

of these materials will soon be made available for China mission researchers who will be able to go directly to the collection without following my circuitous route. But they will not have as much fun!

Note

1. Wylie also lists the English publications for each missionary. Most of these have been much easier to find than the Chinese publications.

Some Relevant Anthropological Concepts for Effective Cross-Cultural Ministry¹

DARRELL L. WHITEMAN

Many of our regular readers may find this article rather elementary. But our newer readers, especially those in field situations, will be grateful for this helpful summary of anthropological principles that can be applied to the missionary task. And the review — by a “behavioral science convert” — is good for us all. Furthermore, author Whiteman will be building on these basic principles with a further essay in our next (July) issue on the effective communication of the Gospel amid cultural diversity.

BECAUSE ALL human beings are created in the image of God, and belong to the same species, there is significant human commonality for people everywhere — as they strive to meet their basic human needs for food, shelter, security and struggle — to be affirmed and to belong. But this common substratum has generated an impressive diversity of cultural expression and a babel of tongues.

One of the most significant contributions anthropology has made to our understanding of man has been its documentation of the diverse ways the human animal has adapted to different ecological and social environments. Of all the creatures in the animal kingdom, man is by far the most adaptable. He adapts, however, not so much through genetic recombination, but through culture. To understand the diverse ways of mankind,

Darrell L. Whiteman is currently Research Anthropologist at The Melanesian Institute, Goroka, Papua New Guinea. Earlier, he served two years as a volunteer mission worker in central Africa and he taught sociology at Greenville College (Illinois). He earned his Ph.D. at Southern Illinois University.

we must take a closer look at the concept of culture as developed within anthropology.

The Concept of Culture

One of the greatest contributions anthropology has made to the missionary enterprise is its refinement of the concept of culture: the entire man-made environment in which every human being lives. Culture, thus conceived, refers to that complete array of ideas that man carries in his head which are expressed in the form of material artifacts and observable behavior (cf. Kroeber 1952). Much of what we attribute to "human nature" is *not* naturally human or universal at all, but is a consequence of being a member of a particular society that practices certain customs and holds certain beliefs. It is this body of beliefs and customs that comprise the culture of a society, allowing it to function in a particular environment and enabling its members to get on with the business of living. The *human* nature with which we are born is indeed very flexible and is thus molded, shaped and formed to fit in with the society in which we are raised.

Culture is not human nature. It is not transmitted biologically through genetic material, but is learned. Racism, prejudice, love, kindness are all *learned* responses; they are not genetically transmitted from one generation to another. They are transmitted, however, through the learning process. Moreover, a normal member of any society has acquired the essential structure of his culture within the first five years of life. Thus in observing human behavior from one society to another, it is more appropriate to speak of one's *cultural* nature than of one's human nature.

The pervasiveness of culture on human beings is most astounding when we pause to reflect on it. We are thoroughly immersed in and totally influenced by it, for not only is our behavior governed by our culture but our thinking process is also pervasively influenced by it. I am not implying that we are totally determined by culture and that there is no individual expression within it, for this is obviously not true; but our culture does establish the parameters and conditions of appropriate and inappropriate behavior.

I recall once explaining this pervasive nature of culture to a class of introductory anthropology students. Finally one young

man couldn't take it any longer. He blurted out that perhaps some people were completely influenced by their culture, but that he certainly wasn't: he was his own man, he went his own way and did his own thing. I complimented him for cogently articulating the contemporary, ideal model of the young American male as our culture defines it. His was an American response, not an African or Melanesian one, and his culture had so shaped his personality and values that he was quite unaware of it. This is the pervasive nature of culture, for it seems so natural to us that we readily confuse it with human nature.

Cultural Models

Another way in which our culture influences us is in the way we perceive the "real world," for we "see" it in terms of the cultural models we use to interpret it. Philosophers of science have alerted us to the fact that the "real world" out there, and our perception or model of that world which is in our minds, are never isomorphic. That is, the cultural models we use to interpret the world influence the way we perceive it.² We always perceive through a cultural lens. St. Paul, the missionary-anthropologist of the New Testament, captured this principle when he noted that, "What we see now is like a dim image in a mirror; then we shall see face to face. What I know now is only partial; then it will be complete" (1 Cor 13:12).³

We are in error when we assume that our distorted cultural model of the world is an exact replica of the real world (Barbour 1974:34-50). And yet, this position of naive realism dominated the scientific world until the present century. It is only recently that we've discovered that the "real world" out there can only be understood in terms of the observer's frame of reference and biases which determine how he perceives this real world and the order he imposes upon it.

Given the diversity of language and culture around the world, and the role these two entities play in shaping our perception (model) of the world, it should not be surprising to discover that there are indeed many different cultural models of the real world. Because our cultural model of the world seems to be so natural to us, so correct, it is easy for us to disparage other cultural models that differ from our own, labeling them inferior, superstitious, primitive or even sinful. Anthropologists call this attitude ethnocentrism and it is analogous to egocentrism.

In transactional terms, an egocentric person says, I'm OK, you're not OK. Similarly, an ethnocentric person says, my culture, my life-way is OK but yours is not. We are all guilty of this when we step out of our own culture into another, and it is indeed a pervasive problem for many missionaries. Our view of the world, the way we think and act, seems so utterly a part of our human nature that alternative models strike us as wrong, missing the mark or inadequate.

Perhaps an illustration of the way culture influences our perception of the world will be helpful at this point. Ever since the European Enlightenment, Western man has increasingly replaced supernatural explanations of cause and effect with naturalistic explanations, and indeed, a broad body of scientific knowledge has grown from this foundation. Because scientific knowledge has generated such an expansion of technological achievements it has left us a bit awed by the scientific enterprise, and buttressed our belief in a naturalistic world. We have adopted a cultural evolutionary view of history that identifies progress with Western Civilization and all other cultures of the world are left in the dust of our rapid development. Our technological sophistication has led us to naively believe that we must be superior to *all* other societies in *every* aspect of their culture. This naturalistic and scientific worldview has made it very difficult for Western man to believe in supernatural intervention in the affairs of the universe. Christians particularly, suffer from cognitive dissonance living in such a world, for there is little room for the supernatural. This view of reality is a product of Western culture. It is only a model, and as a model it may be partially true and very useful, but it is not sufficient.

In contrast to this Western model is a Melanesian model of the world that has plenty of room for supernatural intervention. In fact, supernatural activity in the form of ghosts and spirits is as real to Melanesians as the possibility of flying to the moon is real to us. I recently spent a year in the Solomon Islands studying the socio-cultural impact of an Anglican mission. I was interested in understanding the islanders' conceptual model of the universe and discovering how Anglican Christianity related to it. Islanders were well aware of the European model of the universe that gave no credence to magic, ghosts or spirits, but rather lumped them all together in one category, labeling it

superstition. The first few months of my fieldwork I was told very little about their perception of the role of ghosts and spirits in their lives. It was not until I consciously affirmed their cultural model of the universe as a valid one that they began telling me of their encounters with ghosts and spirits and their pervasive use of magic. Once islanders were convinced that I believed their worldview was a valid one, even though it was different from mine, they freely shared with me the supernatural experiences they had. We traded stories. They taught me about the use of magic and the realm of ghosts and spirits, and I told them all I knew about the American space program and the Watergate affair.

Cultural Validity

This brings us to an important point in our understanding of other cultures. To combat the insidious ethnocentrism of Euro-Americans, anthropology in its study of the diversity of cultures has developed and utilized the doctrine of cultural relativism.⁴ This is an extremely important concept for every cross-cultural worker to understand and internalize. However, it can be easily confused with ethical relativity.

Ethical relativism holds to the thesis of cultural relativism in that in different cultures the same action or thing is judged differently, but it goes one step further and states that in each of these respective cultures, the judgments made by the members of that culture are not only different but also *correct*. However, it is not logical reasoning to go from making descriptive statements about people in different cultures judging an action differently, to prescriptive statements about ethical relativism that imply the judgments made are correct ones in each culture. Unfortunately many anthropological texts are full of these kinds of illustrations.

For example, the Marind people in New Guinea believed that the only way a child could get a name and a separate identity was by taking it from a living person. Therefore headhunting was practiced and as long as the head was obtained from an enemy it was judged to be acceptable behavior. Now in London, headhunting of one's enemies, or anyone else, is not acceptable behavior. However, the ethical relativist, after describing that headhunting is acceptable among the Marind in New Guinea, but not acceptable among the English in London, then goes on to

state that for the Marind headhunting is morally and ethically right behavior, but for the English it is not.

Let us look briefly at the logic of the argument:

Premise 1: The Marind believe headhunting is right.

Premise 2: The English believe headhunting is wrong.

Conclusion: What is right and wrong is relative to one's culture.

The fallaciousness of this argument form is made all the more clear when the same logic is applied to judgments about shapes. For example:

Premise 1: Culture X believes the earth is flat.

Premise 2: Culture Y believes the earth is rather spherical.

Conclusion: Therefore, the shape of the earth is relative to one's culture.

Now the earth cannot be both flat and spherical — it may be neither, but it is logically impossible for it to be both. However, this kind of reasoning allows people to jump from affirming cultural relativism to believing in ethical relativity.⁵

Cultural relativism is also frequently confused with ethical egoism. Ethical egoism is the notion that individual behavior is not constrained by any social controls. That is, individuals do as they please with regard only to their own interests rather than being controlled by group norms. Ethical egoism seems to flourish more in those societies where individualism is valued above the corporate group, as in our own American society.

In contrast, the essence of cultural relativism is a mutual respect for cultural differences, a validating of diverse ways of living, not just our own, and an affirmation of the values in each culture. Because many Christians tend to react negatively to any concept of relativism, it is perhaps better if we speak in terms of cultural validity to emphasize the positive connotation of this perspective. Cultural validity calls us to respect cultures as integrated entities and to see them as frameworks in which people actualize their values and prescribe appropriate behavior to attempt to meet their needs as human beings.

However, this does not imply that cultures are complete and perfect without need of change. From a Biblical perspective the principle of cultural relativism calls us to be all things to all men. For Christians, this perspective is on the cultural level, what personal acceptance or the Golden Rule is on the individual level. It recommends that instead of making *a priori* judgments about a culture (or an individual), we should accept the validity

of that culture (or individual) regardless of whether our own values predispose us to approve of the culture (or individual). This position of affirming the validity of another culture assumes that it has its own strengths and weaknesses, different from ours, but it does not predispose us to becoming ethical relativists.

A belief in the validity of other cultures does not obligate one to approve of such customs as cannibalism, widow burning, infanticide, premarital sex, polygamy and the like. But it does insist that *one take such customs seriously within the cultural context in which they occur* and attempt to appreciate the importance of their function within that context (Kraft 1979:50).

If we are to be effective cross-cultural communicators of the Gospel it is imperative that we move from an ethnocentric perspective to one of cultural validity, taking seriously the cultures of our host societies and viewing them as whole entities in which human beings strive to meet their needs. This implies that we will treat people in other cultures as if we expect them to teach us something.

This brings us logically to consider another important aspect of culture that is particularly relevant to cross-cultural communication of the Gospel. This is the notion of functional integration.

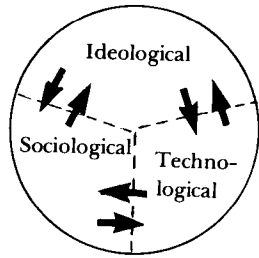
The Functional Integration of Culture

Particular elements of a given culture do not exist in isolation, nor is culture simply a random hodgepodge assortment of quaint customs. The elements of culture in the form of ideas, behavior patterns and material products are integrally related to each other, forming a coherent cultural system. An analogy to the human body is helpful if not pushed too far. The human body functions as an entire system. When there is disease or injury in one part, it affects other parts of the whole. So it is with a culture, the parts function to sustain the whole.

An interesting example of functional integration in our own culture is the way the American automobile has become integrated into our society. Its obvious purpose is transportation, but it has become such an integral part of what we call the "American Way of Life" that it performs many more functions than simply transporting people from one place to another. For example, we use the automobile as a status marker for prestige in our highly materialistic society. It functions as a

symbol of rugged individualism and the spirit of freedom which we prize so much. Teenage couples use an automobile as a haven of privacy, but cease to use it in this function once they are married. The automobile has profoundly affected our work habits, our family relationships, the organization of our churches, our buying patterns and so on. In fact, the automobile has become so integrated into so many aspects of our culture that it may very well prove to be the largest obstacle in preventing us from responding appropriately to the present-day energy crisis.

A culture can be diagrammed in the following way to demonstrate the social, ideological and technological spheres interacting with each other.



Because different aspects of culture are functionally integrated with other areas, it follows that a change in one sphere will lead to changes in others. A vivid example of this chain-reaction effect is provided by Lauriston Sharp (Spicer 1952:69-90). He documents the introduction of steel axes from a European mission into the society of the Yir Yoront, an Australian Aboriginal group. Steel axes were in great demand by the Aborigines to replace traditional stone axes. But in the Yir Yoront society, the stone axe was much more than just a technological element. Like the automobile in our own society, the stone axe among this group was integrated into nearly every aspect of their culture. It was tied up with social relationships, it was an important symbol of masculinity, it played a major role in economic exchanges with other aboriginal groups, and it was inextricably tied to Yir Yoront mythology and religion. What was the outcome then, of introducing a technological element — the steel axe — to replace the stone axe? In a word, the result was disastrous. Their culture fell apart. The social relationships between members of the society were drastically changed. Older men lost their position of prestige and respect, family

relationships were altered, the authority pattern was disturbed, and traditional ideas, sentiments and values were undermined, at a rapidly mounting rate, with no new conceptions being defined to replace them. The result was the erection of a mental and moral void which foreshadowed the collapse and destruction of all Yir Yoront culture, if not, indeed, the extinction of the biological group itself (*ibid*:85-86).

Sharp's documentation of culture change among the Yir Yoront is admittedly an extreme example, but it nevertheless vividly illustrates the way different aspects of a culture are functionally integrated so that change in one area leads to change in others.⁶ Missionaries need to understand this principle to avoid indiscriminantly advocating change in customs that they find offensive in their host society.

For example, the concept of "bride price" has been frequently misunderstood by missionaries who have attempted to abolish it. They have perceived the exchange between families, through their own western cultural lens, and so have interpreted it negatively as "buying a wife." But bride price is an extremely important mechanism which functions to legalize marriage, legitimize the offspring, and ultimately acts as a strong, cohesive bond between the two families, thus increasing the stability of marriage. When bride price is forcibly abolished it not only leads to instability in marriage, but depreciates the value of women in their own society, disturbs the economic system and so on (Nida 1954:102-104).

Culture Change

Cultures are not static entities. They are dynamic and always undergoing change. Unfortunately many anthropologists' ethnographic descriptions of different cultures can give one an impression of a static way of life for a particular society. Moreover, many anthropologists seem to prefer the study of an isolated, pristine, "primitive" society that has not yet been "spoiled" by contact with the West. This conservative bias in anthropology, which tends to view change advocated from outside a culture in almost pathological terms, must be called into question. One of the greatest challenges facing anthropology today is accounting for how cultures change, since the walls of isolation protecting societies from Western influence are crumbling throughout the world.

Change in any cultural system occurs from both internal and

external sources. Internal change occurs naturally from one generation to another because the same cultural patterns that parents learn from their parents and in turn teach to their children are never reproduced identically from one generation to the next. Internal change may also be very rapid and very purposeful as in the case of revitalization movements, whereby a given society attempts to consciously create a more satisfying culture.⁷ The thousands of Independent Churches in Africa and the plethora of "cargo cults" in Melanesia are examples of revitalization movements that call for careful attention by the missionary enterprise.

In addition to internal sources of culture change, a great deal of change in the Third World in the past 100 years has resulted from direct, purposeful, planned change from outside these societies. The principal agents of change have been traders, colonial government officials and missionaries from the West, introducing new artifacts, new laws, and variants of a new religion.

The field of applied anthropology has contributed an immense body of data and theory that helps us understand how indigenes interpret, adopt, modify or reject ideas that are introduced into a culture from external agents of change such as missionaries. Anthropologist Homer Barnett has made one of the most significant contributions to this area by focusing our attention on the function of innovation in the process of culture change. The essence of his theory is that all cultural change, whether developed from within the society or advocated from without, involves the fundamental socio-psychological process of *individual innovation*. He defines an innovation as, "any thought, behavior, or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms" (Barnett 1953:7). Every innovation is an idea, or a constellation of ideas and has antecedents. An innovation is something that is *qualitatively* new, and thus the emphasis is placed on the *reorganization* of ideas rather than upon quantitative variation.

Innovation does not result from the addition or subtraction of parts. It takes place only when there is a recombination of them. Psychologically this is a process of substitution, not one of addition or subtraction, although the product, the novelty, may be described as having a greater or lesser number of parts than some antecedent form. The essence of change, however, lies in the restructuring of the parts so that a new pattern results (*ibid*:9).

This is a very important point, for an external agent of change may *advocate* change, but it will not occur until the receptor of that idea or artifact interprets it in terms of his pre-existing configuration of ideas and creates an *innovation*. Thus the locus of cultural change is in the mind of the receptor, the *innovator*, not with the one who *advocates* change. This is extremely important in terms of the missionary task, for missionaries are concerned with advocating change, but it is the indigene who receives the message and actively responds as the innovator. An understanding of applied anthropology will help the missionary understand why some areas of his hosts' culture are receptive to change while other areas are resistant; why the change he advocates in his host society is reinterpreted and accepted, modified or rejected.⁸

Although traditionally anthropology has been more concerned with salvaging the remnants of extant cultures than in studying the various factors contributing to their change, recent developments have opened the way for greater understanding of the complex process of directed change from one society to another. We now have a better idea of the missionary's role in functioning as an agent of change as he advocates specific changes in his host society. Unfortunately too many missionaries have ignored these recent break-throughs and have been unreflective about their role as change agents.

Problems of Cross-Cultural Communication

I have emphasized above the tremendous diversity of cultures, despite the commonality of man, and the role that culture plays in shaping our values, our behavior and even our conception of the world. The 6,000 or more different languages in the world are not simply alternative symbolic systems that reflect the same reality; they in fact represent different realities altogether. Some languages, of course, such as German and English, are symbolic systems representing nearly the same reality, but others, such as English and Hopi reflect quite different realities for they each impose a different order on the world. Theologians encounter this phenomenon to a degree in the difference between Greek and Hebrew which represent different worldviews. They are not simply alternative codes for the same worldview.

Because of linguistic and cultural diversity, communication

across linguistic and cultural boundaries is indeed very complex and very difficult, but normally not impossible. To communicate effectively, however, the communicator has to do more than simply learn the language of the receptor. He must be aware of the receptor's worldview and culture in which he is embedded. As Kraft notes, "The purpose of communication is to bring a receptor to understand a message presented by a communicator in a way that substantially corresponds with the intent of the communicator" (1979:147). And yet, effective communication is difficult to achieve. For what is intended by the communicator and what is understood by the receptor are often not identical, even when communication takes place between members of the same culture who hold similar values, similar worldviews and similar norms of behavior. It is of course even more difficult to assure that the receptor understands what the communicator intends when none of these are held in common. Owing to these complexities, successful communication must be measured not by what is said but by what the receptor understands. If the receptor understands what the communicator intended, then communication between the two has been successful. Even though the communicator may be articulate and eloquent, employing vivid illustrations to get his message across, he has failed if his listeners do not understand what he has intended.

When two human beings interact they are communicating to each other in more ways than simply through verbal exchange. There are many messages being sent between the two, many of which lie below the conscious level of both communicator and recipient. Often these paramessages distract from or confuse the main verbal message, so that what the communicator *says*, is contradicted or superseded by the paramessages that communicate a different behavior, attitude, etc. The popular phrase, "One's actions speak louder than one's words," captures this principle of communication.⁹

For example, Anglican missionaries in Melanesia, in an attempt to earn the good will of the islanders upon initial contact, doled out gifts of fish-hooks, steel axes, cloth and sundry other "trade" items. The missionaries intended that this "paramessage" facilitate the communication of their main message — The Good News of Jesus Christ. But frequently islanders enthusiastically received the paramessage that said, "We want to establish goodwill", but ignored altogether as

meaningless or irrelevant the missionaries' main message. Thus, in some cases the behavioral paramessage confused or detracted from the missionaries' main verbal message. I believe Nida has touched a crucial point when he notes that, "It is not primarily the message but the messenger of Christianity that provides the greatest problems for the average non-Christian" (1954-251).

The Problem of Form and Meaning

One of the most important areas of culture that contribute to the problem of cross-cultural communication is the relationship between cultural forms and the meanings they convey. Cultural forms are the obvious, observable or audible parts of culture such as material artifacts, behaviors, ceremonies, words, etc. They are always culture specific. That is, they do not convey any universal meaning but are related to a specific meaning which is determined by the cultural context in which they are employed. Thus a form transplanted from one culture to another seldom, if ever, carries the same meaning across cultural boundaries. The people who adopt an introduced form will assign a meaning to it that is different from the meaning assigned to it in the original culture.

For example, missionaries introducing the Bible to Mazatecos Indians in Mexico used an indigenous word for the term "God's Word." However, this society had a culture pervaded by the belief that one could have supernatural experiences by eating hallucinogenic mushrooms. That is, they considered the mushroom a means of getting a message from God. Thus the form (word) used by the missionaries to translate "God's Word" meant to the receptors, "eating the sacred mushroom." Since all kinds of ritual precaution and taboos surrounded the use of the mushroom, these people were afraid to read God's Word for fear they would break the taboos and consequently go crazy, or their children would die, or some other calamity would befall them. After more than a year, when the missionaries finally discovered the way the Mazatecos were interpreting what they intended to communicate, they changed the form and used terms that meant, "This book teaches us about God." The alternative term conveyed a different meaning to the Mazatecos that was now closer to what the missionaries had originally intended (Smalley 1967:52-57).

There are numerous examples in the literature of indigenes

applying a particular meaning to a form used by a missionary that is very different from what the missionary has intended to communicate. The rites of water baptism and holy communion are two forms that are particularly susceptible to this problem.

Cultural forms are important because of the *meaning* they convey, and not because there is any intrinsic value in them. A form in and of itself is useless — only when it imparts meaning to someone does it take on a useful function. We often forget this, because in our habitual day-to-day activities we don't pause to analytically separate the meaning from the form. We treat them psychologically as a whole unit. And of course this is precisely where we run into difficulty when we attempt to communicate to someone who does not derive the same meaning from the form we use, whether it be a word, an act or an object. We say something or do something in an attempt to communicate a specific meaning, but the word we use or the behavior we adopt has a very different meaning for the receptor, and thus our communication is ineffective. However, we frequently insist on using certain cultural forms because they have certain meanings for us, and because of our cultural conditioning, it all seems so natural, so right. Therefore, when we see others employing different forms to communicate the same meaning it strikes us as strange, wierd, wrong or even sinful. And yet this is the nature of culture in which every human being is embedded.¹⁰

It is clear that effective communication must be receptor-oriented (Kraft 1979:147ff). When this postulate is accepted we have arrived at the heart of the missionary problem. We are now in a position to begin the exhilarating task of seeking to communicate the Gospel across cultures without loss of meaning. This means the way is open before us to answer adequately the question: How shall one communicate the meaning of Christianity in forms that will be understandable and meaningful to the receptors in another culture?

Summary and Conclusion

The Incarnation is not simply the miracle of God becoming a human being, but God becoming man immersed in a specific culture. Jesus was a Jew and so his life was shaped and molded by Jewish culture. He abstained from eating pork and followed other Jewish cultural patterns of appropriate behavior. He was molded by his culture through language and his speech was that

of the hillbilly dialect of Galilee, not that of the more prestigious Jerusalem dialect.

If our cross-cultural communication of the Gospel is to be an effective ministry, then we must understand the importance and meaning of God's Incarnation in Culture. In this essay I have attempted to present some important concepts that can help us gain a perspective of God's Incarnation in Culture. I have briefly outlined what culture is, how it functions, and why it is so important for the missionary to understand. A further step is now to take these insights from anthropology and develop a model of communication of the Gospel that takes seriously the cultural aspects of Incarnation. In the past we have too often ignored them either because we were unaware of them or because we didn't think they were important.

Notes

1. In applying anthropological insight to missiological problems I have been greatly influenced by the seminal writing of Kraft (1977, 1979), Law (1968), Loewen (1975), Luzbetak (1963), Mayers (1974), Nida (1954, 1960) and Tippett (1967, 1973). See also Smalley (1967, 1978). In preparing this article, I am grateful for helpful comments and criticism from David Mellick, Ohio State University, Mike Olson of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and my colleagues at the Melanesian Institute, Mary MacDonald and Ennio Mantovani.
2. Ian Barbour (1974) has written an excellent book on the role of cultural models employed in both science and religion. See also Kuhn (1970) for a detailed analysis of the function of models in scientific investigation and how they have changed during the history of science.
3. In this passage on the teaching of love, Paul affirms the value of our human knowledge and understanding, but he sets it in relation to God's understanding.
4. For further discussion on this important concept, cf. Cancian and Cancian (1974), and Herskovits (1972). On the relationship of cultural relativism to missionary work, cf. Kraft (1979:49-52, 124-128), Mayers (1974:227-243), Nida (1954:48-52), Smalley (1978:711-713). An example of the popular confusion between cultural relativism and ethical relativity is provided by McGavran (1974:2-6). He views the doctrine of cultural relativism as the *enemy* of Christian missions rather than understanding it as a positive perspective.
5. For an excellent discussion on the difference between cultural relativism and ethical relativism, and the frequent confusion of the two, especially by anthropologists, cf. Garner and Rosen (1967:167-182).
6. For an intriguing study of the social consequences of peace following conversion in a Solomon Island society, see Scheffler (1964). Another example of a chain-reaction effect following the introduction of Christianity is Messenger's study of the Anang of Nigeria (Smalley 1978:565-571).
7. On Revitalization Movements, cf. Wallace (1956). While appreciating the functional integration of a culture we must be wary of subscribing to a rigid mechanical model which suggests that every element is in perfect harmony with all others. Although cultural systems are generally adequate frameworks, there are always areas of conflict and stress. It is this fact that initiates internal change as people, dissatisfied with parts of their culture, strive for improvement through change.

8. Some of the most significant works in applied anthropology that give us a better understanding of how change can be effectively introduced into societies, by agents of change such as the missionary, are the following: Arensberg (1974), Foster (1969, 1973), Goodenough (1963), Mair (1957), Malinowski (1945), Niehoff (1966), Paul (1955), Rogers (1971), Spicer (1952).

9. The work of Edward T. Hall (1959, 1966, 1976) in the area of proxemic analysis is especially helpful at this point. The way people communicate with their body and with gestures is culturally conditioned, and of course, this is different from one culture to another which complicates the process of communication across cultural boundaries. For a very recent popular treatment of this problem, see Hall 1979.

10. For further discussion on the relationship between form and meaning especially as it relates to cross-cultural communication of the Gospel, cf. Kraft (1979:64-69), Mayers (1974:193-200), Nida (1960:33-93).

References Cited

- Arensberg, Conrad M. and Arthur H. Niehoff
1971 *Introducing Social Change*, 2nd ed. Chicago: Aldine
- Barbour, Ian G.
1974 *Myths, Models and Paradigms* NY: Harper & Row
- Barnett, Homer G.
1953 *Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change* NY: McGraw-Hill
- Cancian, Francesca M. and Frank Cancian
1974 *Cultural Relativism* Morristown, NY: General Learning Press
- Foster, George M.
1969 *Applied Anthropology* Boston: Little Brown & Co.
1973 *Traditional Societies and Technological Change*, 2nd ed. NY: Harper & Row
- Garner, Richard T. and Bernard Rosen
1967 *Moral Philosophy* NY: Macmillan
- Goodenough, Ward Hunt
1963 *Cooperation in Change* NY: Russell Sage Foundation
- Hall, Edward T.
1959 *The Silent Language* Garden City, NY: Doubleday
1966 *The Hidden Dimension* Garden City, NY: Doubleday
1976 *Beyond Culture* Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday
1979 "Learning the Arabs' Silent Language" *Psychology Today* 13.3 (August):45-54
- Herskovits, Melville J.
1972 *Cultural Relativism* NY: Random House
- Kraft, Charles H.
1977 "Can Anthropological Insight Assist Evangelical Theology?" *Christian Scholar's Review* 7:165-202
1979 *Christianity in Culture: A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-Cultural Perspective* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis
- Kroeber, Alfred and Clyde Kluckhohn
1952 *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* NY: Vintage Books
- Kuhn, Thomas
1970 *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Law, Howard W.
1968 *Winning a Hearing: An Introduction to Missionary Anthropology and Linguistics* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans

- Loewen, Jacob
1975 *Culture and Human Values* South Pasadena: William Carey Library
- Luzbetak, Louis
1963 *The Church and Cultures* Techny, IL: Divine Word Publications
- McGavran, Donald
1974 *The Clash Between Christianity and Cultures* Washington: Canon Press
- Mair, Lucy P.
1957 *Studies in Applied Anthropology* London: Athlone Press
- Malinowski, Bronislaw
1945 *The Dynamics of Culture Change* New Haven: Yale University Press
- Mayers, Marvin K.
1974 *Christianity Confronts Culture: A Study in Cross-Cultural Evangelism* Grand Rapids: Zondervan
- Nida, Eugene A.
1954 *Customs and Cultures: Anthropology for Christian Missions* NY: Harper & Row
1960 *Message and Mission: The Communication of the Christian Faith* NY: Harper & Brothers
- Niehoff, Arthur H.
1966 *A Casebook of Social Change* Chicago: Aldine
- Paul, Benjamin D. (ed.)
1955 *Health, Culture and Community* NY: Russell Sage Foundation
- Rogers, Everett M. and F. Floyd Shoemaker
1971 *Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach*, 2nd ed. NY: Free Press
- Scheffler, Harold W.
1964 "The Social Consequences of Peace on Choiseul Island" *Ethnology* 3:398-403
- Smalley, William A. (ed.)
1967 *Readings in Missionary Anthropology* Tarrytown, NY: Practical Anthropology
1978 *Readings in Missionary Anthropology II* South Pasadena: William Carey Library
- Spicer, Edward H. (ed.)
1952 *Human Problems in Technological Change* NY: Russell Sage Foundation
- Tippett, Alan R.
1967 *Solomon Islands Christianity* London: Lutterworth
1973 *Verdict Theology in Missionary Theory* South Pasadena: William Carey Library
- Wallace, Anthony F. C.
1956 "Revitalization Movements" *American Anthropologist* 58:264-281