsavskiljningen*), can be characterized as a rite of passage (van Gennep 1960). In spite of the implicit significance of the Swedish term *avskiljning*, meaning separation, the ritual does not involve any dissociation from the home church, for the purpose of a later incorporation into another corresponding group in the mission field. The missionary ordination involves instead the entrance into a new assignment and a new status, a higher degree of charge, a holy office. The sacrament is, as so often in the Pentecostal Movement, very unsophisticated in its external appearance.

The prospective missionary is ordained in the local church by means of the congregation's Elders laying their hands on the missionary and praying together with the whole church for him/her.* (Boberg 1989:16)

The ordination signifies an additional reinforcement of the spiritual affinity between missionary and home congregation. Notwithstanding that the candidate has to leave his group in order definitely to enter his new position as a missionary, this spatial separation does not involve any virtual formal difference. The missionary is still "at home". He still belongs to the spiritual and social order of the home church. The missionary differs from "the sojourner" (Siu 1952), by this greater dependence on his home group. Another difference is that the missionary, unlike the sojourner, is a messenger. He has a message, a piece of good news to deliver, a change to bring about. His task is based upon a significant difference between him and his audience.

The arrival in the mission field implies, at least in Bolivia, a temporary incorporation into a community of equals. This formal association of missionaries (*MSLB*) may be perceived as an extension of the home congregation, at least as regards its spiritual and social order. No formal incorporation into the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement takes place, however.

The home church is supposed to become stronger by "losing" one of its (often very much committed) members to the mission field. Some even assert that the congregation runs the risk of withering away if it does not participate, directly or indirectly, in the sending out of "brothers" and "sisters" to the mission field. It is an important part of the regular renewal process in the church, a matter of being implicated in the finalization of the Mission assignment, in the "blessed giving". The coherence among those who remain at home will be strengthened by the "loss". The solidarity between the one who is sent out and those who are sending him out is experienced as more intense by the spatial parting. No member of the home church will let a day pass without sending up prayers for "his" missionary.

This ideally strengthened bond, between missionary and sending group, contributes to the fact that the missionary does not easily allow himself to be assimilated into any new spiritual pattern. The ordination and the sending out of a missionary form, in themselves, an important case of fusion between believers and faith symbol (Mission). The experience implies a reinforcement of the communion between the church members, which is more important, perhaps, as the ageing of the system proceeds.

The missionary, as a category, easily conserves an "at-home" behaviour. A nonconformist (*fröreligiös*), he is already absorbed, to a large extent, by a variety of internal church activities (Rosendahl 1985:75). The missionary will not, at least not consciously, miss very much of the "worldly Sweden", such as its culture, media, nature, sports, etc. He will bring his religious sphere along to the mission field and further reinforce it there. In the field the missionary has a greater liberty to choose a more spiritual life. He is suddenly spared the time-consuming responsibility for friends and relations.

There is, in the missionary enterprise, a metaphor, concerning the argument about estrangement. When the missionary goes out to a new mission field he ideally does so in order to "break new ground" (*bryta ny mark*). In the long run this should, quite likely, result in "land-owning". Simmel asserts that the ownership of soil, in the factual or the figurative sense, often implies the step away from estrangement towards a new fixation (1923:510). The soil, symbolically broken by the missionary in the mission field does not, however,

lead the missionary towards assimilation, either in the spiritual or in the secular Bolivian reality. Instead, the process seems to lead to a sort of estrangement among those prospective converts who are connected with the venture. It is inherent in the missionary enterprise *not* to seek assimilation into the structure it wants to transform. Advances towards the in-group have the purpose of producing a change. In the process of breaking ground the missionary is "at home" and the convert is a "stranger".

The spiritual at-home position of the missionary may appear natural, at least in an imaginary pioneering phase of the missionary enterprise. It is reasonable that the missionary should define the situation, since he brings in the new element. No other forms of the same faith existed there before. Among the accumulating converts there is no one to say that 'we don't do so and so here' or 'we have always done so and so before'. Those converted have to accept the missionary's message as new and acceptable knowledge. The missionary model for the spiritual becomes the only correct one since there is nothing similar to compare it with. When a congregation is founded, the missionary model is already secured.

The evident stranger, in a specific situation, is usually the one who ought to adjust to the way of thinking of the group that is at home. The missionaries, however, belong to the category of strangers who aim at a re-definition of an apparently normal stranger position. The more extreme variants of the phenomenon are represented by the conqueror, the colonizer, and the perpetrator of a coup. In these examples sheer physical superiority makes the redefinition attainable. The conqueror is no stranger in the conquered land, but is "at home". The conquered, however, are no longer at home but are "strangers". Siu cursorily presents such a type of redefining stranger, "the settler", a character which arises in times of mass migration when people move to new areas as a result of "military invasion and colonial expansion". The newcomers become dominant after a process of conflict and accommodation. Obviously, "the settler has no problem of assimilation" (Siu 1952:44).

The missionary's redefinition occurs primarily in the spiritual sphere. It is presupposed that the convert, by the conversion, should let himself be assimilated into the new community, the new spiritual life, represented by the missionaries and the missionary message. The convert represents the movement away from the old context, towards a new social order. He is largely considered a person without history (Schütz 1944:502). There is a strong contributory factor, namely, the idea of conversion, which is, by definition, history-less or at least history-distorting (Berger and Luckman 1985:179). The missionary

remains, in the highest degree, "at home" whereas the convert is new. In a strange unity of nearness and remoteness the convert becomes a "stranger at home", by being spatially (socially) at home but spiritually away. The missionary, on the other hand, is spiritually at home but spatially (socially) away and becomes, in that sense, a "stranger at home" as well.⁶

I have tried to depict the situation in which the fictive hierarchy of the missionary's home setting materializes into a pragmatic one in the mission field. The whole thing starts with the ordination, which places the missionary above the rest of the members of the congregation. This inequality, a break with the logic of *communitas*, is solved by the immediate spatial separation between the missionary and the home church. The actual realization of the formerly fictive hierarchy, when the ordained missionary goes off to the mission field, depends on the fact that the missionary, out there, is not reintegrated into the local congregation, where the fictiveness could be restored. In Bolivia there is certainly a reintegration into *MSLB*, the local missionary organization, but that incorporation rather strengthens the pragmatic hierarchy. *MSLB* is a *human organization* of divinely and individually called people. From being one called among others not yet called, the missionary becomes part of an élite, a group of called, who are maintaining their significant difference vis-à-vis the environment.

The discharge of the hierarchy thus follows a breach of the ritual logic. The separation (ordination) of the missionary is not followed by any factual separation between home congregation and missionary. No period of liminality precedes any subsequent reincorporation into a new condition. The missionary stays in the social order of the home congregation, though now with a special position, made justifiable through spatial separation.

The breach of the ritual logic shows in two ways. Most important is the realization of spiritual hierarchy in the mission field. Supported by an abnormal "blessed giving", the pragmatic hierarchy involves missionary dispositions towards non-participation and teaching. These dispositions hinder the missionary's mutual spiritual renewal together with the converts. But the breach may also show on the home front, when the missionary returns. Then the missionary often seems to stand outside the fictive hierarchy and may have difficulties in obtaining the mutuality, even with his home congregation. The reason is that the separation was no real disjunction but an incorporation into a higher status, *within* the home church. This higher position shows only when the missionary comes home again. A partial realization of the ideally fictive hierarchy at home may also be inductively explained. The actual position held in the mission field may be difficult to renounce at home.

Romance rule

The missionary may not without further ado marry or in any other way live together with a partner from the host country. The Nordic Pentecostal Mission and other evangelical missions from the Nordic countries (and the United States) all have such a regulation. When it is known that a missionary has established a relationship with an indigenous person of the opposite sex, the Mission has a right to separate the missionary from his or her assignment for at least six months, in order for him or her to "think the matter over". The same fate may befall those grown-up missionary children, who venture to show a personal liking for Bolivian counterparts. Wise individuals, however, see to it that the announcement of romances will coincide with predetermined intermissions. Nor has the regulation hindered a series of marriages being contracted, first and foremost between female missionaries and Bolivian men. The interesting thing is the rule itself and its obvious testimony to how the Mission views its relation to its Bolivian counterpart. The regulation seems to have no specific internal name. "Romance rule" is my own term.

At the annual meeting of 1988 the Mission discussed its "rules for social life" (para. 20). It is evident from the minutes that the issue is "delicate" and "difficult".⁷

Rules for social life for members of *MSLB*

1. Members of *MSLB* should always be aware of their behaviour with persons of the opposite sex, showing consideration for biblical norms and their application to the culture of the country. Especially you ought to be careful to avoid, as far as possible, being alone with a person of the opposite sex, with the exception of husband/wife.
2. When a person has solicited membership in the *MSLB* in order, called by the Lord, to fulfil an engagement in the country, he/she should be in agreement that he/she should fulfil the calling in the same civil status as when entering the *MSLB*.
3. In case of change of civil status, or plans for such a change, the member should immediately return to the home country in order to settle the situation together with the home congregation and to decide whether it is advisable to return again with the intention of working in the service of the Mission.*

Considering that the regulations involve serious restrictions in the missionaries' liberty, it is strange that they have not been worked out more carefully. What does it mean, for instance, that one should not "be alone with a person of the opposite sex"? The formulation also seems to warn, for instance, against

dealings in private between father and daughter or mother and son. And to "fulfil the calling in the same civil status" entails problems for the person who becomes a widow or widower, hardly for those who are "unfaithful" or who get "engaged". These are petty remarks. The missionaries know, of course, what it is all about. More grave is the fact that the rules have been worked out solely by the Mission. The Bolivians perceive the regulation as an insult, and this repeated discussion of it was, I think, an excellent opportunity for the missionaries to explain themselves to their Bolivian counterparts.

I once brought up the rule, at a gathering of comparatively young, single, missionaries of different nationalities and from different Protestant mission organizations. Their defence of the rule was unanimous until a black female missionary from the United States joined the discussion. She promptly declared herself to be against it and said that it was "a bad rule" which ought not to exist. The arguments of the others amounted to the saying that the rule exists in order to eliminate predictable problems. Several examples were put forward, where the relations had begun to "squeak" after a time, often because the (Bolivian) man wanted to take the decisions in the marriage while the woman wanted to have a more equal relationship. One of the American missionaries suggested that the Bolivian women, who had "fallen in love" with him, had done so because he had a car and a flat, and because he was an American citizen. The rule was thus interpreted as protecting the individual missionary. No point of view appeared which could be interpreted as a concern for the Bolivian side, or for the evangelical activity in general.⁸

In practice a prescribed endogamy or an exogamy prohibition, the romance rule emerges as logical when seen in the light of a stranger-theoretical perspective. The missionaries guard their unity and exclude "alien elements", in order to maximize their at-home position. To take a fancy to a Bolivian partner is, seen from the at-home perspective, a signal that one is prepared to enter a position of "approaching stranger" (Schütz 1944) towards the host group. The possible setting for the Mission's separateness must be kept as large as possible. An unsociable missionary is regarded with a certain reserve too, since he does not contribute maximally to the necessary at-home setting.

Even if the home-group (the missionaries in this case) could bear the "loss" of a member, the problem will be greater when it has to handle "the stranger", the Bolivian part of the mixed marriage. The entry of a convert (maybe even his/her whole family) into the missionary group constitutes a break of the rules of the game. "NN is, to be sure, married into (*ingift i*) this" (the Mission), one missionary told me, speaking of a minor internal controversy

and giving me to understand by that that "NN", the Bolivian part of a mixed marriage, as a matter of fact did not belong to and, strictly speaking, should not have any influence over the Mission's affairs. The romance rule is an attempt to keep the "home-front" intact. A breach of that front might complicate the whole strategy.⁹

At the same time as the missionaries will not willingly let anybody in, who strictly speaking does not "belong", they are very anxious that nobody should leave the group which actually belongs there. When one of the missionaries announced her resignation from *MSLB*, for a reason unrelated to any internal conflict, the reaction was very vehement and she was subjected to all sorts of pressures to withdraw her request. Obviously the voluntary exit was apprehended as a potential danger to the missionary enterprise and its community.

The resistance to mixed couples may also be perceived from a theoretical perspective of exchange. When a missionary gets himself a wife or a husband from the convert group, he/she plunges the two groups into a kindred position of equal merit. The move threatens to undermine the hierarchy between giver and receiver, between teacher and pupil, between missionary and convert. Taking a partner from the Bolivian side may be compared to entering into permanent mutual metanoia with the native congregation. A crack will be left in the wall of being "at-home".

The statute is not applied without discernment. Romances between Swedish women and Bolivian men, for instance, are considered more serious than the opposite relationship. The age of the contracting parties also plays a role. The younger, the more serious. The Mission can even turn the rule. A romance between a somewhat older male missionary and a younger woman in the Bolivian Pentecostal congregation, was approved straight away by the Mission. When the relationship was dissolved a few months later, the Mission demanded that the man should leave, in order to repair, if possible, the damage which the Mission had suffered. The event may give a hint at another important purpose of the regulation, namely, to eliminate, as far as possible, any conceivable negative promotion of the missionary enterprise.

There is an element of organizational greed in the Mission. Organized groups are often concerned with how best they can control human energy to their own purposes. Most associations in modern society are forced to accept that their members have many different loyalties. There are, however, groups which still try to demand the members' total commitment. Coser (1967) calls them greedy organizations.

The ideal image is still a lifelong commitment to the Mission. A

missionary calling is for life. The candidate saying yes is expected to say no to most other engagements. Evangelical mission makes no demands for celibacy though some missionaries, especially women, tend to live alone, liberated from the distracting engagement of a family. All organized groups are greedy. It is a matter of preventing, as far as possible, that human vitality is wasted on other things than the organizational purpose. One such area is the sexual energy of the members.

The romance rule, in a way, positions the missionary collective among a general category of ethnic, religious, and social minorities, concerned with their survival as a separate kind. Being an élite, the missionaries relatively easily maintain the boundaries. This separateness, however, seems to be contrary to the Mission's original spiritual intention.

Separate renewal

The evangelizing missionary usually adopts the self-evident attitude that he should teach on a level where the listeners may have a chance to understand. Delivery and content must, on the whole, harmonize with the listeners' (supposedly insufficient) knowledge. This is a pedagogic demand and a professional skill, which he accepts and applies to the best of his ability, even if he personally would prefer to keep his teaching at a more advanced level, synonymous with a "Swedish" pattern for the relevant subjects.

To missionaries who are not directly engaged in evangelizing, the level of education in the service is decisive as to whether they find it meaningful to participate at all. Finding the level low, a dutiful presence is very likely, for instance at the Sunday morning service, more as a show of interest than for real spiritual edification. The spiritual renewal and edification, claimed as necessary for the individual missionary and for the coherence of the staff, take place instead in forms separated from the native congregation. Important among these are the "missionary gatherings" (*missionärsträffarna*).

Missionary gathering is the everyday term for the semi-formal meetings which the missionaries have at fortnightly intervals. The gatherings of which I talk here took place in Cochabamba. The official name is "Prayer meeting" (*bönemöte*) but that designation is seldom used. Prayer, moreover, is a relatively limited element in the programme. The missionary gathering is designed for missionaries (including those from other Nordic mission

organizations). Bolivian leaders are not invited. For missionaries stationed outside Cochabamba, and on occasional visits there, as well as for "mission tourists" (visiting compatriots of different kinds)¹⁰, these meetings are an excellent opportunity to meet many colleagues at the same time.

I had the privilege of being present at four gatherings, during the Spring of 1987. When I returned to the field the following September the atmosphere was less favourable to me. I was informed that I was no longer welcome. With that, I lost my only chance to obtain authoritative information on what was going on in the Mission. The explanation given for my debarment was that the missionaries would thereby be "more free in prayer".

At the beginning of each semester, which usually follows the terms of the Swedish school, each missionary is provided with a list of the places, missionary homes, where the gatherings will take place. The missionaries assemble in the largest space in the home and typically all the chairs of the house need to be used. The tone is easy-going and friendly, pretty much like a party. Many seize the opportunity to give each other messages about things in common or generally to talk over some question having to do with their work.

In due time (at seven) the host/hostess of the house begins to speak, gives a welcome and reads a passage from the Bible. Generally he/she talks for a while, quite informally, on the biblical message. After that an opportunity is given to put forward prayer subjects and topics of thanksgiving. The missionaries then have an opportunity, briefly, to talk about some problem, personal or connected with work. Thereafter follows the actual prayer meeting, which here takes place sitting with head bowed. The prayer meeting consists of a varying number of participants praying spontaneously, in their own words, in turn, while the rest of those present support the praying with "prayer sighs", that is to say, formulations such as "Praise the Lord!", "Thank you Jesus!", "Oh, hallelujah!" etc., given in a quieter tone, so as not to drown the one who is praying. The prayers usually cover a wide range of general and specific subjects. An ill or troubled colleague gets special attention, as do projects to be carried out in the near future. Problems which are still pending are submitted. The number of individual prayers varies but is usually limited to 5-7. The total time (when I was present) used for prayer usually did not exceed 30 minutes of the entire three hours which were usually spent on the meeting.

This half-hour appears insufficient, if compared to the prolonged prayer meeting, kneeling down, of the 1950s. I assume there were more occasions for missionary spiritual renewal, which were not accessible to me. However, the general trend in the ageing Pentecostal Movement seems to be to reduce the

time spent in concentrated collective prayer.

After the prayer comes information, when everyone is free to speak and give information about what may have happened since the previous meeting or since the informant was last present. The missionary gathering is not a decision-making body on any important questions but may function as a kind of reference to the Mission's management. Above all, it seems to me, the missionary gathering works as a forum for free discussion of different questions within the Mission. A great part of the meeting is usually dedicated to information on the many social projects and their successive realization. Occasional visitors, for instance from the missionaries' homelands, are given the opportunity to express themselves. Room is given to all kinds of "greetings" this way and that.

The part of the gathering which takes up most of the time and which is probably the most informative and valuable to the participants is the informal part, when the host and hostess serve coffee, tea, sandwiches, buns and cakes. To me, who usually had to put up with what ordinary Bolivian restaurants could offer, these gatherings were real highlights. The coffee table is well in the same class as what might be offered in Sweden. Some comments might also be heard, jokingly suggesting that the whole thing was too luxurious.

I recognized the function of the missionary gatherings from my stay in Peru in the middle of the 1960s. There was then, in Lima, an active Scandinavian seamen's mission. Every Sunday evening, if not more often, a part of the Swedish colony would assemble there. I still remember how something within me was restored by these gatherings, where the religious element was not at all dominant. I believe that this chance temporarily and unrestrainedly to use one's own well-known pattern of responsivity, one's own system of relevance (Schütz 1945:370), involved a recharging, a kind of "renewal", before the everyday tenuous dealings with Peruvians and the Peruvian pattern of culture. The alternative, of course, would have been a more purposeful assimilation into the local culture.¹¹

The being-at-home and thinking-as-usual strategies which the missionary generally tries to live by, do not save him from being influenced and worn down by the dealings with other ways of thinking, in his hard-handed experience of his factual objective estrangement in Bolivian society. From time to time the missionary needs to recharge his batteries and regain his spiritual and physical vitality, by being able fully to act at his own cultural level of attainment, in his own language and with the cultural signals which he is able to master.

The co-operation between Scandinavians and Finns constitutes a slight problem in this context. If everybody were to be able to participate under the same linguistic conditions, the common language would be Spanish. Attempts to introduce such an arrangement at the joint gatherings have, naturally enough, encountered protests from Swedes and Norwegians. An assembly carried through in Spanish would lose a great part of its potentiality for "cultural renewal". One solution is that each nation (or at least the Finns) should now and then have their own refuges. When, after a period of work, I put up at Hotel Cortez in Santa Cruz and after a while looked out towards the sunbathing swimming-pool it suddenly blossomed with blond children of different ages. It appeared that almost the whole Finnish missionary staff, five families with fifteen children altogether, had gathered to relax and be together for a couple of days.

The missionary staff also convene for different kinds of conferences, Bible studies, prayer meetings, and feasts, as a whole or in smaller groups. At these meetings, on which I have insufficient data, the "being at-home" is, I think, permitted to blossom without restraint. The spiritual level of attainment and the significant difference, in service and prayer life, may be restored at these separate sessions. Internal and exclusive gatherings are vital for the spiritual as well as the physical well-being of the missionaries. The most important basis for feeling at home and for renewal is, of course, the missionary's own family and close circle of friends.

It was consistent that I was finally excluded from the missionary gatherings. The meetings may be seen as the core and the very symbol of their being at-home and of their separate process of renewal. For a moment, or rather, for about three hours, the missionaries move into a situation which does not differ appreciably from the corresponding one in Sweden. At the missionary gathering there is a discharge of that positive social responsivity which does not always find an outlet in dealings with the Bolivians.

Double life

There is an unmistakable quality of development in the Swedish Pentecostal Movement, from a former more intense, focused, optimistic, seeking, and provoking "revival" to the more split, pleasing and ageing "church" of today. Another word for this change is liberalization, implying the elimination of "the

highly emotional and experiential character" of the religion (Holt 1940:741). The Mission branch of this movement ideally re-enacts what happened decades ago in Sweden. This requires the missionary to live a kind of "double life".

In his private existence, in his dealings with other missionaries and when he is back in Sweden, the missionary lives, more or less, in the modern version of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. In his missionary deeds, however, in his teaching, in the congregational edification, and in his regular dealings with Bolivian "brothers and sisters", the missionary must try to accommodate to an earlier, less "developed" version of the system. This duality has its equivalence in everyday life. The missionary's material standards in the mission field differ little from the norm back home. In his social intercourse with the Bolivians, however, the missionary temporarily steps out of his modern existence and into completely different realities. Following BurrIDGE (1978:17), one could say that the missionary's excellence in individuality facilitates these moves.

The long-term missionary may, to some extent, be expected to step back in his spiritual evolution, away from the Swedish institutionalized version towards a more original and "primitive" Pentecostal life. He may live and even wish to bring back to life there, an old-fashioned Christianity, which is often considered to be lost in the modern church.

It cannot be practicable, anyway, consciously to build up a congregation in Bolivia and have it function like a modern Swedish Pentecostal church, which is characterized by socialization and differentiation. A very large part of the latter's members have, for a couple of generations, grown into the faith and the church and lack sufficient personal experience of a life without its community.

There is, furthermore, an obvious idealization of "the times of the first congregation". Some of the missionaries in Bolivia expressed a conscious striving to adopt a more pristine approach to congregational life and edification. The question is whether this is achievable. Could the missionary, in a credible way, appropriate a more primordial way of being? To speak about it, to preach the necessity of the primal glow and to demonstrate a certain "pristine behaviour" is obviously realizable. I have been able to verify that myself. But is the modern missionary capable of transporting himself, intermittently, into a stance which, to him, usually bears the illusory stamp of nostalgia?

My experience is that the missionary, despite situationally correct manners, is mostly not able to enter into the situation of the Bolivian congregation, nor is he able to live its life in full. What is missing is the inevitable mutual

transformation between the two. A downright retrogression (to the "Pentecostal sources") is substituted by retrospection, or at best a "schizophrenic position" (Trigg 1973:13). "Digging up" a lost doctrine easily becomes a human invention instead of a divine revelation. The presence of missionaries, fostered by an ageing movement, gives mission a flavour of "reform" instead of "revival".

Moreover, to those missionaries who primarily practise a profession or otherwise execute a mostly secular function, the need for a retrogression to earlier phases of the movement may appear as less urgent. However, this category is part of the missionary enterprise and they influence, through their way of living, the spiritual life and development of the native congregation. The work of these missionaries, which to them is self-evidently spiritual activity, sometimes appears to the converts as secular and unworthy of a missionary.

Nordic missionaries are, without exception, very good spiritual models, as seen by their home front. The missionaries use this mature spirituality to guide the Bolivian Pentecostal Movement forward more quickly. Speaking of the more fundamentalist doctrine of some congregations founded by the Brazilian mission, one missionary expressed her despair about the fact that "they should also have to go through this". She was convinced that the strictness, in for instance dress and demeanour, known to her from yesterday's Sweden, represented a painful and unnecessary stage in their development, a stage that the Bolivians might skip. The "modern" example of the missionaries, when it comes to spiritual and secular life, stimulates the Bolivian congregation into the "fast track", in which long-term stability may be in jeopardy.

Is it practicable, in other words, for an institutionalized mission to bring about a revival equivalent to the original one which preceded the institutionalization? Is there a risk that such a mission, in its transfer, tends to leave out some stages, for instance the emotionally charged revival period characterized by exaggeration and dangerousness, of scorn and derision, and maybe of persecution? Are such periods a necessary prerequisite for a later successful ageing of the commitment system? May a tendency towards maturity be introduced at too early a stage in Bolivia, owing to the fact that the two movements are "out of step"?¹²

Put otherwise: Could an ideological movement be fertile, could it transfer its vital force to another culture, during the phase, whatever it may be, of its own maturation? Does the missionizing phase take place, for the best and simplest, at a relatively early stage, before the ageing process has gone too far? What if the persons called to mission are young, as human beings and/or as Christians? Could the critical factor be whether they are fostered in a revival

phase or in a stage of institutionalization?

The presence (or absence) of glossolalia is an interesting element in this context. The speaking with tongues was, originally, an important "bridge-burning" act in the Pentecostal Movement (Hine 1969:224). It was, in a sense, an individual rejection of the social order, putting the individual outside society and identifying him rather with the Pentecostal congregation. The speaking with tongues is played down in the Swedish Pentecostal Mission and also in the Bolivian church. The Mission's general need for respectability may contribute to this toning down, which otherwise is a symptom of systemic ageing. A consequence might be, however, a corresponding lack of spiritual commitment.

To summarize, I cannot say that the questions put in this section have been answered. Suffice it so far to have asked them. My general argument is that the missionary enterprise might be the ageing system's unique chance to achieve a successive re-ignition of the Pentecostal fire. It is conditional, however, on a complete experiential mutuality. In such a process the admittedly aged version, represented by the missionary, could be transcended by a revival, which would be truly primordial to the converts.

Afterword

The ethical dimension of my project was observed at an early stage by the missionaries themselves. The president of the Mission declared that my project would inevitably be a failure because of the ethical complications. He anticipated that my text would be forced to take a negative stance against the Mission, since that would be the only outcome acceptable to my anthropological colleagues. Irrespective of what my data would tell me, I would have to produce a negative representation, at any cost. That prospect was, of course, a sufficient reason for the Mission to condemn my project.

My analysis may have been inspired by the missionaries' ethical misgivings. An inquiry into the general relationship between missionary and anthropologist is a diminutive side-track throughout the book. I have tried to win self-knowledge from it.

However, I saw no point in giving the missionaries what they expected. The final solution to my dilemma, however, asserted itself gradually as, somewhat disillusioned, I pursued my fieldwork in the only place which was still totally open for me, namely, the evangelical services of the Bolivian convert congregation. There I eventually realized the missionary absence in the ambivalent Bolivian process of spiritual renewal. This absenteeism provided me with a stance for a kind of cultural critique, whose main purpose, to my mind, is to question the relation between ideal beliefs and ideas, and their practical application, over time. Burrige later supplied me with the proper concept, *lack of mutual metanoia*. What he mentions very briefly has, however, in my context, become a major corner-stone.

This critique might have come, and even *should* have come, from within the Pentecostal Movement itself. My principal point is simple enough: the

missionaries generally do not realize the implications, for missionary work, of the fact that they usually fail to come up to the primordial Pentecostal standard, because of an ongoing normal ageing of the system. (I certainly foresee some intra-disciplinary scolding for promoting Pentecostal Mission in general, since, in short, I reproach the missionaries for not being sufficiently "extreme".)

Cox notes that "rookie anthropologists often fall in love with 'their' tribe" (1984:50). This fondness is usually tolerated towards Amazonian Indians and Tibetan Buddhists. It is another matter with fundamentalists like Pentecostals, and even worse with their missionaries, historic enemies of the anthropological discipline. "Here fondness for the tribe might look like fraternizing with the enemy" (ibid.). I am convinced, however, of the legitimacy of my endeavour, to try to grasp "the problem" of the missionary enterprise.

The absence of insider demand for mutual metanoia is, I think, my strongest defence. Why is nobody, within the Movement itself, claiming a mutual process of spiritual renewal as a fundamental prerequisite of modern mission? My answer is that the Mission realizes that mutuality would lead not only to a stronger revival, but also to an inevitable and fundamental reconsideration of the entire missionary enterprise. The Mission knows that mutual metanoia would change it beyond all recognition and demand that missionaries go out *in order to* be changed themselves just as much as to change. (If the scolding for "promotion" still lingers on, it is at least the promotion of something - an intercultural mutual transformation - which has not yet been seen.)

My book is supposed to contribute to a theory on the commitment system, mainly its ageing process in combination with its inclination towards "mission". In addition, it is, I hope, a small contribution to that "truly coherent theory about missionary work", that Burridge did not find (1991:xii). I think his own endeavour to establish such a theory is a very interesting one (1991). However, as an alleged cultural critique this conclusion is devoted to a summary of its critical argument, not so much of its theoretical consequences, if any. I shall complete this conclusion with an attempt to generalize the main principle of my theory to non-spiritual fields, more or less characterized by commitment, teaching, and giving, namely, to social and cultural change.

The calling - the divine inspiration to leave the safe and familiar setting for the fulfilment of the great commission - is subjected to reconsideration. In order to open up for a stronger organization, the calling might now be based on the statistical need for new missionaries. At the same time, such a move

reveals the effects of the continuous ageing of the system. Fewer people are nowadays receiving the divine calling.

In the ageing commitment system organizational efficiency is compatible with, or may even overshadow, holiness. This is particularly evident in the mission field. The missionary's whole existence is, by definition, spiritual. Whatever he does, it will be spiritual as well. However, this imperils the missionary's holiness, as perceived by the convert. The modern missionary, who is not only holy by definition, in his own eyes and in those of his home church, but is also eliminating most of yesterday's sin-list, as being obsolete, lacks the necessary "being set apart". When he finally hands over much of the church activities to native hands and withdraws from the mutual spiritual renewal, he runs the risk of losing his holiness altogether.

A special mechanism makes the missionary ignore his wavering holiness. The blessed giving, his asymmetrical relation with the converts and the Bolivian people in general, in short, his self-realization, compensates for the holiness which is lacking.

Officially, the mission giving is self-evidently a blessing for the poor receivers. The latter are supposed to feel for ever grateful. This idea is fundamental to the concept of blessed giving. The satisfaction felt by the giver is grounded in the experience of doing something of lasting value. The donor of whatever trifle may return to it, over and over again, reminding himself of the good deed. In the mission case, such a self-deception is possible since the missionary acts as a go-between, filtering off the inevitable chill of charity.

The actual outcome for the receiver, of asymmetrical reciprocity, is well-known. Its general consequence for the poor as a category is less debated and more controversial. Sticking my neck out, I have suggested that an ill thought-out and temporary help to the poor might aggravate their situation.

The blessed giving is not without problems for the giver, or rather for the commitment system to which he belongs. It is a deceitful means, since it is, I suggest, a surrogate for something else, which is slowly replaced by the blessing of charity. What is displaced is the effervescent spiritual experience, of which self-fulfilment is ideally an offshoot, not an instigator. This shift, a shift from personal morality (and a conversation primarily with God) to a social morality (and a conversation with other people), is typical of the ageing commitment system. However, that is not the problem. The problem is that the ageing system, in order to keep alive as long as possible, pursues a blessed giving towards other emerging systems, alleging that these systems cannot help themselves.

I have identified the missionary ordination as the break in the logic. The ideally fictive hierarchy within the commitment system becomes pragmatic in the mission field. The reason is that the ordained missionary is not disconnected from his home church and, consequently, not reintegrated into the convert church. Instead, his stance is characterized by a significant difference in comparison with the convert. The pragmatic hierarchy hampers a mutual spiritual experience between missionary and convert. The former manages without such a community by a parallel series of renewals and by the general blessing attached to a unilateral giving, teaching, and helping.

My whole argument about the Mission is, in fact, extremely well summarized in the introduction to a short *Dagen* article, entitled "Why dies the revival?" (*Varför dör väckelsen?*). The article primarily has the ordinary Pentecostal congregation in view, and is formulated by a young preacher:

A revival movement dies, because there is a collision course between the evangelist and the teacher in the church, because the member has entered his career, landed up in a higher social class, and does not want to be together with the newly saved, who is on "too low a level", and because the movement loses the living life and becomes a dead organism.* (6 February 1991) (Ulrik Jonsson)

Though not directly exhorting mutuality in the spiritual experience, this author has at least observed the danger of its absence in the congregation. My principal argument is that the modern Swedish missionary enterprise in Bolivia maintains a spiritual and physical life which is *separated* from the Bolivian Pentecostal Church in its renewal dimension. This separation is founded in an intrinsically experienced "significant difference" between missionary and convert, a difference maintained through parallelism and various forms of asymmetries. The above quotation, on the lack of mutuality even within the Swedish Pentecostal context, in its "internal" mission, aggravates the situation, if anything. At the same time, it reveals the true meaning of the ageing process.

Is the mutual metanoia a new revolutionary idea, which has never been achieved and practised by the missionaries? How would I know, in the first place, that the mutual metanoia fails to be realized in the encounter between missionary and convert? The concept of mutual spiritual renewal and reciprocal change seems to be non-existent in the missionary conceptual arsenal. "Integration" and "segregation", both characterized as "accommodation", are presented as the most important alternatives (Alvarsson 1990:15). In the new edition of *Missionsbetänkandet* (1990) nothing is said about reciprocal spiritual experience.

Let me declare that I am sure that the mutual renewal happens occasionally. I think I have seen a few examples myself, at least of a momentary kind. There are, probably, a lot more of them. I suggest, however, that asymmetry and separation predominate. I also maintain that the mutual metanoia is an inevitable natural development in an emerging commitment system, when it is allowed to develop according to its own inherent prerequisites. This does not mean that the system can not receive impulses from the outside. These impulses are, however, *used* by the living system, not dominated by them. The mutual metanoia, or the collective effervescence, is necessary if the system wants to survive, since its coherence is not based on any (debate on) cultural consensus but on the effects of a common (ritual) experience (social consensus). In due time, if successfully developed, the system will start its ageing process, which is as inevitable as the spiritual revival was initially.

I am not saying that the missionary enterprise lacks mutual metanoia in itself. My point is that the mutuality is missing between missionary and convert. My argument is, on a general level, that there is an unsolvable intrinsic opposition between the present concept of mission and the phenomenon of mutual metanoia (mutual between mission and converting group). The opposition emerges in the significant difference between missionary and missionized, a contrast that triggers off the missionary enterprise in the first place.

Mutual metanoia is not interculturally impracticable, nor impossible between individuals or groups which differ in social status. A spiritual mutuality may be difficult in such cases but it is far from unthinkable. What I am saying is that "mission", characterized by "difference" and "blessed giving", generally fails to realize a spiritual mutuality with the receiving counterpart.

The significant difference, secured back home by ordination instead of separation, meets with another misinterpretation in the mission field. When the commitment system embarks upon intercultural soul-winning activities, as mission does, a critical phase necessarily sets in when it comes to the relation between co-existence and coherence, between social and cultural consensus. The social consensus, which is quite sufficient on the system's home front, appears suddenly insufficient in the mission field, simply because of obvious cultural differences between missionary and convert. This cultural contrast reveals their lack of spiritual consensus. Since a corresponding lack was latent and invisible back home, in the more homogeneous context, it looks like a symptom of a spiritual deficiency among the converts. The important thing is that the missionary's "discovery", namely that cultural (spiritual) consensus is

lacking between missionary and convert, involves the idea that such a consensus exists in the home setting and in the missionary collective. The finding often leads to a mistaken action, teaching, with the purpose of reaching, or at least improving the cultural consensus. In "lifting up" the convert to consensus, the missionary chooses the most difficult and insecure way to spiritual experience, or, rather, he makes such an experience more difficult, since the education, in its turn, seems to lead to a strengthened pragmatic hierarchy, which hampers social consensus, not to mention its limiting effect on the individual's *use* of his experience.

I believe that many of the problems and incompatibilities, lined up throughout this thesis, would be eliminated the very moment the missionary began *striving for* mutual metanoia, implying that he himself is, in the same breath and together with the converts, a recipient undergoing transformation and renewal. The mutual change and the symbolic liberation from the existing social order would place missionary and convert in the same position (while waiting for the next metanoia). The missionary's message would no longer amount to the convert's need to "catch up" with the missionary's own experiences and knowledge but would rather aim at change and renewal of both of them and a liberation from both their present social and moral orders. Should the missionaries completely give up their status as "having been sent out", i.e. as superiors, a mutuality would be realizable at once. The consequence, however, would be the "disappearance of the Mission" and the emergence of a new social order, till then unknown to missionaries as well as converts.

The mutual renewal, as a perspective, may be regarded by the missionary as a sacrifice, a spiritual loss, and a retrogression. Nothing is probably more mistaken. Not only would a mutual metanoia in some sense bring the Mission in touch with a more original Pentecostal revival. In addition, the Swedish Movement, by way of its missionaries, would be involved in the religious and cultural heritage of other continents, a heritage which in many respects might be superior to the Swedish one.

I consider it beyond the scope of my project to speculate about the virtual outcome of a mutual spiritual transformation in the mission field. Syncretism would be an inadequate term as long as the missionaries are part of the process, and today's striving for a reasonable replica of the missionizing entity would certainly be abandoned. A decisive factor would be at what juncture the mutuality is realized. A missionary open to reciprocal transformation from the very beginning of a mission enterprise would probably have a lot of influence,

while an existing congregation, already used to parallelism, might get the upper hand when it comes to the final outcome.

It is tempting to call for a moratorium on the national churches in Bolivia, involving a complete stop of both material and personnel aid from abroad. The purpose would, of course, be to give the Bolivian Pentecostals a fair chance to decide for themselves and to give the missionaries, if necessary, the chance to make a fresh start later on. I realize, however, that such a measure would be considered, by the Mission, and probably also by the converts, to be impracticable on spiritual as well as practical grounds (cf. Van der Geest 1990:594).

The title of this thesis, *More Blessed to Give*, is supposed to epitomize the very problem: the supposed blessing granted to the person who gives, changes, teaches, etc., without any concomitant purpose to receive, to learn, and to become changed himself, spiritually and/or culturally. The title even represents my question as to whether the blessed giving might, in fact, substitute for the more original blessing, namely, through spiritual renewal and sanctification. The purpose of my critical argument is, anyway, to depict an alternative model: *mutual change*.

The economics of culture is certainly of a special kind. Not only can it be given away (in a blessed way) without being lost to the giver (Hannerz 1991:8). It is perhaps best acquired by borrowing or even stealing, in order to keep away from the supremacy and educational attitude of a formal donor. Culture economics have, though, a third possibility, the mutual transformation and transcendence of both the cultures involved, a "transcendental common".

I am convinced that the spiritually inspired system has unique qualifications of bringing about this mutuality, above all through its intermittent achievement of effervescent experience. It might be difficult to identify a secular phenomenon as potent as the metanoia or spiritual renewal. However, I believe that there could also be a secular application of the mutuality *principle*. It might be less efficient and might look different. Anyhow, it should be worthwhile testing, not least in the realm of development aid.

Concerning development aid there is some talk about "people's participation". To be "present" in the development is an obligation laid on "the people". When there is a problem in the transfer of development, it often depends on the people *not being participant*. Different methods and strategies are prepared and tested with the purpose, for instance, of making "women" participate in the process of development, i.e. to accept a set of ideas about social change, presented by self-fulfilling experts, usually with their own culture as a model for

this new social order.

But there is, of course, an alternative perspective, a conceivable different strategy, amounting to the declaration that it is up to the self-appointed change agent to participate, himself, in the people's change. I do not say that the development worker is prejudicial or even superfluous. Nor do I say that the "target group" does not want to change. I am sure that most people want to change one way or another, given the right circumstances.

The problem is, rather, that the changer only sees his duty as to produce a change. The receiver's only task, correspondingly, is to "buy" the change. Such a relation creates one-sidedness, asymmetry, hierarchy, and frustration, on both sides. Only when the change agent realizes that he himself must be transformed as he expects the local peasant to change, only then is the change culturally possible, since it implies a loosening from the previous social order of both parties. Such a principle, which certainly may appear completely unrealistic, not to say utopian, would also reduce the danger, indicated by Erasmus (1968:68), that the changer tries to fob a solution off on the peasant which he himself would not agree to be a part of.

The development programme, initiated from outside, tends to create a parallel set of bureaucracy in order to be "efficient" (Almy 1977:281). This parallelism is the inevitable outcome of a situation in which the change agent refuses to become transformed himself. Needless to say, there will be some problems when this device comes to be transferred into native hands.

The fundamental principle, mutual change, may also apply to some more immediate and everyday occurrences, such as university studies. I have the experience, as a student, that certain kinds of lectures and seminars are particularly profitable - occasions when the students feel that the lecturer himself, in the course of the lecture and stimulated by the students, is gaining new insights together with his audience and when the teacher himself is seized by the enthusiasm of new knowledge. I believe that such a thing would be possible at most levels, provided there is, on both sides, a responsiveness which enables the wonder to happen. This certainly does not influence the need for the "teacher". Quite the reverse. However, what might "kill" a lecture on the spot is when the lecturer conveys the message that he is imparting a knowledge far behind his own front of competence, which is impossible to reach, still less to exceed, during the present address.

The anthropologist, in his traditional role as a "free scientist", may escape the demand for mutuality. But as soon as he enters the field as a changer, alone or in a team, the claim is made on him to be prepared for mutual

transformation in relation to the host society. Whether he escapes, will probably depend on the existing power relations, since the changer usually has the economic power to demand a unilateral change. Anthropologists might be the category nearest to mutual change. The anthropological attitude ideally "leaves the door open to mutual influence or exchange between visitor and visited" (Delfendahl 1981:89).

The main principle of my argument, mutual change between change agent and change target, is easy to formulate but may well be hard to realize. The accomplishment of mutual change implies not only that the individual changer is somehow trained in "self-change" but also that his base organization recognizes the possible implications of the model.

Finally, what about my own position? In the Introduction I insisted that my aim has been "not only to describe and explain but to change". In what sense have I myself lived up to my own words about mutual change? Sufficient details are given on my relations with the missionaries, to make it clear that the conditions were not good for a mutual change between us. It remains to be seen whether my words will have any impact on the Mission in the future. The fact is, however, that I have changed substantially in my own view of the potentialities of "mission", be it spiritual, intellectual, social, whatever. My inquiry into the missionary enterprise in Bolivia has convinced me that there is a practicable though difficult way for inter-human change, a way that goes through *mutual change* rather than *blessed giving*.

Notes

* All quotations from sources spoken or written in Swedish or Spanish are translated by me. Those longer than a few sentences are marked by an asterisk.

Introduction

1. Missionary Göran Olsson in Peru (in one of his sermons) called my attention to the fact that, according to the Bible, the worldwide order to missionize was first given to the Jews as a nation. When God became aware that it did not work the order went on to all Christians (see Isaiah 42:6-10 and Acts 13:47). The idea seems to exist, however, that Israel still has a decisive role in the "salvation of the world" (see *Dagen*, February 16, 1991).

2. This and all the following biblical quotations are taken from "The Holy Bible. New International version." International Bible Society. Colorado Springs, Colorado. 1984 (1973). This is the version sold at Swedish Pentecostal bookstores.

3. Figures for mid-1988 suggest that 1.7 billion people are Christians of some sort. The number of denominational varieties of Christians exceeds 20,000. Roman Catholics form the single largest group (926 million). Pentecostals and charismatics number about 332 million in 250 countries and increase at the rate of 19 million per year. The remaining Protestants amount to about 312 million. The figures estimated by A.D. 2000 are amazing; 562 million Pentecostals and charismatics, 61 million Anglicans, and 386 million Protestants (Spittler 1988:410).

4. For a closer study of the Pentecostal Movement, chiefly in Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries, see, for example, Björkquist 1959; Bloch-Hoell 1964; Carlsson 1990; Dahlgren 1982; Holm 1978; Lindberg 1985.

Chapter 1: The Commitment System

1. The restraint is different in cases where the parents are divided when it comes to commitment. I know of several cases where only one of the spouses (usually the woman) was a Pentecostalist and where only some of their children have joined the congregation. Divided families were common, therefore, among the first generation of Pentecostalists. They are much more rare now.

2. The development of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement.

Year	Congregations	Members
1915	15	1010
1920	125	4955
1930	419	30147
1940	563	69373
1950	613	82700
1960	573	89270
1970	561	88880
1980	539	97203
1985	530	100523
1990	516	97282

Source: *Pingströrelsens Årsbok* 1991.

In January 1988 the Pentecostal members amounted to almost 1.2 % of Sweden's total population.

3. See, for instance, *Dagen*, September 26, 1990, p.19.

4. This congregation and its life in the 1950s is described in an unpublished essay (1983). There is now at least one *Betania* also in Bolivia. The new church in Sarcobamba (Chikicollo), on the outskirts of Cochabamba, is called *Betania*, to honour the home-church of Erling Andreassen, legendary Norwegian missionary, still on the go, who has mediated the means for a great part of the church building.

5. The process can also be expressed in terms of "nurture and admonition" (Ephesians 6:4): "We must keep it /the congregation/ clean, as far as possible, though we cannot conceive of having it absolutely pure." (Lewi Pethrus, quoted by Carlsson 1990:111).

6. The literature on glossolalia, xenolalia, and speaking with tongues is extensive. See for instance Hine 1969. In this context I do not take an interest in the phenomenon as such, only in its effects. It is plausible, I think, that this "instant" and highly individual "language" - unintelligible not only to the audience but to the speaker himself - may be apprehended as an individualizing expression of a (symbolic) rejection of the existing "social order", particularly if language is a general maintainer of social order (Bergmark and Oskarsson 1988:31).

7. Inman suggests (1930:111) that the Protestant claim on absolute separation of Church and State is the greatest fomenter of secularization. See also Frängsmyr (1981:31) on the importance of the Reformation for a new world view coming up in Sweden. "The stable foundations of the Catholic Church had been undermined, not even divine truth was inviolable any more."

8. We are all well aware that something, sometimes, can (and will) go wrong. As in El Pozo, Camiri, eastern Bolivia (Xavier Albó 1988).

9. I agree, however, with Deshen (1970) that secularization is an irrelevant indicator of the change from sect to church. I prefer the term ageing, since I do not think that the Pentecostals of today are less religious than those of my childhood. Something else has happened. Besides, I consider Deshen's fourfold typology of symbolic change (eradication, creation, innovation, and

profanation) insufficient since it leaves out the simple but inevitable force of demographic drive.

10. This tendency to ethnocentricity may be expressed even towards other missions.

Put incisively I would say that we cooperate more easily with *Örebromissionen* and *Helgelseförbundet*/both denominations of Baptist type/ here in Sweden than with some of those who call themselves Pentecostal mission in underdeveloped countries* (TAF 1981(1):3) (Sigurd Perder)

Chapter 2: Mission and Anthropology

1. See, for example, Alvarsson 1988c; Burridge 1978; Hiebert 1978; Miller 1981; Nida 1978; Rosenstiel 1959; Salamone 1977; Stipe 1980; Van der Geest 1990. See Burridge (1991:25-34) on the stereotype of missionaries.

2. Edmund Leach characterizes the Bible as "a much edited compendium of a great variety of ancient documents derived from many different sources, but the end product is a body of mythology, a sacred tale, not a history book" (Leach and Aycok 1983:35).

3. Hannerz has developed this theme somewhat and stresses the fact that the choice of one's own culture "is not quite a real choice" (1991:3).

4. The Swedish Institute of Missionary Research, linked to the theological faculty of the University of Uppsala, has, through the years, edited an imposing number of studies. Sundkler set the tone with his *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1948) and *The Christian Ministry in Africa* (1960), both with an anthropological approach. At least *Bantu Prophets* has a position among the anthropological classics on South Africa. The majority of the mission studies from the Institute are historical, though very often with a clear cultural dimension: Axelsson 1970, Berglund 1975, Deminger 1985, Flodell 1974, Swantz 1970, to mention only a few. Linked as it is to the Swedish Mission Council the Institute has a general feature of insiderness. Its critical stance is internal, using the cultural theory as a means, not as an end. (I pretend to do both.)

The part of Sundkler's research, best known to anthropologists, focuses on syncretism. That concept is not part of my argument, since mission and syncretism, to my mind, are separate though contiguous. No missionary goes out to bring about a syncretistic movement. Syncretism often emerges as a consequence of mission but in opposition to it or alongside it. This does not mean that mission accomplishes something free from the religion mixture. But that was not the intention. In the Bolivian case syncretism would probably be the outcome in some places if the missionaries were to leave. But even among the Mataco Indians (a case to be discussed shortly) I would not talk about syncretism as long as the missionaries care for them, however different their faith may be compared to that of Swedish Pentecostals.

5. Shapiro (1981) presents two cases of Catholic missionary practice which can be characterized as efforts at "decolonization".

Chapter 3: Study and Approach

1. Cf. Devereux (1967:276) on "reciprocal observation".

2. See Dahl and Hjort on the special form of hierarchy which may be attached to anthropological study: "Being subject to anthropological study may symbolize in a way that there is something peculiar (in a negative sense) with one's behaviour." (1984:183)

3. Cf. Gerholm (1977), who had similar experiences in his Yemeni fieldwork. Gerholm's attitude, to be sympathetic but non-believing, mystified his audience. "They expected me to be either a 'full Muslim' or nothing, and they were deeply bothered by what they saw" (1977:15).

4. A common source of missionary aversion to anthropologists in Bolivia is the attack on Bruce Olsen from Lars Persson, described by Kng (1977b). See also Persson 1971:61. It might be comforting for the Mission to know that Lars Persson also took up a very critical attitude towards anthropologists (ibid.:84). Concerning the general anthropological dilemma in development work see for instance Swantz 1985.

5. A Bolivian pastor had the interesting theory that the fact that most Swedish missionaries are found in towns and at administrative posts was a reflection of Sweden's colonial past. He had observed that Norwegian and Finnish missionaries seemed to prefer (or were perhaps centrifugalized to) the Bolivian countryside. He asserted that his theory was firmly manifested in the distribution of British vis--vis Australian and New Zealand missionaries. The former were found at administrative posts as chiefs, while the latter always tried to get away from the centre.

6. The act of writing is, Crapanzano says (1977:72), "an act of self-constitution", even "an act of exorcism", and "an alienation of the ethnographic confrontation".

7. Kenelm Burridge said so when using the phrase "redemptive process" (1969:6).

8. The table below shows the distribution of men and women among the missionaries of the Swedish Pentecostal movement, in total and in (Bolivia).

Year	Women	Men	Total
1985	501 (26)	293 (20)	794 (46)
1986	496 (31)	314 (24)	810 (55)
1987	507 (33)	330 (26)	837 (59)
1988	442 (34)	304 (29)	746 (63)
1989	435 (33)	305 (27)	740 (60)
1990	412 (31)	301 (28)	713 (59)

Source: Swedish Mission Statistics (Appendix to *Svensk Missionstidskrift*).

As a whole, about three out of five Pentecostal missionaries are women. The female proportion has dropped about 1 per cent per year during the period. This development is more emphasized for the Pentecostal Movement than for other Swedish missions. In Bolivia the female part of the Swedish missionary staff is about five points below the total average.

Chapter 4: Pioneers and "Bolivia-farers"

1. See Flodell (1974) for an account of another misinformed, "secular", and dramatic emigration project from Sweden to Brazil (Argentina) (1890-91 and 1909-11).

2. The combination of Mission and business is not unusual. Pétursson writes, for instance, about the Mission of the Danish Church in Greenland (at the turn of the century) that "... the social control which the business exercised over the Greenlanders could be utilized by the Mission" (1990:146). How to create "a sense of mission" in commercial organizations is extensively discussed in Campbell and Tawadey (1990). The connection between Mission and business may be seen also from quite another angle. Nason (1978:130) cites Doane (1873:229) in a missionary report after contact with a German trading company: "A change is coming over the business world. Men are beginning to see that the missions are a blessing to people. This heavy firm is seeing that, in a commercial point of view, missions pay." Private business activity within the Mission is, however, condemned in the latest edition of *Missionsbetänkandet* (30:8).

3. Anderås, himself a legendary missionary in Peru, has nothing to say about any opposition within the group of Bolivia-farers. His book is, in that sense, representative of internal writings about mission.

Chapter 5: Swedish Free Mission in Bolivia

1. The information comes from Edmundo Hassen Teufel, pastor at *Iglesia Luterana*, Avenida Busch in La Paz.

2. The last section of *MSLB's* regulations prescribes that the assets of the association, in the event of a dissolution, shall go to the local Pentecostal church.

3. Compare *Dagen* January 3, 1991, on the decision-making process in the *församlingsmöte* (internal meeting). "Prayer" and "mental activity" should be the way to solve disunity. Cf. Crapanzano (1985:298-299) for the "Lord", "Christ", and the "Holy Spirit" as mediators in the marriage relationship. *Dagen* reflects a growing anxiety over an increased rate of divorces in the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. A contributory cause may be that the spouses have started to "take the matter into their own hands".

4. In Africa the traditional mission station seems still to remain as a principal strategy, though not without questioning: "Mission station - what a strange word! Mission means to 'go out', station means 'remain where one is'. Is that what we have done? Gone out and remained? Of course we need mission stations. Especially where institutions have been established. But we must move forward." (Marie Berg, *Dagen*, December 22, 1990)

5. For an example of the Catholic Pentecostal Movement (Charismatic Renewal), see Ackerman (1981).

6. See Shapiro (1981) for an interesting anthropological critique of the theology of liberation.

7. Cf. Austin 1981:231 on the conservative dress of the members of Bible Way Church in Jamaica. Female dress is also controlled, but, as one knows, more open to strategic variation.

Chapter 6: Evangelizing

1. During my many visits to different kinds of services I have heard only two prophecies of this

kind. The other was delivered in Tarija by another Swedish missionary, in Swedish, and interpreted into Spanish by another missionary.

2. Jan-Åke Alvarsson has informed me that the services in the Mataco villages, when no missionary is present, have another and quite "unswedish" design. I did not have the opportunity to participate in such a gathering, nor did I hear any missionary mention their special character.

3. There are no figures on "sympathizers" in the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. The phenomenon seems to be an import from the USA, where "regular attenders" and "members" together form the category of "adherents" (Poloma and Pendleton 1989:419).

4. Despite the ideal of totally free Pentecostal congregations there has emerged, in the course of the years, a "hidden" organization of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. One daily paper (*Dagen*), one weekly (*Evangelii Hätrola*), a local radio broadcasting and TV-enterprise (*Inter*), publishing (*Förlaget Filadelfia*), committees and commissions, all work in the same direction; towards a co-ordination of the policy of the Pentecostal congregations. Famous leaders fill similar functions. The absence of a more open and acknowledged co-ordination creates some difficulties. On the mission side there are contact congregations (*kontaktförsamlingar*) which aim to co-ordinate the activity in a particular mission country. PMU co-ordinates most of the projects, operating with support from SIDA. A lively debate on the appropriateness of a co-ordinating "Mission council" (*missionsråd*) is going on in *Dagen* (autumn 1990). The ageing of the Swedish Pentecostal Movement has obviously led to an increased sapping of the "Swedish model".

5. The same argument was used by the whites at Wyndal when 'Hennie' wanted to open the church to Coloured folk (Crapanzano 1985:261).

6. Compare Crapanzano (1985:105) on the principles of "separate development" asserted by the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in South Africa (1 Corinthians 12:12-27; Romans 12:4-5; 1 Corinthians 15:39-41).

7. The Mission's strategy could be illustrated by an utterance from a leader of *UMU* (*Ungdom med uppgift*) (Youth with a Mission) at a mission activity in South Africa.

People in South Africa who are going towards perdition will not be helped by our sitting at home and protesting against apartheid... Instead we should fight for the liberation of the inner man,...* (*Dagen*, June 19, 1987)

Cf. Carlsson (1990:212) on a Swedish discussion on commitment and politics within the Pentecostal Movement and a quotation from Harald Gustafsson, then the top leader; "We intend to save people and thereby create a better society. It is not society which should be saved in the first place. We will probably never be able to save that... It is souls which should be saved"* (Gustafsson 1959:31). The Mission's strong emphasis on "help for the whole man" seems to refer to the traditional model of deprivation and disorganization as a fundamental cause of the emergence of a Pentecostal revival (Gerlach and Hine 1968:31). This model has, however, been refuted for a long time. Pentecostalism attracts people from any socio-economic level. It is another matter that the Pentecostal groups are preferably homogeneously constituted when it comes to socio-economic factors.

8. In his essay on "Faithfulness and Gratitude" Simmel briefly discusses the renegade's attitude to his new ambience, which is highly relevant to the ageing commitment system.

The special loyalty of the renegade seems to me to rest on the fact that the circumstances, under which he enters the new relationship, have a longer and more enduring effect than if he had naively grown into it, so to speak, without breaking with a previous one. (1950:383-4)

The renegade is, of course, very much aware that he cannot go back to where he came from. The old context remains for the renegade a distinct background to the new relationship. It is as if he were over and over again pushed away from the old situation and pulled into the new. The continuous bringing to the fore of the motives for the backsliding seems to enhance the loyalty to the new.

9. The conversion is of course, in principle, possible to reiterate. In Crapanzano's *Waiting Hennie* remembers "one bloke who said he had been saved four times by Billy Graham!" (1985:222).

10. See Beidelman (1982:18-19) for some differences between Catholics and Protestants concerning conversion. As Norman indicates (1991:234) there is one important difference between Catholic and Protestant "confession": The Protestant in general, and certainly the Pentecostalist, is not expected to "tell a priest everything". The confession and renewal of the Pentecostalist is strictly a matter between the believer and his God.

11. Congregations in the Quechua culture in Valle Alto have the custom of "drowning" the individual public prayer with a loud "prayer roaring". The one who is praying is, so to speak, only permitted to set the prayer going in a way which is audible to those present. In the interval he is almost silent awaiting the diminuendo of the "roaring", when he resumes his prayer and rounds off the whole prayer in an audible voice. I heard one missionary criticize a similar procedure referring to 1. Corinthians 14:16, where it is said that "...how can one who finds himself among those who do not understand say "Amen" to your thanksgiving, since he does not know what you are saying?" The quotation is, however, in the first place about the use of speaking with tongues.

Chapter 7: Social Work

1. For fiscal year 1988/89 inclusive, Bolivia has, principally through the Mission, received 61.4 million Swedish crowns (SEK) from SIDA. This makes Bolivia the second largest recipient in Latin America after Nicaragua (120,6 million SEK (SIDA 1990).

2. *Dagen*, September 26, 1990, p.18.

3. The marginal man concept is well-known and disputed. It was introduced by Robert E. Park, in 1928, and elaborated by Everett V. Stonequist, his pupil. The marginal man is, Park observes, usually of mixed race but the cause of his marginality is not that but the fact that he lives in two worlds, where he is more or less stranger in both. These worlds could also be of another kind, not entirely earthly:

The Christian convert in Asia or in Africa exhibits many if not most of the characteristics of the marginal man - the same spiritual instability, intensified self-consciousness, restlessness and *malaise*. (Park 1928:893)

On the cultural hybrid Stonequist writes:

Missionaries have been instrumental in producing such individuals: the convert who is no longer adjusted to his native group and yet is not fully at home or accepted by the white group. (1935:9)

4. The view has biblical support. In the parable of the wedding of the King's son, which obviously deals with the prospect of salvation, Jesus ends up by stating that "... many are invited, but few are chosen" (Matthew 22:14). The Bible passage eliminates, you might say, the development perspective of the Mission as a democratic alternative.

5. See also *Dagen*, March 2, 1991. The article, on government money for private organizations, is headed "The State pays half of the Churches' mission".

6. See also *Pingströrelsens årsbok* 1989:44 and TAF 1986(3):2 and 1987(2):3.

7. TAF 1986(3):2.

8. Jan-Åke Alvarsson asserts that it is by no means inconceivable that a believer could be "called" to evaluate the missionary work of another who is "called". I think, however, that such a relation could pose the risk of antagonism.

Chapter 8: Calling and Organization

1. The "physical" is no unknown idiom for Pentecostals. Recently a well-known singer and evangelist, when asked what she would like to whisper to the prime minister, said "There is hope for Sweden if the foot-soldiers march on their knees (*knäbögen*)" (*Dagen*, September 9, 1990). (Our prime minister at the time was nicknamed "The foot".)

2. Beidelman (1981:77-78) reports a similar, though inverted, case where missionaries in East Africa (the Church Missionary Society) "even held services and preached in English to natives who could not possibly understand their meaning". The Plan was that the missionaries "were to speak the word and under the influence of the Holy Spirit conversion would take place".

3. Most of the passages on "calling" and "called" allude, however, to God's general calling to salvation and faith. According to Max Weber's investigation of the concept of calling (1985:79-92) its modern meaning - an object in life within a distinct field of action - emanates from the spirit of the Bible translator rather than from the original. In Luther's translation the concept (*Beruf*) first appears in Jesus Sirach, chapter 11.

4. There are certainly other interpretations of the missionary's assertion of divine intervention. Durkheim, who emphasizes the anchorage of the religious experience in society and in the religious community, asserts that the faith may get sufficient nourishment, and is kept active, only when it is shared by many.

In fact, a man who has a veritable faith feels an invincible need of spreading it: therefore he leaves his isolation, approaches others and seeks to convince them, and it is the ardour of the convictions which he arouses that strengthens his own. It would quickly weaken if it remained alone. (1965:473)

Durkheim formulates the spontaneous effect of a commitment system; the glow of conviction which the true believer awakens in others strengthens his own experience, which - if insulated - would soon wither. Linden, in a more negative interpretation, sees the missionary's endeavour as a sign of "fundamental insecurity in his beliefs".

If a person has nagging doubts about the validity of some enterprise or whether he should wholly commit himself to it, one way to put those doubts to rest is to get everybody who might verify those doubts to join him in that undertaking. No commitment to any enterprise is more intense than a person's religious commitment, and for the believer, there is nothing more inimical than worship of opposing faiths... To convert the carnal savage is not to save his soul, but to reaffirm the missionary's faith... (1976:21)

Turner, however, perceives an explanation in the first Pentecost and in the "drive to inclusivity" of *communitas*.

One wants to make the Others, We... when people of different linguistic and ethnic group claimed, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to understand one another completely sub- or trans-linguistically. After that the Pentecost throng went forth to missionize the world. (Turner 1982:51)

Equally important, however, is the historical and general perspective on the proliferation of the normative calling. The "missionaries", "transgressors of cultures" (Gellner 1987:62), "individuals par excellence" (Burrige 1978:17), are no minority, no exotic "tribe".

They are the majority. They are not deviants. They are the mainstream of at least one important tradition. Missionaries are not foolish and redundant excrescences from e.g. the Christian tradition: they are of its essence. It is not a contingent, but an essential feature of Christianity, that the Gospel should be spread!

In other words, the normativism does not come in small dose, but is, in effect, overwhelmingly large. Think away the missionaries who spread Christianity over Europe, the Reformers who reformed it, the Rationalists who secularised it - and what is left of the European tradition? (Gellner 1987:62)

The historical perspective, the reference to the idea of "mission" as a deeply rooted key pattern in the European tradition, is the most satisfying explanation of the fact that today's Swedish mission (spiritual and social) does not create any domestic sensation but is perceived as something natural. This view is, however, contrary to the Mission's own. The missionary is called, according to Alvarsson, "to something which breaks with the naturally human, to something exceptional, to something difficult" (1990:15).

5. Cf. *TAF* 1981(1):13 and 1982(1):11 on the risk that the Mission will be guided by the stipulations for getting SIDA grants.

6. Missionaries usually do not speak about their "salary". They often do not even think of it as a salary, but as "maintenance". It appears as if the word salary jeopardizes the calling by trivializing it. The maintenance on the other hand aims at keeping the missionary alive, so that he can fulfil his task. Besides, "salary" forms associations with "employment" which conflicts with the calling's character of divine intervention. God does not employ, he calls to office. Swedish Pentecostal Mission, however, now speaks of the missionaries' "salaries", at least at home (See for instance the *Missionsbetänkandet*, 1985). The missionary's playing down of his financial circumstances

could easily lead to questions among the local population (Cf. Kamppinen 1989:153).

7. When I once expressed some concern about the health of a hard-working missionary-doctor he looked astonished, and exclaimed: "But we have come out here to work!"

8. The designation "missionary" for every person sent out, irrespective of his primary task, is legitimized by the assurance that "everybody, first and foremost, has a spiritual task to fulfil". No precise meaning of that statement is given.

9. When Barnabas and Saul "sent forth by the Holy Ghost", went to Cyprus they also brought John "as their helper" (Acts 13:5). So there is a certain biblical support for the missionary keeping "domestic servants", at least if they are of the missionary's own nationality. (One family had brought a Swedish au pair.)

10. The fear of too much theoretical education is related to the issue of commitment versus scientific hypothesis and the fact that "religious beliefs may ... fly in the face of evidence" (Wittgenstein said that according to Trigg (1973:30)).

Chapter 9: The Blessed Giving

1. Matthew 5:42: "Give to the one who asks you and do not turn away from the one who wants to borrow from you." 1 John 3:17: "If anyone has material possessions and sees his brother in need but has no pity on him, how can the love of God be in him?" Matthew 10:8: "Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse those who have leprosy, drive out demons. Freely you have received, freely give." Luke 6:30: "Give to everyone who asks you, and if anyone takes what belongs to you, do not demand it back."

2. What Simmel meant by "induction" is evident from the following quotation, dealing with faithfulness.

Faithfulness, thus, might be called "induction by feeling". At such and such a moment a relation existed. In formal analogy to theoretical induction, feeling concludes that, therefore, the relation also exists at a later moment. And, just as in intellectual induction, the later instance need no longer be ascertained as fact, so to speak (because induction precisely means that we may do without this ascertainment), so here, very often, the later moment no longer shows a real feeling or interest, but only the inductively developed state called faithfulness. (1950:381)

3. In April 1990 a news agency (AFP, Dhaka) was able to report that the beggars in Rangpur, Bangladesh, had gathered to demonstrate, claiming a minimum alms from the public of at least one taka at a time.

4. For the complex of charity and bonds among Orthodox Jews, see Heilman (1975).

5. The campaign was wittily called "*U-hjälp som kostar skjortan*" (literally "development aid that will cost your shirt").

6. For examples of a comparatively open-hearted mission critique, see Kibongi (1967) and a *Dagen* article (March 25, 1991) entitled "The relation to missionaries not always good" (*Förhållandet till missionärer inte alltid bra*). Jean Kidula from Kenya tells about the encounter with missionaries.

Chapter 10: The "Being At-home"

1. The conceptual issue of locality and the empirical place is basic also to anthropological theory which has "always been based on the practice of going *somewhere*, preferably somewhere geographically, morally, and socially distant from the theoretical and cultural metropolis of the anthropologist" (Appadurai 1986:356).

2. This is the introduction to Simmel's excursus on the stranger.

Wenn das Wandern als die Gelöstheit von jedem gegebenen Raumpunkt der begriffliche Gegensatz zu der Fixiertheit an einem solchen ist, so stellt die soziologische Form des "Fremden" doch bewissermassen die Einheit beider Bestimmungen dar. (1923:509)

If wandering is the liberation from every given point in space, and thus the conceptional opposite to fixation at such a point, the sociological form of the "stranger" presents the unity, as it were, of these two characteristics. (Dubin 1953:124)

The digression is to be found in the Chapter 9, on "The space and the spatial order of Society", in his *Soziologie*, published in 1908. The excursus consists of little more than three pages of text in small print, whose substance, 80 years after its publication, is still looked upon as the starting-point for the sociological discussion on the "stranger" concept. For translations into English see also Wolff 1950, Park and Burgess 1930, and Levine 1971.

3. To the same category of alien elements belong, of course, anthropological fieldwork and archaeological digging.

4. The missionary does not belong to the kind of stranger who is here today and gone tomorrow. Like Simmel's stranger he comes today and stays tomorrow but is, at the same time, a "potential wanderer" (1923:509), who "although he has not moved on,... has not quite overcome the freedom of coming and going" (Simmel 1950:125). One of the categories which Simmel seems to exclude is the accidental guest, who is certainly a stranger but who, like Jesus in Emmaus, behaves "as though he would have gone further" (Luke 12:28).

5. What is meant by "home"? Schütz gives a small exposition on this concept. It means of course different things to different people: "It means, of course, father-house and mother-tongue, the family, the sweetheart, the friends; it means a beloved landscape, "songs my mother taught me", food prepared in a particular way, familiar things in daily use, folkways, and personal habits - briefly, a peculiar way of life composed of small and important elements, likewise cherished" (Schütz 1945:370). "To feel at home is", Schütz writes, a manifestation "of the highest degree of familiarity and intimacy". It is a matter of following routines, to solve the daily problems in accordance with a well known pattern. It is a question of using a known "scheme of expression and interpretation", in order to be understood and to understand.

6. Wood, primarily interested in what happens to the group that receives the stranger (voluntarily or not), emphasizes that this encounter is a confrontation between strangers. "It must not be overlooked, however, that the members of the group are just as much strangers to the unknown individual who comes into their midst as he is a stranger to them. The contact is one between strangers." (1934:46)

7. The report of the meeting contains no formulation of any explicit decision to approve of these rules. The only decision seems to be to translate them "into our respective languages and send them to congregations missionizing in Bolivia, so that information can be given to future missionaries".

8. The Mission's romance rule has an analogue at the Säter Hospital (for institutional psychiatric care) where emotional relations between personnel and patients are not allowed. If such a relationship should crop up the employee either has to take some time off, take another place, or leave (Dr. Göran Kjellberg in P1, *Radio Ellen*, April 21, 1990). From a Swedish refugee camp there is a report of a Swedish caretaker being dismissed for falling in love with and marrying a refugee woman from Czechoslovakia. The official motive seems to have been the insistence on total "independence" between the two categories (*Dagen*, November 14, 1990).

9. Cf. Latukefu concerning missionaries from Polynesia to Melanesia: "The Tongans and Samoans had no doubt whatsoever of their physical, mental, and cultural superiority to the Melanesians, an attitude that was reinforced by their role of "bringing light to the darkness of Melanesia"" (1978:98). This was manifested, among other things, in the fact that "marriage between Samoans or Tongans and local people was extremely rare" (ibid.). It appears therefore as if what I call the "romance rule" exists also between non-European missionaries and their converts. To say that the romance rule expresses racist overtones would be an exaggeration. The romance rule has structural and situational causes rather than racial ones.

10. There is a trait of pilgrimage in missionary tourism just as there is a trait of crusade in the missionary enterprise. The mission country can, perhaps owing to the exceptional success reported for the Gospel, stand out as "holy" in relation to the missionaries' increasingly dechristianized home countries, and a journey there could be perceived as a holy service, a pilgrimage. The mission field is something of a new destination of pilgrimage. The believing pilgrim himself has, in a way, been part of the creation of this "holy spot".

11. The function of this "immigration club" had its counterpart in social clubs or regional associations in Lima, consisting of migrants from inland Peru.

When the acculturative pressures are too strong the club provides an opportunity to talk to *paisanos*, to play and listen to sierra music, eat sierra food and dance sierra dances at club fiestas, without feeling ashamed or anxious about the ridicule of Lima or coastal people. (Mangin 1965:317)

12. The walking "out of step" may be compared to the common generational metaphor. The native church is often thought of as the "daughter-congregation" and the ageing process of a sect may be relevant also to the relation between mother-church and offspring.

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This is a study of a Nordic Pentecostal Mission to Bolivia. Its focus is the intersection between Mission and native church. The argument centres on the consequences, for this encounter, of the inevitable ageing of the parent system.

Continuously a part of the social order back home, the missionary feels significantly different than the people surrounding him, a position predisposing him to teaching and to a reluctant participation in the inner life of the emerging church.

These dispositions prevent the missionary from experiencing the vital spiritual renewal in the same social order as the convert. The two will, at best, establish parallel series of renewal and betterment. The asymmetrical relation is expressed also by a variety of social means, epitomized as the "blessed giving".

In a close equivalence between mission, teaching, and donating, the blessed giving tends to replace the spiritual experience as the driving force in the system.

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