MISSION POSSIBLE?
POWER, TRUTH-TELLING,
AND THE PURSUIT OF
MISSION AS ACCOMPANIMENT

BRIAN EDWARD KONKOL

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BRIAN EDWARD KONKOL

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DECLARATION

I declare that MISSION POSSIBLE? POWER, TRUTH-TELLING, AND THE PURSUIT OF MISSION AS ACCOMPANIMENT is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of MASTER OF THEOLOGY in the Faculty of Humanities, Development, and Social Sciences, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Brian Edward Konkol

Student Number

Date

Gerald O. West, Supervisor

Faculty Number

Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In the recent past there was a North American evangelist who felt called to visit a number of rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.[1] His goal was simple: to share the Word of God and convert a multitude of South African citizens to faith in Jesus Christ. In order to accomplish this task, he planned to utilize a new "instructional video" that would allow various South Africans to experience the Gospel message through visual media, and as a result, respond by committing their lives to the Christian faith. The North American evangelist believed his strategy was excellent, and fully trusted the Holy Spirit would work through the experience and provide countless positive "results".

After months of prayer, preparation, and passionate fundraising throughout the United States, the evangelist landed in South Africa equipped with enthusiasm, excitement, and of course, his new instructional video. Upon arrival to KwaZulu-Natal, some local Christians helped arrange a variety of rural venues and engagements, and as a result, overall attendance was expected to be in the thousands. The plan was for the evangelist to show the film, and then speak with the crowds in order to spark conversion to the Christian faith. In return for local assistance, the evangelist promised congregation leaders with financial donations to improve a number of local Church buildings.

At the first presentation, after displaying the video, the evangelist asked the assembly (through an isiZulu translator), "All those who are ready to renounce false gods and fully give their lives to faith in Jesus Christ this day, please stand and come forward". Nothing happened. No one moved. Astonished and dismayed, once again the evangelist asked the crowd to stand, come forward, and accept a new life in Jesus Christ. However,

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[1] I received this story from a friend who resides in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, who I wish to keep anonymous. As is the case with oral history, specific details and speech quotations are not to be considered historically accurate. Nonetheless, the account offers numerous insights about power and mission companionship which are helpful for the overall topic which this study seeks to explore.

once again there was no response. The confused evangelist repeated himself over and over again, and much to his amazement, nothing happened. No one moved.

While the North American evangelist was surprised and puzzled, the South African translator was not. The translator knew exactly why the crowd had not responded as the evangelist had hoped: In no way was the gathering hostile to the evangelist or his message, but rather, the individuals within the crowd had already heard of Jesus, and most of them were already baptized members of local Christian congregations! And so, the idea of "coming forward", "renouncing false gods", and "giving themselves" to Jesus was quite unimaginable, for most of them already considered themselves "given"! Why come forward and give themselves to something they had already given themselves to?

The isiZulu translator fully understood why the assembly was unresponsive. As a result, he decided to "alter" the translation in a way that would allow the evangelist to feel "successful" in getting his desired "results". Instead of asking people to come forward and "give their lives to Jesus", the translator requested, "All those who are ready to pray to Jesus, please stand and come forward". As a result, the entire gathering stood and came forward. The visiting evangelist enthusiastically praised God! He proclaimed, "Thank you Holy Spirit for bringing these people to Jesus Christ this day", and as one might imagine, the isiZulu translator continued to provide "his own interpretation" for the people to hear. What the evangelist spoke was not what the people heard.

As a result of "success" experienced by the evangelist, he took his video on the road into other rural communities throughout KwaZulu-Natal. In addition, as he was so pleased with his isiZulu translator, he decided to bring him along as well. And so, as was the case during the initial presentation, instead of asking people to come forward in order to "give their lives to Jesus", the translator asked the crowds at each venue to stand and approach the altar in order to pray to Jesus. What remained unknown to the evangelist was that each gathering was filled with Christians (nearly 80% of South Africans identify themselves with the Christian faith). Nevertheless, countless people "responded" to the

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video by standing and approaching the altar, just as the evangelist had anticipated. With each experience of "success", the evangelist grew increasingly pleased.

Following weeks of "successful evangelism", the overjoyed evangelist offered local leaders what he had promised: a substantial amount of finances to assist with church building projects. The local community was delighted. And finally, after expressing thankfulness to the translator, the evangelist returned to the United States in order to report of his resounding accomplishments. He visited various donors and sponsors who helped support the project, and described how the Holy Spirit worked through the video to convert thousands of rural South Africans. As to be expected, the donors were quite pleased, and the video was highly acclaimed as a ground-breaking tool. A strategy for mass-production and ongoing "mission trips" was put into place.

Why the hidden?

Those who engage in foreign mission companionship projects can most likely recall stories similar to that of the aforementioned evangelist and conversion videos. On countless occasions, the "official report" of what takes place in a foreign context is quite different from what actually occurred. The stories shared by those who return to North America can oftentimes be remarkably different from those communicated amongst local communities. Evangelists left to believe they converted thousands to the Christian faith have actually preached to groups who already believed. In addition, homes constructed by short-term mission groups are sometimes de-constructed afterwards in order to sell materials, earn profits, and provide for families. Books, pens, and pencils offered to schoolchildren, as well as formula and medication reserved for young mothers, are confiscated by family members and oftentimes sold for food and other basic necessities. While the rate in which such events take place can be disputed, what is certain is that such occurrences do take place. The "public" account – that which is reported "onstage" – is quite different from what is shared among local people "offstage".

One is compelled to wonder: Why the significant distinction between "public" and "hidden"? In reference to the above-mentioned narrative, why did the translator not inform the evangelist that the crowds were filled with Christians? Why not explain that conversions were not taking place? Why not share with the evangelist what everyone (except the evangelist!) knew to be true? Is this "hidden transcript" of the isiZulu translator a matter of miscommunication through cultural difference and/or language barrier? Is this an instance of hospitality and kindness to foreigners? Or, is this an example of subtle resistance to domination?

Digging Deeper

As a North American who has lived in the southern hemisphere for several years, I am fascinated by the intersection between cross-cultural communication and international cooperative efforts.[2] At the beginning of my Evangelical Lutheran Church in America – Global Mission service (alongside the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Guyana) in August of 2003, my focus centered upon language, culture, and other broad-based social dynamics. However, over the course of time, especially after a move to South Africa in January of 2008, I noticed a shift in attention that would transform the way I observed people, power, faith, and means by which joint efforts are planned and put into practice.[3] Specifically, through insights received while in discussion with various students and clergy in the region, I reflected upon whether or not the crucial issue of *power* has received enough attention when one is engaged in evaluation of global

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[2] I use "southern hemisphere" intentionally, for the terms "global south" and "third world" are becoming increasingly problematic and controversial in various circles.

[3] Much of this had to do with an invitation to observe Prof. Steve de Gruchy's University of KwaZulu-Natal (School of Religion and Theology) Theology and Development module with the title, "People, Power, and Faith". I am indebted to participants (whom represented five countries in the region: Mozambique, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe) and instructor who helped spark ongoing reflection for how I and others in North American can more faithfully accompany global companions.

mission companionship, especially when observing relationships between churches where one is often perceived as more "influential" and/or "dominant".[4]

I considered whether or not "public" and "hidden" accounts of reality were separate not because of cross-cultural miscommunication, but rather, because of power disparity and unjust relationships of dominance that are often produced as a result. For example, how would one expect a rural South African congregational leader with limited financial resources to react when the funding of church building projects may depend upon whether or not the North American evangelist is pleased with his visit? How would one expect the isiZulu translator to react when he is unsure as to whether or not his top priority (church building projects) will be delivered if the primary objective of the evangelist (conversion of non-believers) is not met? Would one not expect the translator to do whatever is necessary to ensure the local priority is addressed, especially when it appears that the evangelist is more concerned with his own goals than those of the local community? With all these questions in mind, I have come to believe that the continued in-depth study of power disparities, and the hidden thoughts and behaviors of both "dominators" and "dominated" populations, could play a critical role in understanding cooperative mission efforts between churches of the global North and South.

With the above thoughts in mind, during the early months of 2008 I was first exposed to the writings of James C. Scott, and as a result experienced a breakthrough in ongoing reflections upon power and its impact upon global mission efforts within North American churches. Specifically, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* offered an introduction to "hidden transcripts" and sparked reflection upon where such concealed thoughts and actions may have existed in my experiences in Guyana, as well as how they have an influence upon my current role in South Africa. I considered:

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[4] Specifically, I am greatly indebted to students and faculty at the Lutheran Theological Institute (LTI) in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. I am fortunate to engage in conversation with individuals from a wide variety of countries throughout the region.

As a white North American male clergyperson, how much power do I possess? How have I used and/or abused power? In what ways have I benefited as a result of power? In what ways have companions been harmed? Have I taken the priorities of companions seriously? As a result of power disparity, do hidden transcripts exist between companions and myself? If so, how do we accompany one another in mission if we only have access to each other's public transcript? How is it possible for me to know whether or not I am only receiving the public transcript? How does one gain access to the hidden? Is it even possible?

What are Hidden Transcripts?

Following years of research into peasant communities and various forms of struggle, James C. Scott published *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1990) as an addition to his ongoing study. [5] Among other things, Scott makes use of the terms *public transcript* and *hidden transcript* to consider how one might more accurately "read, interpret, and understand" the often underground conduct of those on the receiving end of domination. [6] While *public transcripts* are "the open interactions" between dominated populations and those who demonstrate control (*public* makes reference to actions that are observable to the other party in the power relationship, and *transcript* is used in the sense of a complete record of what was actually spoken and/or expressed non-verbally);[7] *hidden transcripts* are the "discourse that takes place

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[5] *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (1976) and *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985) were Scott's most notable publications. Following *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1990), Scott also published *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (1998).

[6] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).

[7] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg 2.

'offstage', beyond direct observation by power holders".[8] Characteristics of hidden transcripts include: they are specific to a given social site and to a particular set of actors;[9] they do not only contain speech, but a whole range of practices;[10] and the boundary between public and hidden transcripts is a space of ongoing struggle between the dominant and those whom they dominate.[11] Scott argues that *both* oppressors and oppressed possess hidden transcripts, this "hidden" discourse is rarely in contact;[12] and that the more severe the oppression of the dominant, the more abundant the hidden transcripts.[13]

James C. Scott maintains that "surface level" observations of interactions between groups on "different levels on the scale of power" may lead to numerous false assumptions, for one may conclude that dominated groups "endorse the terms of their subordination and are willing, even enthusiastic, partners in that subordination".[14] Scott concludes that, in order to better "read, interpret, and understand" dominated groups, a greater awareness and appreciation of the hidden transcript must be obtained. In summary, Scott proposes that *all dominated groups*, in response to their situation, create a hidden transcript that:

> …represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant. The
> powerful, for their part, also develop a hidden transcript representing the practices
> and claims of their rule that cannot be openly declared. A comparison of the
> hidden transcript of the weak with that of the powerful, and of both hidden

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[8] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg 4.

[9] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg 14.

[10] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg 14.

[11] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg 14.

[12] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg 15.

[13] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg 27.

[14] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg 4.

transcripts to the public transcript of power relations, offers a substantially new way of understanding resistance to domination.[15]

With these thoughts in mind, it can be argued that Scott's notions of hidden and public transcripts could be highly useful when in reflection on global mission companionship.

For the above-mentioned North American evangelist, the public transcript included a success story of massive Christian conversion in the region of KwaZulu-Natal. The "hidden transcript", however, revealed a more accurate portrayal of reality: While numerous South Africans offered prayers to Jesus after experiencing the video, it is likely that not a single person altered their religious affiliation (as the evangelist had believed). As the well-funded North American evangelist possessed a great deal of power, and because local church building projects appeared to hinge upon the evangelist's level of perceived accomplishment, the translator could not risk the possibility of having the evangelist return to the United States without an impression of success. The opportunity to fully fund the building projects may not have come again. As a result, the translator needed to offer a hidden transcript to insure local priorities were addressed.

Hidden Transcripts and Accompaniment

In 1999, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America's Division for Global Mission adopted "mission as accompaniment" in its planning document *Global Mission in the 21st Century: A Vision of Evangelical Faithfulness in God's Mission*.[16]

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[15] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. xxi.

[16] The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America's Division for Global Mission (DGM) would later change its name to Global Mission (GM). This occurred on February 1, 2006 when the ELCA reorganized and all "divisions" became "units", and "boards" became "program committees".

Mission as Accompaniment, viewed as "walking together in solidarity that practices interdependence and mutuality", calls upon the ELCA and its companions to: [17] 1) Affirm the diversity of viewpoints that exist among churches; 2) Encourage companion churches to question and analyze the priorities and practices of one another; 3) Be transparent and engage in honest and sincere dialogue; 4) Move beyond traditional relationships of the past between North to South and South to South; 5) Involve churches and agencies affected by decisions in decision-making processes and; 6) Acknowledge that churches in both the South and North will be in solidarity with one another in their weaknesses, struggles, and mission. [18]

The above-mentioned objectives seek to bring about, among other things, a substantial improvement in regards to long-standing power imbalances between companion churches of the North and South. In light of historical interactions between "givers" in the North (those who act) and "receivers" in the South (those who are acted upon), a desire to "balance the scales" through mutuality is well-intentioned and highly respectable. The ELCA should be commended for taking such positive and significant steps. However, regardless of admirable objectives, one is forced to consider how companions of North and South can engage in mission as accompaniment when significant levels of power disparity *continue to exist*. While one cannot overlook or disregard the recent shift in Christian population from North to South, churches of the North continue to possess a substantial amount of financial resources when compared to those in the South. [19] In addition, churches of the North maintain a significant amount of

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[17] Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), *Global Mission in the 21st Century: A Vision of Evangelical Faithfulness in God's Mission*, (1999). pg. 5.

[18] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 5.

[19] By 2025, roughly two-thirds of all Christians are expected to be living in Africa, Asia, or Latin America, with Africa and Latin America to become the continents with the largest Christian presence. Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). pg.3. An additional resource:

control over print resources and theological education. As a result, regardless of where the greater amounts of Christians tend to reside, a considerable level of authority continues to rest in the hands of northern church leaders, thus creating an imbalance of power which leads to numerous challenging consequences.

An examination of *Global Mission in the 21st Century* leads one to conclude that "truth-telling" through honest and open dialogue is essential to mission as accompaniment and its aim of transforming global power discrepancies. However, in light of James C. Scott's notion of hidden transcripts, one is compelled to consider whether or not it is reasonable to assume companions traditionally viewed as "receivers" will engage this process as enthusiastically as those long perceived as "givers"? While dialogue is a relatively simple process for those with authority (as they have little to lose), those placed in traditional positions of dependence are considerably less likely to risk disapproval of their more powerful partners (as they have a great deal to lose). In reference to the above-mentioned North American evangelist, would it be reasonable to expect the translator to offer his "hidden transcript" when the consequences could be dreadful for the local community? Could the translator be assured that his priority (remodeled church buildings) would be addressed if the priority of the evangelist (conversion of non-believers) was not? How can we truly expect the translator to "be transparent and engage in honest and sincere dialogue", or "question and analyze the priorities and practices" of the North American companion? With an allotment of funding held in the balance, can we expect the isiZulu translator to "move beyond traditional relationships of the past between North to South and South to South"?

Overview

Over ten years have passed since the initial publication of *Global Mission in the 21st Century,* and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America's Global Mission has

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James Aageson and Arland Jacobson (Editors), *The Future of Lutheranism in a Global Context*. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 2008).

continued to re-evaluate *mission as accompaniment* using various intellectual and experiential tools from both inside and outside the immediate realm of church and theology. The study which follows, *Mission Possible? Power, Truth-Telling, and the pursuit of Mission as Accompaniment*, will enter into this reassessment process by utilizing the notion of *hidden transcripts* in order to examine whether or not mission as accompaniment can take place in the midst of ongoing power disparities among global companions. Among other things, a primary goal of this study will be to assist the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America's Global Mission with its articulation and application of global mission in an ever-changing world.

As this study examines James C. Scott's notion of *hidden transcripts* and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America's perception of *mission as accompaniment*, numerous questions surrounding both central concepts will require detailed consideration.[20] Following this introduction, the research will be divided into three primary sections. First, a review of mission as accompaniment as practiced by the ELCA will include theological and practical origins, developments, Biblical insights, and location within missiological movements. Second, a review of James C. Scott's notion of hidden transcripts will include a theoretical background, insight into key themes, and continued developments. And finally, the study will delve into the central research question: *Can one engage in mission as accompaniment in the midst of power disparity between companions?* Issues such as power, worldview, culture, and popular conceptions of global mission will be considered, critiqued, and in certain instances, transformed into revised perceptions of global mission in the 21st Century.

The following are primary research questions to be addressed:

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[20] Accompaniment is by no means used exclusively by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. While this study will not delve deeply into notions of accompaniment articulated and practiced by additional organizations throughout the world, it should be noted that such concepts and alternative nuances of accompaniment exist.

- Can one engage in mission as accompaniment in the midst of power disparity between companions?
- How does the possible presence of hidden transcripts impact "truth telling" in mission companionship?
- How does the notion of hidden transcripts alter previously held understandings of mission as accompaniment?
- Can mission as accompaniment be a method to lessen and/or eliminate hidden transcripts?
- How does mission as accompaniment alter previously held understandings of hidden transcripts?
- Is mission as accompaniment possible when power disparity exists?

In summary, *Mission Possible? Power, Truth-Telling, and the pursuit of Mission as Accompaniment* will engage in a detailed examination of power through a utilization of concepts such as hidden transcripts and mission as accompaniment. As a result of the research process, it is hoped that those who practice mission as accompaniment will have a more comprehensive understanding of the ways in which power dynamics have an impact upon truth-telling and companion relationships. In addition, mission as accompaniment will provide a critical critique of previously held notions of domination and power disparity.[21] Therefore, not only will the research contribute to the body of academic knowledge, but it should offer numerous practical implications for those involved in the fields of mission and development.

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[21] With this in mind, mission as accompaniment will serve as a lens to critique Scott's notion of hidden transcripts. Additional social theories will be included to assist in this process.

CHAPTER 2: MISSION AS ACCOMPANIMENT

Mission as Accompaniment: Origins

> We understand *accompaniment* as walking together in a solidarity that practices
> interdependence and mutuality. The basis for this *accompaniment*, or what the
> New Testament calls koinonia, is found in the God-human relationship in which
> God accompanies us in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit.[1]

According to Rev. Rafael Malpica Padilla, who currently serves as Executive
Director for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America's Global Mission (ELCA-GM),
the "beginnings" of *accompaniment as a model for mission* began in 1993 during his first
visit to Latin America as the ELCA Division for Global Mission (ELCA-DGM) area
program director.[2] While ELCA-DGM had already initiated a process intended to
increase interdependence and mutuality in mission, companion churches in Latin
America developed a perception of disconnect from their North American counterparts
due to significant amounts of miscommunication and various other factors. Rev. Malpica
states in reflection upon his visit to Latin America, "I discovered what was well known to
many Protestant mission agencies in the United States; the feeling of abandonment
among the churches in that region".[3]

In response to concerns of Latin American companions, and in continuation of
ELCA-DGM's re-evaluation process, the Division for Global Mission conducted two
consultations with companion churches in the Latin America region, one in Florianopolis,

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[1] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21ˢᵗ Century*, pg. 5.

[2] The ELCA Division for Global Mission (DGM) would later change its name to Global
Mission (GM). This occurred on February 1, 2006 when the ELCA reorganized and all
"divisions" became "units", and "boards" became "program committees".

[3] Rafael Malpica Padilla, "Accompaniment as an Alternative Model for the Practice of
Mission". *Trinity Seminary Review*, 29 (Summer/Fall 2008), pg. 87.

Brazil, for churches in South America, and another in San Jose, Costa Rica, for the churches in Central America and Mexico. The primary goal of these discussions, which took place in 1995, was for companion churches to gather as "equals", share future directions for mission and ministry, and offer first-hand accounts of what was taking place in their given contexts. The ELCA-DGM representatives in attendance asked companion Church leaders to share how they wished for DGM to assist in their common mission, and how the ELCA could better receive gifts, talents, and resources from companions for ongoing mission in the United States.[4]

Following consultation with Latin America companions, a working group was formed, which consisted of representatives from the Latin America region, ecumenical partners, and ELCA staff. The working group developed a strategy for mission and ministry in Latin America. The challenge, according to Rev. Malpica, was to find a new paradigm or model that could articulate the fullness of this new vision for mission.[5] The concept of *accompaniment*, known as "walking together in solidarity which is characterized by mutuality and interdependence",[6] eventually emerged as the methodological tool for ELCA's engagement in mission. The concept began as a strategy for engagement in Latin America and the Caribbean, and eventually culminated in publication of *Global Mission in the Twenty First Century: A Vision of Evangelical Faithfulness in God's Mission*.

Origins of Accompaniment as Method

While the *practice* of accompaniment has existed for hundreds of years in various locations around the world, the formal articulation of accompaniment as a *model for mission* is a more recent development. Specifically, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America Division for Global Mission (ELCA-DGM) illustrated accompaniment as its

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[4] Malpica Padilla, "Accompaniment", pg. 88.

[5] Malpica Padilla, "Accompaniment", pg. 88.

[6] Malpica Padilla, "Accompaniment", pg 88.

model for mission engagement in 1999 with the publication of *Global Mission in the Twenty-first Century: A Vision of Evangelical Faithfulness in God's Mission.* While no other North American denomination had previously taken such a step, the general concept of accompaniment was by no means original to ELCA. Those who assisted in constructing accompaniment for use in ELCA-DGM as a model for mission built upon experiences and insights from a variety of sources.

While historians, theologians, and countless missionaries have contributed to the development of accompaniment through analysis and critique of past missionary activities, Pedro Véliz and his colleagues in the Andean Regional Office of Lutheran World Relief (LWR-ARO) are credited with the original development of accompaniment as a model for practical implementation.[7] As a result of Véliz's insights, the accompaniment model not only informs work in the Andean Region, but currently guides LWR's work around the world – the approach of "walking with," rather than "doing for" communities in need, of respecting the hidden assets and innate knowledge of communities, and empowering local individuals to lift themselves out of poverty.[8]

In April of 2008, during a celebration of Véliz's twenty-five years of service with Lutheran World Relief, Jeff Whisenant, who serves as LWR Executive Vice President, described accompaniment as "LWR's single most important approach or methodology", and "a unique way of working, a profound respect for the knowledge and dignity of our partners and the communities they serve."[9] While introducing Véliz, Whisenant recalled his own experience of working with and learning from Véliz while serving as LWR's director for Latin America programs from 1993 to 2000. Whisenant recalled, "To travel

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[7] Véliz joined Lutheran World Relief in 1982 as a project coordinator for the Andean Regional Office in Lima, Peru. He has been regional representative, overseeing programming in Peru, Bolivia and Colombia, since 1993.

[8] Lutheran World Relief, "LWR Honors Longest-Serving Staff Member: Brings Together Global Staff", April 2008. *http://www.lwr.org/news/news.asp?LWRnewsDate=4/8/2008*

[9] Lutheran World Relief, "LWR Honors Longest-Serving Staff Member", April 2008.

to the field with don Pedro and to watch him engage with communities is to understand his profound appreciation for the innate dignity of others"…"I've seen him engage with impossibly old people to learn from their experience and wisdom. And I've seen him play with children of three years old, to help them imagine themselves far into the future."[10]

In accepting recognition for his years of service, Véliz articulated a story which displayed his understanding of accompaniment in practice:

> Mr. Garcia was a small farmer who lost much of his land when it was covered by rocks and mud during an earthquake," Veliz recalled. "He asked me, 'now what can I do, Engineer?' I asked him, 'what do you think you can do?' and he described the greatest plan I had ever heard for recovering land after such a disaster. The farmer knew what he had to do, but because I was an engineer, he felt the need to validate his ideas. Often, we think that professionals must have all the answers. But every day, we learn something new.[11]

Jerry Aaker, whom served alongside Pedro Véliz as Director of the Lutheran World Relief Andean Region, built upon the methodology of accompaniment in writing *Partners with the Poor: An Emerging Approach to Relief and Development.*[12] Among other things, the text offered an understanding of relief organizations such as LWR as having a "greater ability to work creatively with people at the grassroots than governments".[13] As a result of insights developed from local companions and LWR staff such as Véliz, Aaker described how LWR worked on "the accompaniment approach to development cooperation" in the Andean Region, which would eventually lead to the

[10] Lutheran World Relief, "LWR Honors Longest-Serving Staff Member", April 2008.

[11] Evangelical Lutheran Church in America: Hunger Rumblings, "A Hunger Hero", April 2008. *http://blogs.elca.org/hungerrumblings/2008/04/08/a-hunger-hero/*

[12] Jerry Aaker, (1993), *Partners with the Poor: An Emerging Approach to Relief and Development*, (New York: Friendship Press, 1993), pg. 99.

[13] Jerry Aaker, *Partners with the Poor*, pg. 99.

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America Division for Global Mission's (ELCA-DGM) construction of accompaniment as a methodological tool and hermeneutical key.

Aaker found historical relationships between local organizations and international bodies, such as Lutheran World Relief, too often based upon "donor-recipient" models of development practice.[14] In some cases, Aaker argued, international organizations preferred to work directly with project areas instead of enduring "the hassle" of accompanying agencies. As a result, Aaker insisted that "heavy shades of paternalism and inequality" saturate the relationship between partnering organizations.[15] According to Aaker, a response to imbalanced cooperative relationships was required, thus the introduction of accompaniment as a formal model of engagement for LWR's work in the Andean Region.

In the later stages of *Partners with the Poor*, Aaker's chapter titled "Toward a Practice of Accompaniment" cites theological and sociological movements in Latin America which inspired LWR's adoption of accompaniment as a methodology.[16] Specifically, Aaker highlights three important factors: [17] 1) Pope John Paul XXIII and the Catholic Church's missionary focus in Latin America, which led to a more "people-centered" clergy whom served alongside the poor; 2) The impact of the Second Vatican Council in Rome and the Latin American bishops' meetings in Medellin, Colombia in 1968, where some of the initial concepts of liberation theology were formally introduced and bishops pushed the church to consider a "preferential option for the poor"; and 3) The "irruption of the poor" underway through various political processes throughout

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[14] Jerry Aaker, *Partners with the Poor*, pg. 100.

[15] Jerry Aaker, *Partners with the Poor*, pg. 100.

[16] According to Aaker, the Latin American bishop's meeting in Medellin, Columbia, in 1968, is considered the event where the church deliberately made a change to take the side of the poor.

[17] Jerry Aaker, *Partners with the Poor*, pg. 105-106.

Latin America in the 1960's. [18] It can be argued that a strong link to Latin America not only influenced LWR, but the connection remained as the ELCA-DGM would adopt accompaniment as its own methodology years later.

While accompaniment was not yet formalized by the ELCA or other denominations as a methodological tool for mission, Aaker cited various examples in which accompaniment in practice took place through faith-based service alongside poor and marginalized communities in the Andean Region. Specifically, he mentioned a well-known case in El Salvador where martyrdom was the result of "accompaniment" alongside the oppressed. A significant amount of inspiration for accompaniment as a model for LWR's work was found in the description of four church women who were tortured and assassinated on December 2, 1980. Melinda Roper, president of the Maryknoll Sisters, the order in which two of the women belonged, wrote:

> Maura, Ita, Dorothy, and Jean are remembered as martyrs. The psychological, political and spiritual analyses have given way to the stark reality of four women who loved the people of El Salvador and where willing to accompany them in times of great suffering and…because they lived as disciples of Jesus of Nazareth came face to face with the power of evil in its ultimate manifestation of violent death…The four women were in El Salvador as members of a Church that is persecuted because it is identified with the cause of the poor. [19]

In response to LWR's social and theological context, and inspired by examples such as the El Salvador martyrs, the Andean Regional Office employed "accompaniment" to

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[18] Virginia Febella and Sergio Torres, editors. *Irruption of the Third World: Challenges To Theology: Papers from the Fifth International Conference of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians, August 17-29, 1981, New Delhi, India.* (Maryknoll, New York, 1983).

[19] Melinda Roper, "Do this in Remembrance of Me: Discipleship in the Face of Evil", *Sojourners*, (December 1990), pg. 17-18.

explain its method of engagement alongside companions, both church-based and secular Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's). The LWR-ARO wanted to "understand specific problems as well as the context in which they arose", and by making project funding take a "backseat to empowerment", they sought to "help grassroots leaders to gain confidence in themselves so they can decide what their own future can be".[20] According to Aaker, primary values of the process included: "partnership, process, participation, and priorities – all aimed at people-centered development".[21]

        While accompaniment in practice had existed for hundreds of years, and although the "message" of mutuality and solidarity was standard among relief organizations at the time, the message and practice of accompaniment by LWF-ARO which began in 1979 can now be viewed as ground-breaking. The importance of funding, while remaining crucial, was removed from the center of LWF-ARO's development work and replaced by roles such as: sharing information, communication, education, research, advocacy, and policy analysis. In addition, the support of local empowerment and interpretation of experience to "home donors" was perceived as critical. In self-reflection, LWF-ARO learned about the realities of the "fine line" between accompaniment and paternalism,[22] as close contact between funders and local project facilitators was often an open invitation to interference. Nevertheless, through trial and error, practices such as sympathetic listening, engaged questioning, non-directive suggesting, and solidarity in the face of setbacks became an increasing reality.[23] LWF-ARO, through its development of accompaniment, not only provided a helpful outlook to its own organization, but it provided inspiration for other bodies as well. Most specifically, through voices such as Jerry Aaker, Pedro Véliz, and numerous companions within companion organizations, LWF-ARO would inspire the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America Division for Global Mission in its own articulation of accompaniment as a model for mission.

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[20] Jerry Aaker, *Partners with the Poor*, pg. 113.

[21] Jerry Aaker, *Partners with the Poor*, pg. 133.

[22] Jerry Aaker, *Partners with the Poor*, pg. 128.

[23] Jerry Aaker, *Partners with the Poor*, pg. 129.

Accompaniment as a Model for Mission

Introduced at the ELCA Division for Global Mission's consultation with Latin America companions in 1995, *accompaniment as a model for mission* finds its theological basis in what the New Testaments calls *koinonia*, the God-human relationship in which "God accompanies humankind in Jesus Christ through the power and presence of the Holy Spirit".[24] As a critique of mission practice through past generations, and in response to God's "walking-alongside" of humankind through Jesus Christ, the accompaniment model builds upon previously held understandings and thrusts mission into a "relational mode", for it implies "proximity to the walking companion" and "accepting the invitation to accompany the other".[25] The formal planning document, "Mission Strategy for Latin America", highlighted the following implications which accompaniment would have for the ELCA and its Latin American companions:

The pastoral accompaniment calls upon the ELCA and the Latin American Lutheran Churches to:

1. Affirm the diversity of viewpoints that exist among our sister churches;
2. Encourage companion churches to question and analyze the priorities and practices of one another;
3. Be transparent and engage in honest and sincere dialogue;
4. Move beyond traditional relationships of the past between North and South and South and South;
5. Involve the churches and agencies affected by decision in decision-making processes;
6. Acknowledge that the churches in both the South and the North will be in solidarity with one another in their weakness, struggles, and mission.[26]

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[24] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 5.

[25] Malpica Padilla, "Accompaniment", pg. 88.

[26] Malpica Padilla, "Accompaniment", pg. 89.

In order to build upon recommendations provided by Latin America companions and other church leaders around the world, and after considerable reflection in regards to ways in which the ELCA had engaged mission in the past, in 1999 the Division for Global Mission developed "Global Mission in the Twenty First Century: A Vision of Evangelical Faithfulness in God's Mission". The primary functions of the document was to serve as: 1) A working document for the DGM board as it designs and evaluates policy, and for staff and missionary personnel as they implement programs; 2) A brief summary document for companion churches and others who want a condensed description of what the DGM is and how it works; 3) A foundational document for preparation of Bible studies and education for mission study materials and; 4) A foundational document for theological missiological discussions in ELCA seminaries and schools. As an introduction to *accompaniment as a model for mission*, the following characteristics were listed:[27]

- Accompaniment is more than an exclusive contract between churches, for it is a walking together in Jesus Christ of two or more churches in companionship and in service in God's mission.
- Accompaniment emphasizes relationships before resources, as the development of programs and allocation of recourses flow from how companions relate, rather than vice versa.
- Accompaniment is valued for its own sake as well as for its results. It is open-ended with no forgone conclusion. The companions learn together on the journey.
- Accompaniment brings companions more closely to their Lord and further informs their mission.
- Accompaniment builds mutual respect among companions, for the labels of "giver" and "receiver" are replaced with the reality that each church has something to offer.

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[27] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 6.

- Accompaniment allows for mutual respect, as local churches are given the primary responsibility for mission in their given area

- Accompaniment is a means toward establishing stronger community among churches in relationship to their Lord.[28]

Accompaniment: Latin American Influence

Similar to the Lutheran World Relief – Andean Regional Office and its development of accompaniment as a model for development work, accompaniment as a model for mission as practiced by ELCA-DGM (and later, ELCA-GM) originated from consultation with Latin American companions. As a result, the intended significance of accompaniment is dependent upon a basic understanding of its meaning in the Spanish language.[29] For example, *acompanar*, when considered in the context of movement (walking), entails sharing space (closeness) to the companion (who is also in movement), and as a result, acceptance of an invitation to accompany (walk alongside) the other[30]. Due to this particular meaning, the first ELCA-DGM documents on accompaniment intended to convey that mission is not about disengagement and allowing churches to be "independent" in a disconnected sense. On the contrary, accompaniment highlighted interdependence, relationships, closeness, movement, direction, and immersion into the realities of fellow companions – or what would later be articulated as, "the other".

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[28] Malpica Padilla, Rafael. "Accompaniment: A lens and methodology for mission today", produced by the ELCA Division for Global Mission (ELCA-GM). *http://www.elca.org/globalmission*

[29] The 1995 strategy document was drafted in Spanish, which was the first ELCA policy document to be written in a language other than English. In addition, it was officially presented to the DGM Board by the president of the Lutheran Church in Nicaragua, which in itself symbolizes a companionship character.

[30] Roberto S. Goizueta. *Caminemos con Jesus: Toward a Hispanic/Latino Theology of Accompaniment*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1993), pg. 206.

In addition to understanding accompaniment through the lens of Spanish language, it is also critical to take note of Latin American theological influence, specifically, the work of Roberto S. Goizueta in *Caminemos Con Jesus: Toward a Hispanic/Latino Theology of Accompaniment*. Although Goizueta's work came after ELCA-DGM's initial development of accompaniment as a model for mission, much can be learned from the text (as well as those it makes reference to) with regards to Latin American theological roots of accompaniment. Through Goizueta's examination of Hispanic communities and attempts to define Hispanic/Latino theology, he focuses on experiences of "exile" and how marginalized individuals accompany one another through common faith in Jesus Christ. In many ways, *Caminemos Con Jesus,* (translated as, "Let us walk with Jesus"), serves as a theological "gateway" to understanding Latin American roots of mission as accompaniment.

Among other things, Goizueta not only articulates a fresh understanding of theology from a Hispanic/Latino/Latina perspective, but he also calls for theologians to reconsider ways in which theological reflection is carried out. His quotation of Cuban poet Jose Marti, who maintained "pensar es servir"[31] (translated as, "to think is to serve"), sheds light upon Goizueta's insistence upon bringing theological reflection out of academic circles and into practical usefulness alongside grass-roots communities. For Goizueta, the implementation of accompaniment cannot take place in intellectual isolation, for it is developed, critiqued, and reformed alongside others in the midst of relationships and bonded communities. As he states, "If the best, most sophisticated scholarship is not placed in the service of our communities, then it will continue to be used against them".[32] With these thoughts in mind, one can observe the way in which accompaniment requires practical use and ongoing critique in the midst of community.

Throughout Goizueta's text, there exists a strong critique of Western "individualistic" mindsets and its significant impact upon theology and ministry. For

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[31] Raimundo Lazo, *Sus mejores paginas* (Mexico: Editorial Press, 1978) pg. 92.

[32] Goizueta, *Caminemos con Jesus*, pg. 9.

Goizueta, if theology is placed solely in the hands of Western academics, the result will be an increased degree of personalized and privatized notions of theology and mission. As a result of these realities, Goizueta considers what can take place if theologians of the global south – whom originate from more communal and relationship-based cultures – are allowed to be heard. He writes:

> Within an individualistic worldview, the scriptural command to do justice – as a *necessary* implication of our very humanity and creaturliness – is literally inconceivable; instead, that command will be interpreted as mere *suggestion* that one autonomous individual help other autonomous individuals. Where there is no necessary connection between persons there can be no necessary ethical-political imperative to love others.[33]

According to Goizueta, the act of accompaniment cannot be an act of autonomous individuals, for accompaniment – by definition – is a walking "with" others. It is a communal action which includes solidarity, empathy, and mutuality. While the value of each individual remains (for only distinct persons can relate), the full value of one's humanity is affirmed in relationships. As Goizueta wrote, "Only in and through the concrete act of accompaniment do we love others as 'others', as equals, and are we, in turn, loved by them. As action, or praxis, accompaniment includes not only 'being' with another, or feeling with another, but also 'doing' with another."[34] In light of Goizueta's considerations, one is reminded that humans are not only to be connected by nature of their common creator, but rather, this connection of humanity should inspire cooperative action through accompaniment in both word and deed.

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[33] Goizueta, *Caminemos con Jesus*, pg. 173.

[34] Goizueta, *Caminemos con Jesus*, pg. 206.

Liberation Theology and Accompaniment

In addition to Goizueta's articulation of relational modes of theology, *Caminemos Con Jesus* introduces the impact of liberation theology and "preferential option for the poor" upon mission as accompaniment.[35] As ELCA-DGM conducted its initial consultations alongside Latin American companions, one can assume both direct and indirect theological influence from the likes of Clodovis and Leonardo Boff, José Míguez Bonino, Orlando Espin, Justo Gonzales, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Oscar Romero, and others. While liberation theology is not necessarily a "requirement" for those whom practice mission as accompaniment, examination of documents arising from ELCA-DGM discussions with Latin American church leaders shows various influences from liberation theology, as well as connections to social teaching surrounding ministry alongside poor and marginalized members of society. While an exhaustive account of Latin American liberation theology is not intended here, basic themes can shed light upon theological assertions which may have influenced initial discussions of mission as accompaniment between the ELCA and its Latin American companions.

In Latin America, where liberation theology is believed to have originated, there exists a long history of liberation movements since the early days of Spanish and Portuguese conquests. Christians have – and continue to be – at the heart of large-scale movements for liberation and social change in the region. Liberation theology, as it is now known, emerged as a contextual movement in Latin America which sought expression of religious faith through service alongside the poor and working for political and social transformation. The Liberation theology movement is widely believed to have begun in 1968, when Catholic bishops attending the Latin American Bishops' Conference in Medellín (Colombia) affirmed the rights of the poor and asserted that industrialized nations were enriching themselves at the expense of the so-called "Third World". The movement's central text, *A Theology of Liberation* (1971), was written by Peruvian priest

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[35] As there are various forms of Liberation Theology, this particular focus is placed upon the Latin American model.

Gustavo Gutiérrez. As an introduction to the biblical foundation of liberation theology, Gutiérrez writes:

> The entire Bible, beginning with the story of Cain and Abel, mirrors God's predilection for the weak and abused of human history. This preference brings out the gratuitous or unmerited character of God's love. The same revelation is given in the evangelical Beatitudes, for they tell us with the utmost simplicity that God's predilection for the poor, the hungry, and the suffering is based on God's unmerited goodness to us.[36]

Gutiérrez and other liberation theologians assert that, if God loves all people equally, and if God's love is made known throughout history, and if that history includes domination and oppression, then God's love *must* take sides with the victims of ongoing injustice. In other words, if God remained "neutral" in the face of domination and oppression, then God would ultimately prefer the powerful and allow the status quo of inequality to remain. According to liberation theology, God makes a preferential (not exclusive) option for the poor for the benefit of all society, which means, those engaged in ministry are to place themselves "where God is" – that is, alongside the poor and marginalized members of society. As Goizuetta states:

> To love the poor preferentially is to make an *intentional* choice to be that which we already are through no choice of our own: individual persons defined by our *a priori* relationships to others, to humanity, to the universe, and, ultimately, to the Triune (i.e. relational) God.[37]

Introducing Liberation Theology, written by Leonardo and Clodovis Boff, explains that, "liberation theology was born when faith confronted the injustice done to

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[36] Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation, Revised Edition with a New Introduction*. Maryknoll, (New York: Orbis, 1988) p. xxvii.

[37] Goizueta, *Caminemos con Jesus*, pg. 179.

the poor",[38] such as, those who are exploited, underemployed, pushed aside by production processes, laborers, migrant workers, and so on. While theologians and ministers had long articulated a need for assisting the "least of these",[39] liberation theologians took exception to the Marxist notion of religion as an "opiate for the people", and developed renewed dedication to active and passionate commitment to liberation. As a result of developments in liberation theology, followers of Jesus – especially those placed in situations of oppression – were called not merely to speak about the poor, but to combine reflection and action together in committed service alongside the marginalized. As Boff and Boff argue:

> The God who pitied the downtrodden and the Christ who came to set prisoners free proclaim themselves with a new face and in a new image today. The eternal salvation they offer is mediated by the historical liberations that dignify the children of God and render credible the coming utopia of the kingdom of freedom, justice, love, and peace, the kingdom of God in the midst of humankind.[40]

Similar to mission as accompaniment's insistence upon "walking alongside one another in solidarity and mutuality", liberation theology acknowledges the call to be active participants in the liberation of oppressed and marginalized populations *alongside* those who are oppressed and marginalized. Similar to Goizueta's proclamation to make theological reflection an act alongside others, one of the central tenants of liberation theology is the acknowledgement of integrating theology into practice. The commitment of action/reflection within liberation theology appears to have made a direct impact upon the development of mission as accompaniment, for as ELCA-DGM's illustration of accompaniment acknowledges various "levels" in which "walking alongside" is carried

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[38] Leonardo Boff and Clodovis Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology*. (Turnbridge Wells, Kent: Burns & Oats, 1987). pg 3.

[39] Matthew 25:31-46.

[40] Boff & Boff (1987) *Introducing Liberation Theology*, pg9.

out;[41] liberation theology also possesses "three levels" (professional, pastoral, and popular) in with faith is perceived and acted out. As Boff and Boff explain:

> Liberation theology could be compared to a tree. Those who see only professional theologians at work in its see only the branches of the tree. They fail to see the trunk, which is the thinking of priests and other pastoral ministers, let alone the roots beneath the soil that hold the whole tree – trunk and branches – in place. The roots are the practical living and thinking – though submerged and anonymous – going on in tens of thousands of base communities living out their faith and thinking it in a liberating key.[42]

Spirituality of Liberation, written by Jon Sobrino, reflects on how the act of walking alongside others in a common search for liberation allows for one to be "honest about the real."[43] This process of "honesty" about "the real" can be one of the most challenging aspects for companions who practice mission as accompaniment, especially those from the "north" whom at times have been (or have at least been silent in the midst of) injustice and oppression. However, even in the midst of challenges which surround being confronted with past and ongoing power abuses, those engaged in the act of mission as accompaniment are called to acknowledge where power is abused, especially when it is part of one's own history, and move beyond "traditional relationships" between churches of the North and South. As Goizuetta stated:

> No authentic dialogue is possible between teachers and students, masters and slaves, men and women, rich and poor, Anglo and Hispanic – unless and until the asymmetrical power relationships are corrected. Otherwise, the most visable,

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[41] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21ˢᵗ Century*, pg. 29-34. Included is an account of how "walking together" has an impact upon: 1) ELCA Constituency, 2) Missionaries, 3) Ecumenical Partners, 4) DGM Board, and 5) DGM Staff

[42] Boff and Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology*, pg12.

[43] Jon Sobrino, *Spirituality of Liberation* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1988), pg. 14-17.

influential, and powerful voice in the dialogue will continue to be that of the wealthy, white, male, Anglo – *de facto*.[44]

Some may contest the degree to which Latin American liberation theology has impacted the understanding and practices of accompaniment. Nevertheless, the influence of liberation theology on mission as accompaniment is shown in multiple manners. Instead of allowing North American churches to disengage and allow Latin American churches to "fend for themselves", it can be argued that Latin American companions involved in consultation processes expressed a desire for ELCA-DGM to enter into their reality in a way that would bring about liberation for *both* partners. The process of mutual liberation and being "honest about the real" would include: the affirmation of diversity, the ability to question and analyze priorities and practices of companion churches, transparency in honest and sincere dialogue, mutual decision making processes, and solidarity in the midst of weaknesses and struggle.[45] While liberation theology terms are not specifically used, the impact is evident.

Accompaniment: Theological Lens

From the onset of its development, *accompaniment* was not intended to be perceived as a new "theology", but rather, a "new theological understanding of mission methodology" built upon the "foundations of biblical and theological reflection critically engaged with experiential knowledge (wisdom)".[46] As stated earlier, while accompaniment in practice has been in existence for numerous generations and taking place around the world, its articulation is a more recent development. While LWR-ARO formulated accompaniment into its mode of operation, the unique role of ELCA-DGM was to articulate accompaniment as a methodological tool for mission and a

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[44] Goizueta, *Caminemos con Jesus,* pg. 181.

[45] Malpica Padilla, "Accompaniment", pg. 89.

[46] Robert Smith, "Reflections on Accompaniment", unpublished document, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 2009.

hermeneutical key. The overall aim of ELCA-DGM was to develop the concept theologically and in the realm of missiology. With these ideas in mind, the following sub-sections illustrate how mission as accompaniment is understood theologically.

Koinonia

A theological foundation for the ELCA understanding of mission as accompaniment is found in the biblical understanding of *koinonia.*[47] Often deemed as "communion by intimate participation",[48] *koinonia* is primarily found in the God-human relationship in which God relates with humankind in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit.[49] The term *koinonia* is found nineteen times in most editions of the Greek New Testament, and is commonly translated into English terms such as: fellowship, sharing, participation, and contribution. The initial usage of *koinonia* in the Greek New Testament is found in Acts 2:42-47, which offers an account of life experienced among early Christians in Jerusalem:

> They devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and to the fellowship (*koinonia*), to the breaking of bread and to prayer. Everyone was filled with awe, and many wonders and miraculous signs were done by the apostles. 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 favor of all the people. And the Lord added to their number daily those who were being saved.

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[47] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 5.

[48] NAS Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible with Hebrew-Aramaic and Greek Dictionaries (1981, 1998).

[49] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 5

An additional New Testament application of *koinonia* is to describe the fellowship which exists at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. For example, 1 Corinthians 10:16-17 (NIV) uses the English word "participation":

> Is not the cup of thanksgiving for which we give thanks a participation (*koinonia*) in the blood of Christ? And is not the bread that we break a participation in the body of Christ? Because there is one loaf, we, who are many, are one body, for we all partake of the one loaf of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?

While more exhaustive studies into the multiple dimensions of *koinonia* are found elsewhere, for the purpose of this study it is worth mention that *koinonia* is not solely something ones *does* but also signifies a *state of being*. Similar to that which is expressed in the Acts 2 account of early Christian community, accompaniment entails activities such as sharing and "movement" with the other, but it also includes a sense of belonging and spiritual connectedness which comes through respect and mutuality. Those who have become "God's people" by faith are joined at the deepest level, an expression of *koinonia* is experienced with God and one another, thus is also carried out in action.

In addition to the above mentioned communal understanding of k*oinonia*, its reference to the Lord's Supper also possesses a direct implication for mission as accompaniment. The term "accompaniment" derives from the Latin "*ad cum panis"*, which translates as "to go with bread." As a result, one engaged in the act of mission as accompaniment walks alongside the other "with bread" or shares and sustains life in communion with one another.[50] In Jesus' interaction with the disciples on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24), it was only *after* they participated in the breaking of bread that Christ

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[50] Samuel Chingondole and Crystal Hall, (2009) "Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness: Statement of Theological Intent", unpublished document presented to Annual General Meeting, Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, 2009, pg 6-7.

was "recognized", and as a result, the disciples received a greater recognition of themselves, and returned to Jerusalem full of purpose. As bread also possesses sacramental implications as "the body of Christ", it can be argued that in Luke 24 Jesus was actually sharing *himself* with his disciples and called them to do likewise. Through the example of Jesus, those who seek to accompany are thus called to share of themselves, share Jesus, and be present in both word and deed.

The Mission of the Triune God

In addition to *koinonia*, the theological vision of the Trinity possesses numerous implications for the relational character of mission as accompaniment, as the Triune God is in mission for others; namely, the whole of humankind, the world, and the entire creation.[51] As God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the Triune God is a communion in mission, empowering and accompanying the One who is sent, the beloved, to impact the world with transformation, reconciliation, and empowerment. As stated by the Lutheran World Federation's (LWF) Department for Mission and Development:

> For the ongoing mission of God, the Father and the Spirit send the Son, the Father and the Son breathe in the Spirit, and the Son and the Spirit reveal the glory of the Father to the far reaches of the universe. This sending, yet accompanying and empowering, of the beloved, this reaching out for others, and thus the acceptance of vulnerability in love, is characteristic of the Trinity. It is this love that unites the Triune God.[52]

The nature of the Triune God expresses a relational nature of life, and as a result calls for the Church to engage in mission that creates and sustains a sense of well-being where members of creation live in right relationships with God, themselves, and one another.

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[51] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context: Transformation, Reconciliation, Empowerment*, (Department for Mission and Development, 2004), pg. 24.

[52] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 24

Those called to participate in God's mission are sent-out to be partners with God, empowered for the missionary vocation in the world.[53]

God's Mission as Creator: To create and sustain life[54]

A biblical vision of God's mission in creation asserts a bonding relationship between God and the world,[55] for God did not merely create, but "God accompanies the creation by being present and in relationship with it, even when it is marred by sin and rebellion."[56] In "the beginning" (Genesis 1:1) as well as the present day and age, God walks alongside humankind and all of creation, as all was created with love and grace and seen as "good" (Genesis 1:31). As cooperative agents made in "God's Image" (Genesis 1:27) for God's mission in and through the world, the responsibility of "created co-creator" is intricately connected with human dignity, and thus affirms the value God places upon all life.[57]

While the created world consists of suffering and pain as a result of sin (Romans 8) and the misuse of power which results, God's act of creation includes the promise that God will make "all things new" (Revelation 21:5). Namely, God will bring about a reversal of "the powers", which will lead to abundant life for the created world. God the Creator thus calls people to participate in the mission of creation, as "transformation and justice, forgiveness and reconciliation, healing and empowerment, are the signs of the future of the world with God."[58] Those in participation alongside God can, in their own context, strengthen these encouraging signs in many bold and creative ways. As a result, for mission in the 21st century, one is to reconsider how power is used in relationship to

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[53] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 7

[54] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 7

[55] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 24

[56] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 7

[57] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 24

[58] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 25

both humankind and the created world, in order to more faithfully utilize natural resources and advocate for life-giving systems and practices in all corners of the globe.

God's Mission in and through Jesus: An incarnational mission to heal, restore, redeem, and liberate life[59]

God as life-giving creator is embodied in Jesus of Nazareth who is born of Mary and the Holy's Spirit's power.[60] As "the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily" in Jesus, he is "God's accompanying nature made visible in humankind".[61] The life, teaching, and ministry of Jesus set an example as to how God's mission should be carried out.[62] While the powers of evil and death threaten to take life away, God in Jesus is on a life-giving mission of love, so that humankind "may have life, and have it abundantly" (John 10:10). As a result, Jesus' ministry is in direct conflict with powers that threaten to limit and destroy the creation which God had intended for good.

The death and resurrection of Jesus is God's reaffirmation of life, a sign of hope in a world marked by sin and death, and affirmation of Jesus' way of mission in the world, a way of servant-hood and commitment to struggle and bring life for others.[63] The way of the cross is God's powerful way of rejecting sin and injustice, walking alongside those who suffer and bear their sins on the cross, and stands as an act of solidarity with the excluded and oppressed, as well as a way of protest against oppression. The resurrection is the single event that transformed the world.[64] Resurrection opens a new reality, as the entire created order opens with life-giving

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[59] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 7

[60] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 7

[61] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 7

[62] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 25.

[63] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 8

[64] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 25.

possibilities. The way of resurrection is the way of transformation and empowerment for those engaged in mission.

God's Mission by the Holy Spirit: To Create a new life-giving community[65]

When the Holy Spirit descended upon Jesus' followers gathered in Jerusalem, the Christian Church was created and its mission to accompany all of humankind in "the way" of Jesus was set into motion (Acts 2).[66] The Holy Spirit accompanied the new and diverse Christian community with power (Acts 2:8), providing a variety of gifts for ministry (1 Corinthians 12), as well as courage for mission (Acts 4:23-32). The early Church was called to strengthen its fellowship, equip and empower one another, and give their lives in order to serve as God's instruments in sharing the new life described by Jesus. As was the case in early movements of the Church, the Holy Spirit continues to call, send, and enable God's people for the sake of all creation, irrespective of gender, age, race, socio-economic status, and nationality.

The community of Jesus' followers engaged in mission live in a rhythm of repentance and forgiveness, as well as "gathering and sending."[67] Through the work of the Holy Spirit, imperfect humans whom participate within an imperfect Church are able to become means by which God carries out God's in and through the world. The church gathers for revitalization and preparation, and are thus empowered and sent to be God's incarnate mission of life in the world. As the Lutheran World Federation's Department for Mission and Development stated, "Through the gospel, the Holy Spirit calls people to repentance, faith, and new life. It is the Spirit who gathers into one body a new family, a diversity of human beings, breaking the barriers of class, race, gender, and culture."[68] As a result, the community of faith gathered in God's mission continues to seek ways in which all are recipients of dignity, respect, justice, and love.

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[65] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 8.

[66] Acts 9:2, 19:9, 19:23, 24:14

[67] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 8.

[68] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 25.

Accompaniment in Light of Global Lutheran Trends

The above mentioned theological foundations for the ELCA understanding of mission as accompaniment were crafted alongside companion church leaders. In a similar fashion, the global expression of the Lutheran Church continues to contribute toward developments in mission and theological insights surrounding global church companionship. The Lutheran World Federation (LWF), which was founded in 1947 in Lund, Sweden, currently has 140 member churches in 79 countries around the world, which represent over 68.5 million Christians. In order to coordinate mission efforts and articulate emerging trends in mission, the Department for Mission and Development (DMD) assists to arrange consultations, as well as organizes publications to be dispersed and discussed amongst member churches. With such efforts in mind, the Department for Mission and Development through the Lutheran World Federation has made significant contributions toward the current understanding of mission as accompaniment.

In 1988, seven years before ELCA-DGM's consultations with Latin America church leaders, The Lutheran World Federation produced *Together in Mission: An LWF Contribution to the Understanding of Mission*. Among other things, the document articulated a "holistic understanding of mission" and described local churches as "the witness" that carries God's mission across different spheres and boundaries. These "boundaries" and spheres include: religious, ideological, sociological, political, economic, geographic, and demographic. More specifically, the document stated:

> Proclamation of the gospel, calling people to believe in Jesus Christ and to
> become members of the new community in Christ, participation in the works for
> peace and justice in the struggle against all enslaving and dehumanizing powers
> are therefore an integral part of the mission of the church. All such activities

point to the reality of the Reign of God and to its final realization at the fulfillment of history.[69]

The LWF Consultation on "Churches in Mission", held in Nairobi in 1998, contributed to the holistic understanding of mission as a part of the overall Lutheran identity, as was stated:

Mission encompasses proclamation, service, and advocacy for justice. Mission as proclamation is an attempt by every Christian to tell and interpret this gospel story in his/her context as a way to discover God's saving action and meaningful presence in the world. Mission as service highlights the diaconal dimension of a faith active in love, working for the empowerment and liberation of those in need. Mission ad advocacy for justice denotes the church's praxis in the public arena as affirmation and reaffirmation of the dignity of human life, both as individual and as community, as well as a widened sense of justice, encompassing the economic, social and ecological spheres.[70]

The understanding of God's mission as holistic, and the Church's call to participate within it, was further developed at the Eighth and Ninth Lutheran World Federation Assemblies in Curitiba (1990), Hong Kong (1997), and also Winnipeg (2003). The 2003 gathering stated:

Our participation in the mission of the Triune God involves the three interrelated dimensions, diakonia, proclamation, and dialogue, which are integral parts of the mission of the church.[71]

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[69] Lutheran World Federation, *Together in Mission: An LWF Contribution to the Understanding of Mission*, (Department for Mission and Development, 1988). pg. 8

[70] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 7.

[71] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 6.

The Nairobi consultation in 1998 called for strengthening of the church's understanding of itself as a "missional church", and also desired increased attention to the ongoing challenges faced in the twenty first century. As a result, in the year 2000 a team was constructed in order to revise the 1998 document *Together in Mission: An LWF Contribution to the Understanding of Mission*. The group consisted of representatives of LWF member churches in its seven regions (Ethiopian Evangelical Lutheran Church Mekane Yesus, United Evangelical Lutheran Church in India, the Lutheran Church in Singapore, Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria, Germany), mission departments and societies (Church of Sweden/International Mission and Diokonia, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America Division for Global Mission, German National Committee, Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission), and related development agencies (Bread for the World, Germany, Canadian Lutheran World Relief)

Five members of the team served as a core group to assume responsibility for the drafting of a new document on mission. A "mission encounter" held in Berlin, Germany in March of 2001 between theologians, mission personnel, and ecumenical companions brought direction and inspiration, and a first draft was constructed in 2002. Following revisions by various companion churches around the globe, a final draft was completed and approved in 2004. On behalf of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) Department for Mission and Development, *Mission in Context: Transformation, Reconciliation, Empowerment* was published. The self-identified purpose of the document was to: [72]

> Help Lutheran churches throughout the world become more deeply aware of God's mission to the world and the role of the church as the body of Christ as a part of that mission; and, serve as a tool to accompany Lutheran churches in their self-analysis and reaffirmation of mission in their respective contexts. This means inviting the church at all levels (congregational, national, regional) and related

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[72] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 7.

agencies to reevaluate their responsibility for mission and to stimulate them in their efforts to seek new ways of understanding their present and future participation in God's mission.

In an attempt to build upon the above mentioned goals, *Mission in Context: Transformation, Reconciliation, Empowerment* drew inspiration from the Luke 24 "Road to Emmaus" account and was divided into three sections with numerous sub-sections:

1. *Contexts of Mission* (Luke 24:13-19):
    a. Discerning and distinguishing various and changing contexts in which mission takes place
    b. Voices that name context
    c. Changing global realities affecting global and local contexts
        i. The complex effects of globalization
        ii. Technological contexts
        iii. Health contexts
        iv. Violence in the world
        v. Religious, cultural, and political contexts
        vi. Context and theology

2. *Theology of Mission* (Luke 24:25-27):
    a. The mission of God
        i. God's mission as Creator
        ii. God's mission as Redeemer
        iii. God's mission as Sanctifier
    b. The Church in mission
        i. Mission is of the being of the church
            1. Mission and the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church
            2. Mission and the catholicity of the church

        3. Mission and the church as communion and
          ecumenical fellowship

    ii. Mission is Word empowered and Spirit led

  c. Theological dimensions of mission

    i. Mission as Transformation, Reconciliation, and
      Empowerment

      1. Transformation

      2. Reconciliation

      3. Empowerment

    ii. Mission as holistic and contextual

      1. Proclamation and service

      2. Justification and justice

      3. Salvation and healing

      4. Mission and interfaith dialogue

  d. Theology, Context, and Practice

3. *Practice of Mission* (Luke 24:28-35):

  a. The whole church in mission

  b. The missional church in action

    i. A witnessing community

      1. A worshipping community

      2. A nurturing community

      3. A messenger community

      4. A serving community

      5. A healing community

    ii. An *oikumeni* community

      1. Ecumenical engagement

      2. A dialogical engagement

      3. Economic engagement

      4. Ecological engagement

  c. New challenges and opportunities for mission

i. Mission to the "end of the earth"
ii. Mission and the challenge of information technology
iii. Mission resources
iv. Mission pilgrimage

The following is an overview of the various sub-sections (Context of Mission, Theology of Mission, and Practice of Mission) found within *Mission in Context: Transformation, Reconciliation, Empowerment*:

Contexts of Mission

That very day two of them were going to a village named Emmaus, about seven miles from Jerusalem, and talking with each other about all these things that had happened. While they were talking and discussing together, Jesus himself drew near and went with them. But their eyes were kept from recognizing him. And he said to them, "What is this conversation which you are holding with each other as you walk?" And they stood still, looking sad. Then one of them, named Cleopas, answered him, "Are you the only visitor to Jerusalem who does not know the things that have happened there in these days?" And he said to them "What things?" (Luke 24:13-19).

The first aspect of mission as accompaniment, as taken from Luke 24, is the act of listening and observing the context into which one is engaged. As Jesus' mission and ministry took place within a specific social setting, God's mission always takes place in particular social, economic, political, religious, and cultural contexts.[73] While the context of mission in the 21st century is quite different from Jesus' time and setting, God continues to walk alongside humankind in ways that bring about transformation, reconciliation, and empowerment. As a result, the task of accompaniment calls for faithful consideration of context through listening, learning, and observing. It is a

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[73] Lutheran World Federation, *Together in Mission*, pg. 10

cooperative venture which includes dialogue, listening and speaking, acting, and observing, giving and receiving.

Theologies of Mission

And he said to them, "O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Was it not necessary that the Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory?" And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself (Luke 24:25-27).

Following an opportunity to assess a given context, the second aspect of mission as accompaniment, as taken from Luke 24, is the act of interpretation in light of Scripture. As Jesus utilized Scripture to frame the saddened experience of those walking the road to Emmaus, mission as accompaniment calls for the Bible to be the foundation for all the Church's work in and through the world. While biblical texts may be interpreted differently based upon social settings, the foundational message remains: the Good News that Jesus the Christ is the Savior and foundation of faith, and the source of all transformation. The Bible allows for the sustaining of faith – and the empowerment to be faithful to the Word and free for mission.

Practices of Mission

So they drew near to the village to which they were going. He appeared to be going further, but they constrained him, saying, "Stay with us, for it is toward evening and the day is now far spent." So he went in to stay with them. When he was at table with them, he took the bread and blessed, and broke it, and gave it to them. And their eyes were opened and they recognized him; and he vanished out of their sight. They said to each other, "Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked to us on the road, while he opened to us the scriptures?" And they rose that same hour and returned to Jerusalem; and they found the eleven gathered

together and those who were with them, who said, "The Lord has risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon!" Then they told what has happened on the road, and how he was known to them in the breaking of the bread (Luke 24:28-35).

After an examination of context, followed by interpretation of Scripture, mission as accompaniment moves into the important step of sustained action. While examination and interpretation are in and of themselves "actions", the Church is called to be "sent out" as a faithful expression of the Church's calling, to participate in the in-breaking of God's reign in Jesus Christ. As was the case in Luke 24, a key aspect to the Church's mission practice is that it takes place in community, and not as isolated individuals or separate church bodies. Mission as accompaniment serves as a reminder that mission engagement is the role of the entire church. As the two responded to Jesus' presence in community, the Church is called to do likewise, and thus inspire, listen, and learn for ongoing mission.

All together, *Mission in Context: Transformation, Reconciliation, Empowerment* highlights various shifts which have taken place within the Lutheran World Federation over the course of its history. While the Fourth General Assembly (Helsinki) in 1963 considered mission solely as conversion from unbelief to faith, from 1977 (Dar es Salaam) and onward, mission was understood in a more holistic manner.[74] As a result of ongoing changes in mission context around the world, through *Mission in Context* the LWF wished to publish a tool which would encourage all expressions of the Lutheran Church to reconsider mission practices within their own contexts. In addition, it was hoped that member churches could reflect upon theology as a way to be empowered into mission practice that is "transforming, reconciling, and empowering".

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[74] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, p. 61.

Mission as Accompaniment and LWF: Connections

While theological documents are unique in their own right, there exist numerous connections between *Mission in Context: Transformation, Reconciliation, Empowerment*, and the ELCA-DGM document which introduces mission as accompaniment, *Global Mission in the 21st Century: A Vision of Evangelical Faithfulness in God's Mission*. While *Mission in Context* does not deal with the mission as accompaniment to the extent of *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, the concept of accompaniment is mentioned on repeated occasions, and the overall purpose of "walking alongside" through mutuality and solidarity is implied at various points. For example, the LWF document presents a "biblical model for mission" which, among other things, offers the Emmaus road encounter of Luke 24:13-49 as:

> …the model that speaks for and enlightens a *hermeneutical spiral approach* to mission, an approach that is reflective of the interaction between contexts, theology, and practice. It is also considered to be the best model, at this time, to convey the understanding of mission as *accompaniment*.[75]

In a similar fashion, *Global Mission in the 21st Century* makes repeated references to Luke 24:13-49 as a foundational biblical text in order to understand mission as accompaniment. For example, *Global Mission is the 21st Century* introduces the road to Emmaus account in the following manner:

> *Accompaniment* literally means *walking together* side by side. Its biblical roots are found in Luke 24:13-35, the Easter story of the friends walking on the road to Emmaus. The disciples on the road, the accompanying stranger, the dialogue and examination of scripture, the extending of hospitality and a meal, and finally, the revelation of the risen Christ in the breaking of bread, are the elements of the story that provide images of the journey together in God's mission. We walk with

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[75] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 8

each other in a journey where the presence of God is revealed to us. God in Christ accompanies us in the fellowship of word and table.[76]

In addition to direct references to mission as accompaniment, *Mission in Context* highlights aspects of accompaniment. Specifically, the text addresses the global conversation in regards to historical and contemporary methods of partnership and accompaniment.[77] Similar to ELCA-DMG's call for solidarity and mutuality, *Mission in Context* calls for companion churches to move past traditional giver/sender relationships of North and South.

> Given the increasing complexity of today's contexts of mission, partnership in mission is more crucial than ever before. New models of partnership that promote equal participation and sharing of responsibility are being tried.[78]

The commitment to transform longstanding imbalances of power expressed by ELCA-DGM as a integral aspect of mission as accompaniment, especially in its stated desire to empower companion churches to be self-propagating, self-governing, and self-supporting. The "Three Self's", which were first articulated in the mid-1800's by Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), played a central role in ELCA-DGM's understanding of accompaniment. In addition to the "Three", ELCA-GM added "self-articulating", which originates from Justo Gonzalez in *Manana*,[79] to express a commitment to assist partner Churches in their right to self-interpretation and theology.

Similar to that which is pronounces by the LWF, in order to build upon the priority of transforming traditional relationship between churches of the North and South,

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[76] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 12.

[77] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 45.

[78] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 45.

[79] Justo Gonzales, *Manana*, (Nashville: Abington Press, 1990).

Global Mission in the 21st Century acknowledges power dynamics and the need to assist in transformation of relationships for faithful mission:

> The accompaniment model holds the potential to create a radical shift in power within today's global relationships. The mutuality of walking side by side means equal sharing of decision-making and resources. It insists that old assumptions be challenges and that we listen to companions' interpretation of their vision of mission and reality. It means talking together, listening, and consulting with one another about how we will walk together in God's mission.[80]

In addition to the above mentioned connections between the ELCA-DGM's expression of accompaniment and that of mission stated by the LWF, perhaps the most striking reference to mission as accompaniment found in *Mission in Context* is made in its concluding remarks:

> Using the Emmaus road model of mission as being on a journey together, as accompaniment, this document invites Lutheran churches and other churches to engage in a theology that reflects on and draws from their contextual mission experience.[81]

While not stated explicitly, the Lutheran World Federation appears to have approved of mission as accompaniment as expressed by the ELCA-DGM. *Mission in Context* expresses one of the primary functions of the accompaniment model: the need for ongoing reflection. In the spirit of "*Ecclesia reformata semper reformanda est*", (a reforming church must continue to reform),[82] accompaniment allows for continued self-

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[80] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 12.

[81] Lutheran World Federation, *Mission in Context*, pg. 61.

[82] While the source of this phrase has been debated for numerous years, it appears to have been first articulated by Dutch Reformed Theologian Jodocus von Lodenstein (1620-1677).

reflection and analysis alongside global partners. Accompaniment acknowledges the current understandings of mission are not permanent, but continual assessment and evaluation is required.

While the ELCA-DGM also expresses a need for ongoing evaluation, what makes its expression unique is that it calls for the accompaniment process to be involved in the evaluation of accompaniment. In a sense, the accompaniment model will be the best way to determine whether or not the overall effectiveness of accompaniment. As *Global Mission in the 21st Century* states:

> By its very essence, accompaniment assumes a process. The companions are on the road together, learning along the way. As an open-ended road of mutual learning, accompaniment assumes mutual respect among churches in which each has gifts to give and to receive. Accompaniment implies a process of movement together where community is both a means and an end.[83]

The document goes on to state:

> The DGM will initiate a process that invites companion churches to share in the evaluation of DGM programs and the ongoing revision of the criteria used to evaluate programs.[84]

In summary, the development of mission as accompaniment which took place between the ELCA and its Latin American companions seems to have made a direct impact upon the global trend in mission which was later developed by The Lutheran World Federation. To state that LWF was "led" by the ELCA's development of accompaniment may be inaccurate, yet it would appear that accompaniment took hold in a way in which it was eventually embraced by the global Lutheran body. As a result, the

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[83] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 29.

[84] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 35.

ideal of "walking together in a solidarity that practices interdependence and mutuality" evolved as a model which was considered by the entire Lutheran global community.

Implications of Accompaniment

As accompaniment implies both action and movement in relationship with others, the development of accompaniment as a model for mission led to numerous practical implications for the ELCA and others who sought to apply it as a model for mission. In light of fresh insights gained from discussions with global companions, and as a result of the changing global context, mission as accompaniment offered new objectives as stated by *Global Mission in the Twenty-First Century*:[85]

To participate in the life-giving mission of the Triune God and to be in mission shaped by the cross, mission as accompaniment compels the church to:

- Share the good news of Jesus Christ with those who acknowledge no faith, people of living faiths, adherents of various ideologies, and those who have become inactive in or have abandoned their Christian faith.

    o Share the good news of Jesus Christ in both word and deed, and cultivate the birth and growth of new communities of faith, and assist in various forms of leadership development.
    o Initiate and develop relationships of respect, listening, understanding and sharing of faith with Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Confucianists and other faith traditions, as well as among modern secularists.
    o Invite and cooperate with efforts by other divisions of one's own church for evangelization and renewal among ourselves and in areas where commitments to the gospel has declined or disappeared.
    o Support international congregations in their various outreach ministries.

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[85] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 24-28.

- Increase cooperation with other North American agencies for mission in one's own context.

- Be in solidarity with and advocate for people who are oppressed, poor and suffering, and share resources to meet human need.

  - Health: Support and develop health ministries that are intended to reach people who are most vulnerable.
  - Development: Support and develop integrated community development programs and activities.
  - Education: Enlist the educational resources of North America in supporting general education programs of companion churches in countries with specific educational needs.
  - Advocacy: Participate in public and prophetic advocacy programs.

- Accompany churches around the world and invite them to accompany North American churches in expressing the unity of the Body of Christ and in cooperating in the mission of the Triune God.

  - Leadership Development: In order to shift from "planting the church" to "accompanying", one is to give priority to leadership development efforts within companions churches.

- Work with the church in North America in developing its own gifts as a church and embracing the gifts of others as companions walk together in global mission.

  - Global Education: Give priority to experiences and educational opportunities that challenge the North American church to receive the witness of global companions.

- Global Relationships: Give priority to the development of relationships between the North American church and international companions.
- Stewardship: Join other church units in articulating a vision of stewardship that will enable it to participate full in the mission of the church.
- Prayer: Inspire North American church members to a renewed and active prayer life for God's mission in today's world.

As a result of increased communication with companion churches, the ELCA received a greater understanding of the changing global context, and through accompaniment allowed itself to consider faithful methods to move forward in mission. Rather than establishing churches in a day and age where the majority of Christians dwelled within North America and Europe, mission as accompaniment acknowledges a shift in the center of Christianity, and what is required as a result. Accompaniment brought about the need for contextualization of theology and practices, mission-in-reverse, sharing of resources, honest and open dialogue, leadership development, and increased attention to advocacy and holistic approaches. In addition, ELCA-DGM acknowledged a desire to develop educational programs, assist with ministries such as health and development, and also assist in the initiation of South-South relationships among companion churches. Accompaniment called for a radical shift in the ways in which global mission was perceived and practiced.

While the nature of accompaniment is one of openness and "in process", one can argue for twelve "signposts" to be used as indications of whether or not mission as accompaniment has taken place within daily church operations. The signposts, including descriptions and evaluation questions, are as follows:[86]

1) Witness in Word and Deed

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[86] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 29-34.

As God offers life to all people in all places, an indicator of *accompaniment* is an acknowledgment that every human being has a right to hear the Good News of Jesus Christ. This takes place through both speech and action. Questions to consider are: Does the church witness to the gospel internationally among those who have not heard, have not heard fully, or who wish to dialogue regarding the Good News of Jesus Christ? Is evangelism in both word and deed a high priority of the church's programs? Does the church equip missionaries to articulate, witness, and participate in God's mission?[87]

2) Witness under the Cross

As the church witnesses in word and deed from a position defined by the cross of Jesus Christ, indicators of *accompaniment* include attitudes and actions which seek to witness to a world from the servant stance of vulnerability and compassion. Questions to consider are: Does the church listen respectfully to those it seeks to serve and demonstrate that it is willing to rethink the cultural values inherent in its programs and methods? Does the church model a servant approach in relationship to its leaders and general constituency? Does the church invest in programs that serve the needs of global companions and its own constituency?

3) Interfaith Witness and Dialogue

Religious pluralism is a reality of the global environment for mission around the world. As a result, and indicator of *accompaniment* includes interfaith witness and conversation in order to promote mutual understanding and respect between the church and people of diverse faiths. Questions to consider are: Do the church's programs (internationally, nationally, and locally) reflect a consciousness of and sensitivity to the world's faith traditions? Does the church nurture relationships that are the basis for interfaith witness

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[87] While the term "missionary" should denote the whole people of God who are called and sent, in this particular instance it is used to signify a select group who are assigned by the ELCA Global Mission.

and conversation? Does the church assume a stance of "gentleness and reverence" (1 Peter 3:15) rather than an oppositional stance toward members of diverse faiths and an openness to the transformation that Christians can experience through interfaith conversation and Christian witness? Does the church produce resources that will further interfaith witness and conversation by its constituency and companion churches?

4) Ecumenical Approach

As a result of Christian denominational diversity throughout the world, an indicator of *accompaniment* includes conversation with ecumenical partners when planning mission with global companion churches. This approach opens new and varied ways of working in God's mission. Questions to consider are: Does the church's plans reflect conversations with ecumenical companions for increased cooperation? Do the church's plans include cooperation with its full-communion partners? Do the church's programs consider delegating responsibility among ecumenical partners?

5) Wholistic Approach

The church is to consider its programs in light of the spiritual, physical, individual, and communal. As a result, a commitment to *accompaniment* entails a wholistic perspective in decision making and naming of priorities. Questions to consider are: Does the church's involvement with companions or in new areas reflect witness in both word and deed? Does the church's budget planning and distribution of resources reflect concern for physical as well as spiritual needs?

6) Justice, Peace, and Integrity of Creation

North American churches are situated within a wealthy world superpower. In recognition of this reality, an indicator of *accompaniment* includes programs that strive for justice, peace and the integrity of creation by advocating for and identifying with people most affected by injustice, repression, and degradation of their environment. Questions to

consider are: Does the church respond with intentional concern for companions whose gifts are repressed by racism, colonialism, economic deprivation, politics or gender inequity? Is the church mobilizing its constituency to publicly witness within North America its concern for justice, peace and the integrity of creation? Does the church take into consideration the particular needs of children and youth? Do church programs evidence concern for environmental issues as they impact individual lifestyle, physical well-being and life in society?

7) South-South Programs

A reality of the current day and age is numerous churches of the southern hemisphere growing rapidly, producing capable leaders and high quality training agencies. As a result, an indicator of *accompaniment* is to promote and facilitate South-South relationships and exchange of insights and resources. Questions to consider are: Is the church encouraging the sending and receiving of missionaries from the South among its companions churches? Does the church encourage appropriate ownership of South-South programs by its companion churches? Is the number of international scholarship students studying in the U.S. and in Asia and the Southern hemisphere balanced?

8) Racial Diversity and Gender Equity

Racial diversity and gender equity are a source of energy and creativity in the church. As a result, an indicator of *accompaniment* is the encouragement of racial diversity and gender equity both in the United States and in working with companion churches. *Accompaniment* calls for the church to place a high priority for promoting the development of women for positions of leadership and full participation in church and community. Questions to consider are: Does the US-based staff and missionaries of the church reflect racial and gender diversity? Do church programs encourage the full participation of women in leadership positions? Does the church commit resources to and offer training toward respect for and systemic change toward racial diversity and

gender equity? Does the church encourage racial diversity and gender equity within its companion churches?

9) Transparency in Communication and Finance

Communication among global companions is intended to be open and honest. As a result, an indicator of *accompaniment* is for churches to reflect accurate pictures of their motivations, programs, and budgets in the process of mutual accountability between itself and companions churches. Questions to consider are: Does the church and its companions reflect in conversations their mutual strengths and weaknesses within their mission calling in their respective cultures? Does the church minimize practices which hinder mutual building up, and expect mutual accountability and admonition in consultations with its constituency and companion churches? Is there direct church-to-church communication rather than through intermediaries? Is there mutual transparency in the sharing of overall budgets and program funding?[88]

10) Shared Decision Making

The *accompaniment* model assumes that decisions are made through consultation. As a result, the church will consult with its own constituency, as well as companion churches, in order to clarify priorities and practices for making decisions. Questions to consider: Are the church's companions involved in conversations leading to decision which affect them? Do the church's leaders and missionaries model shared decision making? Does the church's general membership have access to information that will increase its capacity for involvement in global mission?

11) Diversity of Gifts

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[88] As an exhaustive account of developments in ecumenical sharing in mission is not intended, one could further explore the World Council of Churches' El Escorial (1987) document, as well as the experiences of the Council for World Mission (CWM).

Churches are called to appreciate the wide variety of gifts in which God offers. As a result, an indicator of *accompaniment* is to work for greater appreciation of gifts, such as vitality, cross-cultural sensitivity, and evangelical zeal, as well as material gifts and resources. Questions to consider are: Do the church's planning processes begin from a "gifts-based" rather than "deficit based" assessment? In its exchange of gifts with companion churches, is the church open to the flow of gifts from companions?

12) Contextualization

In an ever-changing world it is critical for churches to be aware of their ever-changing contexts. As a result, an indicator of *accompaniment* is to work with church bodies, agencies, individual Christians, and people of diverse faiths in order to contextualize various priorities and programs. Questions to consider are: Does the church's missionary staff encourage local leadership and train replacements for themselves among local leaders? Does the church give sufficient priority to the leadership development of youth? Do the church's international scholarship training programs enable students to contextualize their theology and skills? Does the church work with companion churches in doing mission in new areas?

Conclusion

Over ten years have passed since the initial introduction of mission as accompaniment. And while the purpose of this study is not to analyze the ELCA's faithfulness to mission as accompaniment, what can be stated is a significant shift in mission methodology has clearly taken place, both within the ELCA and the global Lutheran body. A greater amount of attention and resources were placed upon leadership development among companion churches, a greater attention to the "two way" approach of mission was extended, and it can be argued that global companions entered into a more cooperative process than in years previous. While in no way could the ELCA regard

itself as following accompaniment to perfection, yet it has continued to develop and will need ongoing reflection as its context continues to change.

Accompaniment as a model for mission, defined as "walking together in a solidarity that practices interdependence and mutuality", finds it core origins in the ministry of Jesus Christ and God's action of "walking alongside" humankind and all creation from "the beginning".[89] With various biblical roots found in both the New Testament and Hebrew Bible, and developed over time through reflection and practice in various corners of the globe, mission as accompaniment is currently perceived as a critique of past mission practices and a way in which companion churches may faithfully serve together in a changing global context. While mission as accompaniment is in no way a "final word" for mission methodology, it is perceived with humility as path for companions to journey together faithfully in the current day and age.

With the above thoughts in mind, in order to contribute toward ongoing examination and renewed articulation of mission as accompaniment, the Chapter which follows will utilize James C. Scott's notion of "hidden transcripts" in order to assess the possible limitations of mission as accompaniment, and also function as a tool to review how global mission is to be expressed in the midst of changing realities around the world. In particular, while truth-telling, dialogue, and other manners of open communication are worthy objectives, Scott's theories will show how organizations that endorse mission as accompaniment may lack an understanding of what such objectives require. Among other things, Scott's concepts will show how beliefs and actions expressed "in the open"

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[89] As stated in the introduction, accompaniment is by no means a methodology used exclusively by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. The Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (PACSA), the Church Land Programme (CLP), and others in South Africa are currently in a process of developing accompaniment for its own work. In addition, accompaniment continues to find new interpretation within its Latin American roots and throughout the globe. The insights offered by such realities should be celebrated and utilized as deeper understandings of accompaniment are sought.

are often quite different from those expressed "behind closed doors". As a result of ongoing power discrepancies between global church companions, Scott's theories surrounding domination and resistance are considerable for the pursuit of mission as accompaniment.

CHAPTER 3: HIDDEN TRANSCRIPTS

Introduction

As stated in Chapter Two, one of the primary objectives of mission as accompaniment is to critique and alter traditional mission articulation and practices. In doing so, mission as accompaniment seeks to transform long-standing relationships amongst global church companions and move past long-established labels of "giver" and "receiver". In light of these intentions, mission as accompaniment proposes six primary behaviors for its practitioners:[1]

1. Affirm the diversity of viewpoints that exist among companion churches;
2. Encourage companion churches to question and analyze the priorities and practices of one another;
3. Be transparent and engage in honest and sincere dialogue;
4. Move beyond traditional relationships of the past between North and South and South and South;
5. Involve the churches and agencies affected by decision in decision-making processes;
6. Acknowledge that the churches in both the South and the North will be in solidarity with one another in their weakness, struggles, and mission.

Among other things, an examination of these behaviors indicates the critical importance of "truth-telling" in the mission as accompaniment process. Naturally, in order for genuine companionship to exist, the ability to speak truth to one another is of critical importance and should be strongly promoted. However, while the abovementioned pursuit of affirmation, transparency, appreciation of diversity, and other modes of "open" interactions appears straightforward, one can argue that such exchanges are more complicated than initial surface-level appearances. Specifically, as discussed in the

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[1] Malpica Padilla, "Accompaniment", pg. 89.

introductory narrative of Chapter One, the reality of power imbalance leads to a "hidden transcript" between dominators and dominated groups which takes place "beneath the surface" of public interactions. As was the case with the isiZulu translator and North American evangelist, the "hidden transcript" is articulated behind the back of those in power, and it varies significantly from that which is shared publically.

In the Chapter which follows, James C. Scott's notion of "hidden transcripts" will be utilized in order to critique the potential limitations of mission as accompaniment, and also serve as a tool to reconsider how global mission is to be reflected upon and practiced. Specifically, while truth-telling, dialogue, and other direct forms of communication are commendable goals, Scott's notions will show that North American organizations such as the ELCA who promote mission as accompaniment may be unaware of what such objectives require, for power imbalance is an ongoing unfortunate reality of global church companionship programs. Among other things, Scott's concepts will indicate that thoughts and other behaviors expressed during "open" interactions between church companions are often quite different from that which is expressed privately. As a result of power imbalance between companion churches, Scott's theories surrounding domination and resistance are a significant contribution as churches of the North and South reflect upon the impact of power and domination upon truth-telling and the overall pursuit of mission as accompaniment.

What are Hidden Transcripts?

Following years of research into peasant communities and various forms of struggle, James C. Scott published *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1990) as an addition to his ongoing study.[2] Among other things, Scott makes use of the terms *public transcript* and *hidden transcript* in order to consider how

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[2] *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (1976) and *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985) were Scott's most notable publications before *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (1990).

one might more accurately "read, interpret, and understand" the often underground conduct of those on the receiving end of domination.[3] While *public transcripts* are "the open interactions" between dominated populations and those who demonstrate control (*public* makes reference to actions that are observable to the other party in the power relationship, and *transcript* is used in the sense of a complete record of what was actually spoken and/or expressed non-verbally);[4] *hidden transcripts* are the "discourse that takes place 'offstage', beyond direct observation by power holders".[5] Characteristics of hidden transcripts include: they are specific to a given social site and to a particular set of actors;[6] they do not only contain speech, but a whole range of practices;[7] and the boundary between public and hidden transcripts is a space of ongoing struggle between the dominant and those whom they dominate.[8] Scott argues that *both* oppressors and oppressed possess hidden transcripts; that this "hidden" discourse is rarely in contact; [9] and that the more severe the oppression of the dominant, the more abundant the hidden transcripts.[10]

James C. Scott maintains that "surface level" observations of interactions between groups on "different levels on the scale of power" may lead to numerous false assumptions, for one may conclude that dominated groups "endorse the terms of their subordination and are willing, even enthusiastic, partners in that subordination".[11] In

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[3] James. C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), pg. 17.

[4] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. 2.

[5] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. 4.

[6] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. 14.

[7] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. 14.

[8] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. 14.

[9] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. 15.

[10] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. 27.

[11] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. 4.

contrast to what may be observed on a surface level, Scott proposes that *all dominated groups*, in response to their situation, create a hidden transcript that:

> …represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant. The powerful, for their part, also develop a hidden transcript representing the practices and claims of their rule that cannot be openly declared. A comparison of the hidden transcript of the weak with that of the powerful, and of both hidden transcripts to the public transcript of power relations, offers a substantially new way of understanding resistance to domination.[12]

Scott concludes that, in order to better "read, interpret, and understand" dominated groups, a greater awareness and appreciation of the hidden transcript must be obtained.[13] As was indicated in the introductory narrative about the North American Evangelist and isiZulu translator, when one is able to acknowledge the reality of power imbalance and various forms of domination and resistance, what follows is an acknowledgement that what takes place in public is different from what happens in private. As will be argued in this chapter, the end result of applying Scott's theories to global mission companionship is a dramatic change for previously held understandings and behaviors.

Background

In order to arrive at more concise understanding of Scott's notion of hidden transcripts found within *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, it is important to take a more detailed review of his previous work which focused on the various methods in which subjugated populations resist forms of dominance. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Subsistence and Rebellion in Southeast Asia* (1976), includes James C. Scott's observations into the nature of peasant societies and willingness to rebel against unjust structures. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985),

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[12] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. xxi.

[13] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg. xxi.

expands upon Scott's earlier work in southeast Asia and attempts to apply theories of resistance to a more broad population. The following section will provide a description of each text and how it relates with Scott's work on hidden transcripts in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*.

In *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Subsistence and Rebellion in Southeast Asia*, James C. Scott begins his study of peasant politics and forms of rebellion with a metaphor from R.H. Tawney:[14] "the position of the rural population" is "that of a man standing permanently up to the neck in water, so that even a ripple might drown him."[15] With this profound image in mind, Scott lays out his primary objective to examine why certain forms of exploitation give way to active revolution among the peasantry while others do not. In other words, Scott sought to understand why particular situations spark open resistance (even in the midst of metaphorically standing neck-level in water) while others do not. Specifically, Scott comments:

> The fact that subsistence-orientated peasants typically prefer to avoid economic disaster rather than take risks to maximize their average income has enormous implications for the problem of exploitation.[16]

At the onset of his study, Scott hypothesizes that the problem of exploitation and rebellion is not merely an issue of "calories and income" but "is a question of peasant conceptions of social justice, of rights and obligations, of reciprocity".[17] These initial thoughts lay the groundwork for what Scott would later consider the "moral economy" of the peasant.

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[14] R.H. Tawney, *Land and Labor in China*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), pg. 77.

[15] James. C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), pg. vii.

[16] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. vii

[17] Scott, T*he Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. vii

According to Scott, an examination of the "moral economy" of the peasantry may begin in the realm of economics, but it ultimately ends "in the study of peasant culture and religion".[18] As a result, he concludes that the "subsistence ethic" should be placed "at the center" of the analysis of peasant politics.[19] Scott writes:

> If we can understand the indignation and rage which prompted them to risk everything, we can grasp what I have chosen to call their moral economy: their notion of economic justice and their working definition of exploitation – their view of which claims on their product were tolerable and which intolerable.[20]

While Scott had not yet coined the terms "hidden transcript" or "public transcript", his examinations found within *Moral Economy of the Peasant* offer the groundwork for various forms of resistance later articulated in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. As Scott articulates, while subjects of oppression wish to avoid the negative consequences of being found guilty of opposition, their values and self-dignity serve as motivation for strategic forms of (mostly hidden yet occasionally open) resistance which limit negative consequences while strategically opposing the dominant order.

James C. Scott insists that an examination of the moral economy of peasants can reveal what makes them angry and what is likely to generate an explosive situation. Among other things, Scott believes that rebellion from the peasantry depends upon a host of intervening factors, such as "alliances with other classes, the repressive capacity of dominant elites, and the social organization of the peasantry itself".[21] These thoughts surface later in Scott's writing in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. However, as Scott continually highlights, open rebellion is not a frequent occurrence amongst those whom struggle to survive. As the "subsistence ethic" is rooted in the "economic practices and social exchanges of peasant society," the test for the peasant is more likely

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[18] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. vii.

[19] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 3

[20] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 3

[21] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 4

to be "What is left?" than "How much is taken?"[22] With these thoughts in mind, Scott considers the "safe-first principle of decision making" as critically important when in consideration of peasant societies and various forms of resistance to domination. These judgments upon the priority of safety are critical when observing dominated populations and considering why such groups do not appear to resist their oppressive situations.

As the economy of Southeast Asia transformed into a more capitalist market-base, these changes narrowed the subsistence margin of many peasants and exposed them to new and greater risks of subsistence crises.[23] As a result, a primary issue for the peasantry became that of providing for a minimum income.[24] Scott quotes Michael Lipton:[25] "It is the absence of the threat of individual starvation which makes primitive society, in a sense, more human than market economy, and at the same time less economic".[26] While the subsistence ethic possesses both economic and moral dimensions in its qualities of distribution, the capitalist structure allowed for greater risk among those whom were already struggling to survive.[27] A primary result of these changes in economic structures was an increased willingness for the peasantry to resist, for the capitalist structures led to a threat of basic needs and ability to survive.

The Moral Economy of the Peasant highlights various ways in which the peasantries are recipients of exploitation, with a specific focus on the development of the colonial economy in Southeast Asia, particularly in Burma and Vietnam. Among other things, Scott considers two major rebellions in Vietnam and Burma in light of the subsistence ethic and the "safety first" principle, and he seeks to apply the political

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[22] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 6, 7.

[23] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 11.

[24] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 9.

[25] Michael Lipton, "The Theory of the Optimizing Peasant", *Journal of Development Studies 4* (1969), pg. 341.

[26] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 5.

[27] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 11.

economy of the subsistence ethic to peasant politics. In order to examine specific insights which would later serve as foundational for Scott's later work on hidden transcripts in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, the final chapter: "Revolt, Survival, and Repression", is worthy of more detailed examination.

Whereas a great deal of Scott's inquiry within *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* focuses on the specific nature of exploitation taking place in Southeast Asia, his consideration of "Revolt, Survival, and Repression" in the final chapter shows the conditions which make for rebellion amongst those on the brink of survival. Specifically, Scott analyses conditions which seem to increase the likelihood of peasant revolt, as well as those that appear to reduce the possibilities of rebellion. With these thoughts in mind, Scott insists the central issues deserving of attention are the "structural context of revolt, the paths of survival and non-revolt, and the anatomy of repression". [28] According to Scott, "growing exploitation of the peasantry may well be a necessary cause of rebellion, but it is far from a sufficient cause.[29] Scott proposes:

> There is good reason, in fact, for holding that rebellion is one of the least likely consequences of exploitation. If exploitation alone were a necessary and sufficient cause of rebellion, much of Southeast Asia and the Third World would surely be in a semi-permanent state of civil war.[30]

In the greater context of the aforementioned "safety-first principle", one is able to grasp why open revolt amongst the peasantry is often avoided. For subsistence-level peasants (and as I will argue later, the same can be said for dominated populations such as church companions of the southern hemisphere), open resistance such as "speaking truth to power" may provide certain rewards, but the significant risks involved (such as loss of funds and/or other resources) make action less likely. Why? As Scott argues, "the main deterrent to revolt is not the survival alternatives open to the peasantry but the risks of

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[28] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 193.

[29] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 193.

[30] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 193.

rebellion".[31] Specifically, according to Scott, reasons for an absence of open revolt include a host of adaptive survival strategies that, for a time at least, stave off immediate threat to subsistence.[32] These thoughts on the priority of avoiding negative consequences provide additional groundwork for Scott's examination into hidden struggle to be found in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*.

According to Scott, to speak of open rebellion is to focus on extremely rare and extraordinary moments when peasants seek to restore or remake their oppressive world by force. While history books often highlight such occasions when dominated communities visibly and forcefully struggle for liberation, Scott highlights how rare these moments actually are and how historically exceptional it is for them to lead to a successful revolution. According to Scott, it is important to remember that the peasant is more often "a helpless victim of violence than its initiator".[33] Even in the face of growing exploitation, because of the low chance of victory and high risk of disastrous defeat, numerous peasant communities do not take up open rebellion for the purpose of change. As a result, even if each member of the peasant community desires a change in the structural order, more often than not the situation remains the same, and outside observers would be left with the impression that the oppressed accept their domination.

In regards to the appearance of acceptance, within *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, Scott disagrees with the Marxist notion of "mystification" and argues that one is to consider the peasantry's lack of viable options and a willingness to conspire "beneath the surface" in order to create change from a point of safety. Similar to arguments in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* about the limitations of hegemony and false consciousness, Scott argues that one should be careful not to infer the values of the oppressed from their publically observable behavior. Instead of judging peasants as accepting of elite values, behavior of the peasantry can be viewed as ritualized, habitual,

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[31] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 195.

[32] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 194-195.

[33] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 203.

or even calculating, for as Scott writes, "a great deal of this deferential behavior can be understood solely in terms of the constraints surrounding the actor that sanction any other form of behavior".[34] In other words, if oppressive restrictions where lifted, the behavior of the peasantry would most certainly change. As a result, the mere observance of respect and orderly conduct gives little evidence of actual acceptance of the elite order.

According to Scott, while open revolt is most often not a viable option, secretive acts of opposition are employed, for the moral economy of the peasant is in direct disagreement with elite exploitation. Although a surface-level observation of community relations may give an impression of general harmony and acceptance of the social order, inequality and oppression as a result of power disparity leads to various form of hidden resistance. As Scott quotes W.F. Wertheim:

> No human society is a completely integrated entity. In any community there are hidden or overt forms of protest against the prevalent hierarchical structure. In general a more or less dominant set of common values can be discerned…But beneath the dominant theme there always exists different sets of values, which are, to a certain degree, adhered to among certain social groups and which function as a kind of counterpoint to the leading melody.[35]

Similar to that which would be later expressed within *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, Scott argues that although various forms of resistance may be hidden from public observation, but they do exist, as a result should be taken seriously.

While many in North American churches would hesitate to compare their relationship to companion churches of the southern hemisphere to that of peasants and oppressors in Southeast Asia, one cannot ignore the similarities which Scott offers.

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[34] Howard Newby, "The Deferential Dialectic, "*Comparative Studies in Society and History"*, 17:2 (April 1975), pg. 142.

[35] W.F. Wertheim, "Society as a Composite of Conflicting Value Systems", *East-West Parallels*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), pg. 26.

Similar to the introductory narrative of the North American Evangelist and isiZulu translator, Scott argues that those on the receiving end of domination submit to their situation not due to acceptance, but because they often have no other choice. In addition, while open acts of rebellion are rare due to significant levels of risk, those on the receiving end of oppression express resistance beneath the surface by holding to cultural and ethical values which stand in direct contrast to the ideals of the ruling elite. According to Scott, the process of resisting the elite social order in a secretive approach is not a matter of retreat and/or escape, but it represents a "moral universe in embryo – a dissident subculture, an existentially true and just one" which helps unify its members as a community of dignity and values.[36] With these thoughts in mind, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* lays critical groundwork for the concept of hidden transcripts which would later find articulation in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* and currently serves as a primary theoretical lens for this study on power, truth-telling, and the pursuit of mission as accompaniment.

In *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, James C. Scott examines root causes of peasant resistance, with specific attention given to those in Burma and Vietnam in the early 1930's. In *Weapons of the Weak*: *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance,* Scott considers a similar subject, this time through observation of ordinary, everyday peasant opposition. Similar to that which is expressed in *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, Scott offers various reasons as to why open revolt is so often rare, and offers additional insights which would later find expression in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. Specifically, in response to a growing dissatisfaction with recent work (including his own) on the subject of peasant rebellion and revolution, the study found within *Weapons of the Weak* is based on Scott's fourteen months of fieldwork carried out in the late 1970's in the small village of Sedaka (not its real name), found in the Kedah state of Malaysia.[37] Among other things, Scott's intention is to provide direct attention toward

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[36] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, pg. 240.

[37] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday forms of Peasant Resistance*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986). pg.28

the ideological struggle taking place within the village, and how it relates to the practice of resistance. Throughout the text Scott raises issues of resistance, class struggle, and ideological domination which apply directly to concepts to be developed further in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* which are foundational for this study on power, truth-telling, and the pursuit of mission as accompaniment.

The initial chapter of *Weapons of the Weak* introduces the village of Sedaka, a rice-farming community of seventy households found within the paddy-growing area of Kedah. As was often the case in many areas impacted by the "green revolution", the community witnessed a growing division between rich and poor, with the rich growing increasingly wealthy and the poor becoming more economically desperate. Specifically, Scott provides a brief description of two individuals, Razak and Haji Broom, whom dwell at opposite corners of the social scales, and serve as a symbol for the class struggles taking place in Sedaka. Through descriptions of the impoverished Razak and elite Haji Broom, Scott introduces the ways in class struggle is impacted by propaganda, gossip, story-telling, and the differences between "onstage" and "offstage" behavior. In addition, Scott concludes that observations of such relationships can provide a great deal of insight into class consciousness and everyday forms of resistance.

While significant sections of *Weapons of the Weak* offer economic and political details of the Sedaka village, the final chapters offer significant theoretical insights which emerge as a result of Scott's firsthand observations. More specifically, Scott highlights the ways in which classes interpret history, how these interpretations lead to conflict when put into practice, how resistance to oppression is cautious and calculated, and the various forms of ideological struggle. The primary theoretical flow is a continual debate with the likes of Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Georg Lukacs, Louis Althusser and Jurgen Habermas.[38] These theoretical dialogues serve as a foundation for developments which find further expression in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*

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[38] Louis Althusser and Etienne Balidar, Translated by Ben Brewster, *Reading Capital*, (London: Verso, 1977); Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks*. Edited and

Similar to arguments brought forward in *Moral Economy of the Peasant*, Scott reaffirms an understanding of open revolt as being rare. He considers, "…most subordinate classes throughout most of history have rarely been afforded the luxury of open, organized, political activity", due to the reality that "most subordinate classes are, after all, far less interested in changing the larger structures of the state and the law than in what Hobsbawn has appropriately called 'working the system'…to their minimum disadvantage".[39] However, similar to *Moral Economy of the Peasant*, Scott highlights the "hidden forms" of resistance which stand in direct conflict with surface-level observers whom are lead to believe subordinate classes are willing participants in their domination.

According to Scott, the wealthy in Sedaka rationalize their exploitation and refuse to abide by traditional "moral economy" values of mutual help. Whereas the dominant hold massive influence, Scott argues that such elite attitudes and practices do not alter the shared norms of the poor themselves. The poor, on the other hand, appear to fight a losing battle as they hold to a fading way of life. Scott offers numerous examples which illustrate the ongoing battle between rich and poor, such as: the means landowners use to justify sacking tenants; a dispute over control of the village gate; and drastic bias in the distribution of funds handed out by the national government for a village improvement scheme. In response to growing levels of exploitation, Scott highlights peasant resistance which includes more than speech, such as: striking against the introduction of combine harvesters, petty theft, the killing of animals, and so on.

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translated by Quinten Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971); Jurgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests*. Translated be Jeremy J. Shapiro. (Boston: Beacon, 1971); Georg Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness*: *Studies in Marxist Dialectics*. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971); Karl Marx, *Capital*. Vol. 1. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970).

[39] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. xv. Found in: Eric Hobsbawm, "Peasants and Politics," *Journal of Peasant Studies 1*, (1973); pg. 3-22.

Through his observations of the Sedaka community, Scott concludes that conformity to the rituals and behaviors approved of by the powerful elite is calculated and strategic in order to prevent a backlash which would threaten survival. In addition, Scott concludes that beneath the surface of symbolic and ritual compliance there is an undercurrent of ideological resistance. Similar to ideas brought forward in *Moral Economy of the Peasant*, these notions serve as a critique to common ideals of mystification, false consciousness, and hegemony. Scott concludes that, similar to a theatrical production, the poor and marginalized act differently depending upon whether they are "onstage" or "offstage". While those in positions of power, he argues, may have control of what takes on the public "stage":

> Those with power in the village are not, however, in total control of the stage. They may write the basic script for the play but, within its confines, truculent or disaffected actors find sufficient room for maneuver to suggest subtly their disdain for the proceedings. The necessarily lines may be spoken, the gesture made, but it is clear that many of the actors are just going through the motions and do not have their hearts in the performance.[40]

According to Scott, the difference between "onstage" and "offstage" behavior, to the extent that the deference expressed in public, power-laden situations is negated in the comparative safety of offstage privacy, we can speak unambiguously of false deference".[41] As a result, similar to that which is expressed in *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* and will be given further consideration in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, such a difference between onstage and offstage behavior leads to a dramatic reconsideration for those observing relations between powerful and those whom fall under their power. More specifically, as will be discussed more in detail within Chapter Four of this study, Scott's various insights taken from observations in Sedaka allow for a significant reassessment of church companionships methodologies such as mission as

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[40] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. 26.

[41] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. 25.

accompaniment. Whereas some companionship churches may offer agreement and cooperation "onstage", one of the consequences of unequal power distribution is divergent behaviors and beliefs which are only displayed "offstage".

In addition to Scott's observations on the ideologies and overall motivations for those on the receiving end of domination, *Weapons of the Weak* also reconsiders previously held assumptions about specific forms of peasant action and concepts of revolt and resistance. Scott's insights along these lines are incredibly useful for those wishing to observe beneath the surface of observable action. For example, Scott highlights the distinctions that are often made between "real" and "token" forms of resistance:

> Real resistance, it is argued, is (a) organized, systematic, and cooperative, (b) principled or selfless, (c) has revolutionary consequences, and/or (d) embodies ideas or intentions that negate the basis of domination itself. Token, incidental, or epiphenomenal activities, by contrast, are (a) unorganized, unsystematic, and individual, (b) opportunistic and self-indulgent, (c) have no revolutionary consequences, and/or (d) imply, in their intention or meaning, an accommodation with the system of domination.[42]

According to Scott, the abovementioned distinctions are important for any analysis that seeks to describe resistance, for they show how characteristics are related to one another and to the forms of domination in which they occur. However, contrary to common thought, Scott argues that the "token" forms are not trivial and/or inconsequential when compared to those typically assumed to be "real". To the contrary, Scott believes that "token and incidental" activities form the basis for economic and political struggle, for "not only slaves, but peasants and workers as well – in repressive settings.[43] In many ways, by highlighting the offstage political activity of subordinate grounds, Scott seeks to redefine commonly held notions of resistance and struggle.

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[42] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. 292.

[43] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. 292.

According to Scott, whereas outward forms of organized mass resistance receive the greatest levels of attention (and are most often remembered in history books) everyday forms of struggle by subordinate populations often take on a much different appearance. These various offstage behaviors are not merely an opportunity for those on the receiving end of domination to vent or express anger, but as Scott states, they are the ordinary "weapons" of "relatively powerless groups", such as foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so on.[44] According to Scott, while many assume that struggle amongst subordinate populations requires management, networking, and the courage to openly challenge authorities, the everyday forms of resistance amongst the subordinate often require little or no coordination or planning, and they typically avoid any direct, symbolic confrontation with authority.[45] As a result of these ground-breaking insights, Scott shows how the various tools employed by subordinate populations are much different from that which is typically assumed. In other words, Scott argues that those who seek evidence of resistance amongst the oppressed are often looking in the wrong places.

As a result of the various firsthand observations and insights brought forth in *Weapons of the Weak*, one is left increasingly critical of official accounts of history and more aware of the possibilities of what has happened (and continues to happen) beneath the surface and/or offstage between the powerful and those on the receiving end of their power. In addition, while history is often filled with accounts of organized political struggle which allow for oppressed populations to courageously confront their oppressors, one is left with an increased sense of alternative possibilities. Furthermore, as Scott argues, these hidden behaviors are more than mere expressions of complaint, and while history has shown that they are more often unsuccessful in attempts to alter large-scale structures, they do have the potential for massive social change:

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[44] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. xvi.

[45] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. xvi.

Everyday forms of peasant resistance make no headlines. But just as millions of anthozoan polyps create, willy-nilly, a coral reef, so do the multiple acts of peasant insubordination and evasion create political and economic barrier reefs on their own. It is largely in this fashion that the peasantry makes its political presence felt. And whenever, to pursue the simile, the ship of state runs aground on such reefs, attention is usually directed to the shipwreck itself and not to the vast aggregation of petty acts that made it possible. For these reasons alone, it seems important to understand this quiet and anonymous welter of peasant action.[46]

In summary, *Weapons of the Weak* shows that dominated populations do not accept their oppression as commonly assumed, and as a result, they conduct various forms of hidden resistance in order to oppose such structures while limiting the potential of negative consequence. Whereas an outside observer may assume peace and harmony within various social settings where inequality exists, Scott argues that what lies beneath the surface amongst class relations reveals a far different story.

As stated previously in this study, numerous church leaders in North America would greatly resist the idea of having their relations to companions in the southern hemisphere compared to those consisting of economic exploitation in a remote Malay village. However, as strange as it may initially sound, the similarities are not as exaggerated as one may first believe. As Scott observed in *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* and again in *Weapons of the Weak*, power has an impact upon all forms of relationships, and as a result of various expressions of power within the church in a globalized world, the churches of the northern hemisphere would most certainly be included within Scott's sphere of application. In the section which follows, I will provide an overview of Scott's work in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, and show how it may serve as a critical tool for North American churches to more critically observe global mission companionship, and more specifically, reconsider mission as accompaniment.

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[46] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. xvii.

Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts

James C. Scott's work in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* builds upon *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* and *Weapons of the Weak* in order to more systematically examine class relations in light of power disparity. Specifically, in order to make clearer sense of what Scott had observed during field work in *Weapons of the Weak*, and in an attempt to apply concepts to additional social settings, he offers further insights into onstage (public) communication and that which takes place offstage (private) between groups in possession of power and those who find themselves under the throngs of domination. Scott writes:

> The idea behind this book developed as a result of my persistent and rather slow-witted efforts to make sense of class relations in a Malay village. I was hearing divergent accounts of land transactions, wage rates, social reputations, and technological change. By itself, this was not so much surprising inasmuch as different villagers were occasionally contradicting themselves! It was some time before it dawned on me that the contradictions arose especially, but not uniquely, among the poorer and most economically dependent villagers. The dependency was as important as the poverty, since there were several fairly autonomous poor whose expressed opinions were both consistent and independent.[47]

As Scott became more aware of the ways in which power relations had an impact upon communication with the Malay village, he considered "hidden transcripts" as something not only found within peasant communities, but also within various others populations where power disparity is present. More specifically, not only does Scott recognize that power has an impact in nearly all social relations, he goes on to argue that *every subordinate group*, as a result of its domination, creates a "hidden transcript" that "represents a critique of power behind the back of the dominant".[48] In addition, Scott

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[47] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. ix.

[48] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. xii.

notes that the powerful also create a hidden transcript which represents the practices and claims of their rule that cannot be openly declared. As a result of these findings, Scott offers a radically divergent way to observe communication, and one is left increasingly skeptical of public accounts of reality.

Among other things, Scott offered *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* in order to consider how one may "more successfully read, interpret, and understand the often fugitive political conduct of subordinate groups" through the unveiling of "contradictions, tensions, and imminent possibilities" afforded by the creation of "hidden transcripts" by both subordinate groups and those who dominate them. [49] As a result, in order to more fully articulate the connections between Scott's work and the pursuit of mission as accompaniment, the following section will consider some of the key themes surrounding Scott's work in *Domination and the Arts if Resistance*. In doing so, one will be able to more clearly understand Scott's work, and also distinguish why these concepts serve as a tool to clarify mission as accompaniment in light of global power disparity.

According to Scott, there are four varieties of public discourse among subordinate groups.[50] These include: A safe and public discourse based upon "flattering the self-image of elites"; the hidden transcript itself, where subordinates gather to speak outside the immediate observation of the powerful in order to voice discontent; the art of "double-meaning", where the powerful hear one message and the subordinate another, which takes place through rumor, gossip, jokes, songs, rituals, codes, and euphemisms; and a discourse which breaks the barrier between hidden and public, in which "truth" is spoken to "power" in public. These four varieties of public speech allow for one to more fully understand the ways in which dominated groups relate with those in power.

In addition to the four varieties of public discourse among subordinate groups, Scott articulates four primary functions of the "public transcript" from the perspective of

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[49] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. xii.

[50] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 18-19.

those in power.[51] These include: affirmation, where formal rituals and ceremonies affirm a particular social order and rationale for the "way things are"; concealment, when elites wish to create an appearance that dictates what they wish for subordinates to observe; euphemization and stigma, which uses language to obscure something that is negatively valued or would prove to be an embarrassment if declared more directly; and unanimity, when the ruling powers wish to create an appearance of harmony amongst themselves and consent among subordinates. All together, when one considers the four varieties of public discourse amongst elite groups and compares them with the corresponding varieties of communication by those on the receiving end of domination, one is shown that what appears in public is not necessarily an accurate description of reality.

According to Scott, the practice of domination generates a hidden transcript, which takes place "offstage" beyond the direct observation of those on divergent ends of the power scale.[52] The primary characteristics of hidden transcripts include:[53] They are specific to a given social site and to a particular set of actors, which means each hidden transcript is elaborated among a restricted ground that excludes those on opposite ends of the power spectrum; they do not only contain speech, but a whole range of practices; and the boundary between public and hidden transcripts is a space of ongoing struggle between the dominant and those whom they dominate, for while the dominant group often dictates what occurs "onstage", the struggle over such boundaries between dominant and dominated is perhaps the most important area in everyday forms of class struggle.[54] All together, Scott argues that *both* oppressors and oppressed groups possess various forms of hidden transcripts, these hidden discourses are rarely in contact, and that

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[51] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 46-55.

[52] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 4.

[53] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 14.

[54] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 14.

the more severe the oppression of the dominant, the more abundant the hidden transcripts.[55]

As an addition to observations made within *Weapons of the Weak* and *Moral Economy of the Peasant*, Scott provides a detailed critique of popular notions of false consciousness and hegemony. Specifically, in order to make sense of power disparity, Scott considers why subordinate classes seem to accept social systems which directly oppose their interests. While the likes of Antonio Gramsci, Frank Parkin, Ralph Miliband, Nocos Poulantzas, Anthony Giddens, Jurgen Habermas, and Louis Althusser assume subordinate groups are led to believe their situations of subordination are justified and/or inevitable, Scott considers a divergent view. More specifically, Scott considers that while observable public action may lead one to believe subordinate groups accept their domination as either justified or inevitable, "below the surface" there exists daily acts of resistance which stand in opposition to dominant structures.

Scott details "thick" and "thin" versions of false consciousness.[56] The thin version of false consciousness, according to Scott, claims that the dominant ideology works by persuading subordinate classes to believe in the values that justify their own subordination. The thin version, on the other hand, maintains only that the dominant ideology achieves compliance by convincing subordinate groups that the social order is natural and inevitable. More specifically, Scott summarizes that "the thick theory claims consent; the thin theory settles for resignation".[57] In both instances, Scott concludes that both theories are inaccurate, for while public action may lead one to assume ideological hegemony among the subordinate class, what lies "beneath the surface" reveals resistance to the various forms of domination. As was a key theme in *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* and *Weapons of the Weak*, once again Scott argues for a deeper look at relations between the dominant and dominated. However, what sets *Domination and the Arts of*

[55] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 15, 27.

[56] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 72.

[57] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 72.

Resistance apart is that it offers terminology and a systematic approach which can be considered and applied in various social settings.

According to Scott, "perhaps the greatest problem with the concept of hegemony is the implicit assumption that the ideological incorporation of subordinate groups will necessarily diminish social conflict".[58] In addition, Scott claims an addition predicament of the hegemonic thesis is that, if people are made to conform to the elite ideal, then how does one explain how various examples of social change which have originated "from below"?[59] Scott argues that even in the absence of actual knowledge of alternative arrangements, the dominated class is more than capable of imagining a reversal of its existing order. As a result, "if the elite-dominated public transcript tends to naturalize domination, it would seem that some countervailing influence manages often to denaturalize domination."[60] While Scott considers extreme and unlikely cases in which "paper-thin hegemony" may exist, he largely concludes that popular notions of how domination works are deficient.[61] In doing so, Scott offers innovative insights into why unjust structures remain intact, and how those on the receiving end of domination oppose such structures outside the watchful eyes of those in power.

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[58] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 77.

[59] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 78.

[60] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 79.

[61] Scott considers two stringent conditions which may lead to "paper-thin hegemony" within cases of involuntary subordination: 1) When there is a strong possibility that a good number of subordinates will eventually come to power (juniors exploited by elders can look forward to one day becoming an elder); and 2) Those extreme conditions when subordinates are completely atomized and kept under close observation, to the point in which a hidden transcript generated amongst other subordinates is largely impossible (solitary confinement, concentration camps, etc.). But as Scott writes, these conditions "are so stringent that they are simply not applicable to any of the large-scale forms of domination that concerns us here". Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 82-85.

In further criticism of basic notions of hegemony, and in continued explanation of the existence of hidden transcripts, Scott argues for a link between dominance and resistance. Specifically, Scott claims that domination does not persist of its own momentum or energy, thus it requires continuous action by the dominant in order to be reinforced, maintained, and adjusted.[62] In response to such acts of oppression, those on the receiving end of domination are hardly accepting of their conditions (as notions of false consciousness and hegemony would argue), for they often respond with various forms of resistance. However, the "official transcript" of both dominant and subordinate populations creates difficulty for those wishing to examine such power relationships, thus a general acceptance of hegemony and false consciousness. Along these lines, as was considered earlier in *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* and again *in Weapons of the Weak*, Scott considers public transcripts to be comparable to that of a "production" which hides the power struggle which takes place within the hidden transcripts "offstage".

According to Scott, those who observe power relations based exclusively upon what takes place "onstage" will receive an inaccurate view of reality, for as mentioned earlier, those in positions of power provide "onstage" public appearances which function through acts of affirmation, concealment, euphemization, stigma, and unanimity.[63] Among other things, these public acts seek to reinforce the hierarchical order and limit the revolutionary potential of subordinates. From a surface level point of view, it would *appear* that those in power are often successful in their intentions, for those under the forces of domination *appear* to be willing participants in the "production", even at the expense of their own wellbeing. As a result, notions of hegemony and false consciousness are offered to explain such relations in a way that describes dominated populations as unwilling or even unable, to oppose the various systems and structures which serve as the basis for their oppression. However, as a result of Scott's unique access to what takes place offstage during fieldwork chronicled in *Weapons of the Weak*,

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[62] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 45

[63] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 46-55

he pushes social observers to acknowledge that a "stage" does indeed exist, and that which takes place on the stage is quite different from that which occurs off of it.

While resistance to domination does not appear to be observable "onstage" – for as Scott argues, the great bulk of observable events are dedicated to the "performance" of the public transcript – resistance can and does occur offstage and outside the view of the general public. The rationale for such secrecy can be found in the "safety-first principle" first articulated in *Moral Economy of the Peasant*, for in resistance to domination the peasant wishes to disguise opposition in such a way to limit risk and escape detection, for the impact of punishment may be irreversible. As a result, detecting resistance under observable conditions is rare, for "unless one can penetrate the official transcript of both subordinates and elites, a reading of the social evidence will almost always represent a confirmation of the status quo in hegemonic terms".[64] Along these lines, one can understand why dominated groups skillfully and carefully disguise their various acts of opposition, for an exposed hidden transcript does not merely lead to a loss of a job or certain financial benefits, but in more serious terms, it can lead to the loss of basic needs and survival. In other worlds, from the perspective of the dominated, the hidden transcript remains hidden for good reason.

In addition to an argument for the existence of hidden acts of resistance, Scott also highlights "forms of disguise" which allow for subordinate groups to resist various forms of domination by "smuggling certain portions of the hidden transcript, suitably veiled, onto the public stage".[65] The more general forms of disguise can be divided into techniques that either camouflage the message or conceal the messenger, and they include: anonymity (through acts of gossip, rumor, etc.); euphemism; and grumbling. In addition, Scott highlights more elaborate forms of disguise amongst the dominated, which include "collective representations of culture", such as:[66] oral culture, which offers

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[64] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 90.

[65] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 138, 157.

[66] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 156, 160, 162, 171.

a "seclusion, control, and even anonymity that make them ideal vehicles for cultural resistance";[67] folktales, for "nothing illustrates the veiled cultural resistance of subordinate groups better than what have been termed trickster tales";[68] and symbolic inversion, which offers a "world-upside-down" tradition in which the last became first and the first became last.[69] All in all, these forms of disguise allow for resistance to subtly take place in a public form while employing the "safety-first" principle through escaping detection by those in positions of power. As a result these subtle acts, similar to a flying fish momentarily rising above the surface, a social observer can receive a small insight to the hidden transcript of subordinate groups. The key, according to Scott, is the desire to go deeper for a more accurate view, as the trusted access to be allowed to do so. The access to hidden transcripts will be discussed more in the final chapter of this study.

The metaphor of a fish momentarily flying about the surface can serve as an insight into a significant theme of *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, that of "infrapolitics", which is the "wide variety of low-profile forms of resistance that dare not speak in their own name".[70] According to Scott, the study of infrapolitics allows for a refined method in order to consider the critical issue of hegemonic incorporation and examine whether or not subordinate groups truly believe in the "justice or inevitability" of their domination.[71] Among others things, Scott's introduction into infrapolitics shows that the various hidden acts of subordinate groups do serve a purpose, and in many ways can lead to positive social change. All in all, as once considers the overall scope of domination and resistance, the concept of infrapolitics is essential for understanding Scott's work.

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[67] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 160.

[68] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance:* pg. 162.

[69] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 171

[70] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 19

[71] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 19

Scott's review of the infrapolitics of subordinate groups details the ways in which relations between dominators and dominated "include a material struggle in which both sides are continually probing for weaknesses and exploiting small advantages".[72] In a sense, the lines between hidden and open are continually being redrawn, with both dominators and dominated attempting to secure additional territory. More specifically, Scott reacts to claims that "offstage discourse of the powerless" is either "empty posturing" or "a substitute for real resistance" by showing how each form of open resistance has a "infrapolitical twin sister" which aims at the same goals but whose low profile nature is better adapted to resisting an opponent who would probably win an open confrontation.[73] Similar to Scott's debate on "real resistance" found in *Weapons of the Weak*, he shows how uncoordinated and spontaneous independent action should be classified as "real", and even if these forms of resistance do not eventually lead to a transformation of the social order, at the very least they serve as evidence for the theoretical gaps of false consciousness and hegemonic incorporation. For example, Scott asserts that resistance to domination "like domination, fights a war on two fronts":

> The hidden transcript is not just behind-the-scenes griping and grumbling; it is enacted in a host of down-to-earth, low-profile stratagems designed to minimize appropriation. In the cases of slaves, for example, these stratagems have typically included theft, pilfering, feigned ignorance, shirking or careless labor, footdragging, secret trade and production for sale, sabotage or crops, livestock, and machinery, arson, flight, and so on. In the case of peasants, poaching, squatting, illegal gleaning, delivery of inferior rents in kind, clearing clandestine fields, and defaults on feudal dues have been common stratagems.[74]

According to Scott, the "logic" of the expression of the hidden transcript in infrapolitical forms is to leave few traces in the wake of its passage. By covering its tracks it not only

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[72] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 184

[73] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 184.

[74] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 188.

minimizes the risks its practitioners run but it also eliminates much of the documentary evidence that might convince social scientists and historians that "real politics" was taking place.[75] As a result, much of the active political life of subordinate groups has been ignored because it takes place at a level rarely recognized as political. Thus, as Scott argues, hidden transcripts are in no way a "substitute" for the "real thing", but infrapolitics are "real politics" in their own right.[76] As Scott claims, the hidden transcript is a form of resistance rather than a replacement for it.

In anticipation of potential critics to the validity of infrapolitical activity, Scott considers the likes of G.W.F. Hegel, Leon Trotsky, and others who claim that certain acts of "the hidden becoming public" are more of a "safety valve" which allows for dominant elites to allow for momentary "release" which hinders more serious forms of resistance in the long run.[77] Through examples of "ritual resistance" in which the dominant provide periodic celebrations (carnival, festivals, holiday parties, etc.) which simulate a changing of the social order, Scott critiques those who understand these actions and considers whether or not these "safety valves" can truly satisfy those who live in situations of dominance. Scott asserts that "social-psychological evidence provides little or no support for such claims, and the historical case for such arguments has yet to be made".[78] More specifically, Scott argues, "ritual aggression" does not hinder more "serious" forms of aggression, for historical evidence has shown that certain revolts taking place precisely during seasonal rituals designed to prevent their occurrence.[79] In metaphorical terms, the idea of a dominant population periodically giving a small taste of equality in order to prevent a long-term full meal of it lacks historical accuracy.

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[75] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 200.

[76] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 200.

[77] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 186.

[78] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 187.

[79] Scott cites the carnival described by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie in *Carnival in Romans*, Translated by Mary Feeney. (New York: George Braziller, 1979); Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 187.

In summary of Scott's discussion on infrapolitics, he claims that hidden forms of resistance are in no way a safety-valve or substitute, but they virtually always aim to renegotiate power relations between elites and subordinate populations. Along these lines, Scott claims that conceptions of political activity that are confined to that which is openly declared will inevitably miss the "immense political terrain" that lies between "quiescence and revolt" and that, for better or worse, "is the political environment of subject classes".[80] As a result, Scott argues that infrapolitics can be considered the "foundational" form of politics, for it is the "building block" for more detailed forms of action that could not exist without it.[81] As Scott writes:

> Under the conditions of tyranny and persecution in which most historical subjects live, [infrapolitics] *is* political life. And when the rare civilities of open political life are curtailed or destroyed, as they so often are, the elementary forms of infrapolitics remain as a defense in depth of the powerless.[82]

For the purpose of this study, Scott's insights into infrapolitics serve as a ground-breaking tool for those who wish to critically examine relationships between global church companions. As will be discussed further in the final chapter, all relationships take into account the level of power possessed on each side. The church is no exception. As a result, because churches reside within the context of their respective home nations, and due to the fact that power disparity between particular nations inevitably exists, the churches, from these different nations, in their relationship with one another do not hold an equal balance of power. Therefore, public and hidden transcripts exist within church companionship, as well as infrapolitcal activity. While church leaders may deny such "political" dimensions to their global relationships, Scott's notions would indicate that struggle and opposition is a reality of all relationships where power distribution is unequal. The global church is to be included in such an assessment.

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[80] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 199

[81] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 201

[82] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 201

A primary argument of *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* is that an appreciation of public and hidden transcripts leads to a greater understanding of relations between those in power and those whom fall within their influence. Along these lines, Scott finds danger in discussing the rare occasions in which the hidden transcripts of the weak become public and lead to outward action in full view of those in power. As Scott writes and warns, the hidden transcript is not merely a "prologue to outward forms" of resistance, for "if this were the case", then an "insistence that most of the political struggle of subordinate groups is conducted in much more ambiguous territory would have been in vain".[83] In other words, just as Scott goes at length to argue that hidden transcripts are not a substitute for real resistance, he also wishes to show that they are also not merely an introduction or entry-level to authentic opposition. All in all, Scott argues that hidden resistance *is* real resistance in and of itself.

While Scott hesitates to do so, he concludes that an analysis of hidden transcripts would be incomplete without offering insights into the rare moments in history when dominated populations forcefully display their discontent publically and it leads to massive social change through a more equal distribution of power. Specifically, Scott brings attention to occasions when the hidden transcript is first declared publically, and he does so by highlighting what takes place in order for such an event to take place, and also the potential consequences of such an event actually unfolding. Among other things, Scott indicates that the hidden transcript which becomes public can be an essential force in political breakthroughs, for it allows communities to share in their common roots and display their collective discontent in ways like never before. As a result of newly discovered connectedness and expression of mutual goals, mass public action as a result of the hidden transcript becoming public can take place rapidly and powerfully. In a sense, like a volcano which erupts after years of building pressure, when the hidden transcript remains under the surface of public detection for so long, an opportunity to bring it into the open explodes with massive force.

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[83] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 202.

In further examination of the hidden transcript becoming public, Scott states that any public rebuttal "in the teeth of power" to produce the "words, gestures, and other signs of normative compliance" is typically interpreted by elites (and typically intended by subordinates) as an act of resistance and disobedience.[84] Here the crucial distinction is made between a "practical failure" to comply and a "declared refusal to comply".[85] While "practical failures" do not necessarily breach the normative order of domination; the "declared refusals" almost always serve such a function.[86] As Scott writes:

> …there is likely to be all the difference in the world between bumping against someone and openly pushing that person, between pilfering and the open seizure of goods, between failing to sing the national anthem and publically sitting while others stand during the performance, between gossip and a public insult, between machine breaking that could be the result of carelessness and machine breaking that is the result of sabotage.[87]

The question, according to Scott, is whether or not a "clear act of insubordination" has occurred, and if so, what actions will take place as a result of such open defiance.[88] According to Scott, insubordination is a direct threat to the power of elites, for a refusal to comply with ruling standards is "not merely a tiny breach in a symbolic wall; it necessarily calls into question all the other acts that this form of subordination entails.[89] While a single act of unconformity can be excused and repaired with small consequences for the system of domination, a single act of public insubordination, however, "pierces the smooth surface of apparent consent, which itself is a visible reminder of underlying

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[84] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 203, 208.

[85] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 203.

[86] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 203.

[87] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 203.

[88] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 205.

[89] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 205.

power relations."[90] As a result, the question of whether or not an act of insubordination has occurred makes an incredible difference for both the dominators and the dominated.

In those rare occasions of public insubordination, the hidden transcript of the subordinate becomes revealed in its fullness, and an "electric energy" builds among those whom share in the ideals expressed.[91] As was stated earlier, everyday acts of hidden resistance among marginalized communities are typically unorganized and lack coordination. As a result, when an open act of insubordination in the face of power actually takes place, it allows for the oppressed community to share its dissent as a collective group, which in turn allows for a rallying together like never before:

> It is only when this hidden transcript is openly declared that subordinates can fully recognize the full extent to which their claims, their dreams, their anger is shared by other subordinates with whom they have not been in direct touch.[92]

While those who first express the hidden transcripts take a considerable personal risk, there is a great deal of satisfaction at no longer having to "play the part" in the "public performance" of power relations.[93] In many ways, an act of liberation has taken place. In addition, these acts – though rare and highly dangerous – have the potential for mass social change and transformation of class structure and traditional power dynamics. In a sense, the first public unveiling of the hidden transcript frequently sets in motion a "crystallization" of public action that is astonishingly rapid, for it allows groups to embrace their shared feelings and dream of something new.[94] As Scott writes:

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[90] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 205.

[91] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 206.

[92] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 223.

[93] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 215.

[94] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 223.

At the level of political beliefs, anger, and dreams it is a social explosion. The first declaration speaks for countless others, it shouts what has historically had to be whispered, controlled, choked back, stifled, and suppressed.[95]

According to Scott, the first declaration of the hidden transcript is "potentially awesome" due to the mass impact it may possess in the long term.[96] When oppressed populations are finally given an opportunity to express discontent publically, the act foreshadows a possible turning point in overall power relations, for it tests whether or not the whole system of domination will stand. In a metaphorical sense, the first expression of the public transcript can serve as the first crack in a wall that many seek to tear down.

In summary, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* offers a method for examining power relationships which challenges social observers to look beneath the surface of obvious and visible action. Whereas a public account of events often gives an impression of social cohesion and relative harmony, below the surface exists a hidden transcript which offers a much different account of resistance to domination. These various forms of hidden resistance, which are conducted through infrapolitics in ways which disguise the message and messenger, are real forms of resistance in and of themselves. In the rare event when the hidden transcripts are publically revealed in the face of power, they serve as a potential lightning rod for mass political action. All in all, Scott forces one to reconsider the nature of relationships which are impacted by power. As a result, because power has an impact upon *all relationships* in one way or another, Scott work calls into question all relationships within in all geographical areas in all periods of history.

Hidden Transcripts: Further Developments

The notion of hidden transcripts offers a compelling critique of mission as accompaniment in light of power disparity and its potential impact upon truth-telling and

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[95] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 227.

[96] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 227.

dialogue. As was indicated repeatedly in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, the concept of hidden transcripts allows one to call into question the appearance of social harmony and compliance in the midst of power disparity, for while there may be impressions of obedience, the hidden transcript which lies beneath the surface reveals that truth-telling and genuine dialogue between those on different ends of the power spectrum is often far from reality. Accordingly, as this study on mission as accompaniment focuses primarily on the impact of power upon relationships between church institutions that seek global mission companionship, it is worth paying attention to Scott's work in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. While Scott's work in *Seeing Like a State* offers a shift in focus from that found within *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, for the purpose of this study, the thoughts brought forward are useful when in examination of North American church institutions and their attempt to create positive change in the developing world.

Within *Seeing Like a State,* Scott focuses on various examples of large-scale institutions that have sought to "arrange the population in ways that simplified the classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and prevention of rebellion".[97] Through examples in Russia, Brazil, Tanzania, and other locations, Scott uncovers several conditions that he believes are common to all such wide-scale planning disasters. In doing so, Scott argues that successful ventures which eventually lead to positive social change are not those which employ a top-down hierarchy (which rely upon public transcripts), but rather, they focus upon local wisdom (hidden transcripts) and allow for indigenous values and practices to be applied. While Scott does not focus on traditional North American missionary, this study will argue that connections most certainly exist. As North American churches have a long history of attempting to improve the human condition in areas far outside their own geographical boundaries, the sub-title of Scott's work*, How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, should be taken seriously and applied practically.

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[97] James C. Scott, *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998). pg. 2.

Through an examination of state-initiated large-scale engineering projects, Scott argues that the most dreadful examples originate in a combination of four primary elements, all of which are "necessary for a full-fledged disaster".[98] According to Scott, these elements include: the administrative ordering of nature and society; high-modernist ideology, which originates in the global West as a by-product of unprecedented progress in science and industry; an authoritarian state that is willing and able to use the full weight of its coercive power to bring its designs into being; and a relatively powerless civil society that lacks the capacity to resist plans of the state. In summary, Scott argues that the "legibility" of a society provides a capacity for large-scale social engineering, high-modernist ideology provides the desire, the authoritarian state provides determination to act on that desire, and an incapacitated civil society provides the leveled social terrain on which to build.[99] Through it all, while *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* argues for the existence of hidden transcripts within power-laded relationships, *Seeing Like a State* offers historical insights into the negative consequences which occur as a result of hidden transcripts being ignored by those in positions of power.

According to Scott, large-scale development projects must be seen in the context of several hundred years of government attempts to "simplify" nature and society. Along these lines, Scott describes how governing authorities of the distant past knew little about their subjects and the natural systems which operated in local communities. As a result, while governments certainly used oppressive methods to extract what they needed from the general population, they rarely interfered with local communities of which they had little information or practical experience.[100] Specifically, Scott uses Bruges in the 1500's as an example of a city whose streets and houses were the result of millions of "micro-interactions" throughout its history. Although Bruges' internal logic was clear to its local residents, a visitor would likely encounter numerous challenges, as they would require a local guide to move around, the local dialect would be largely incomprehensible, the

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[98] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 4-5.

[99] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 5.

[100] Scott, S*eeing Like A State,* pg. 24.

standards of measurement would be varied, and even "time zones" would be different for each locale.[101] In addition, with no birth register, fixed last names, or property registers to sort out the "chaos" (from the state's point of view) of common land, shared land, leases and smallholdings, the state influence did not reach far.[102] As Scott articulates, such organic residential settings provided a significant challenge for the state and its goal of organizing communities for the sake of documentation and control.

In contrast to Scott's account of Bruges, he highlights exceedingly organized and structured cities, such as Chicago in the late 1900's. With a "nearly utopian" ground plan (from an administrational point of view), the city grid included straight lines, right angles, and constant repetition.[103] As a result, visitors to the city would likely to be able to function without assistance from a local a guide. According to Scott, such cities allow for increased levels of organization, but they are also "removed" from the full realities and challenges of its citizens. While the plan may appear structured from the perspective of the "outside" or "above", it makes little difference on a "street level". In addition, as the city plan is imposed upon the population rather than having evolved naturally from it (as was the case in Bruges), the order has no "real relationship" with daily life as experienced by its residents[104]. All together, the structure may hold advantages for those in government, but its benefits for those "on the ground" are, according to Scott, highly debatable.

In addition to city planning strategies, Scott highlights other examples of "state simplifications", such as: the centralization of traffic patterns, standardization of a common language, and the creation of surnames. In doing so, Scott considers five characteristics of government imposed simplification plans, such as:[105] They are

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[101] Scott, S*eeing Like A State,* pg. 56-65.

[102] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 56-65.

[103] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 56.

[104] Scott, S*eeing Like A State,* pg. 58.

[105] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 80.

observations limited to aspects of social life that are of state interest; they are nearly always written (verbal or numerical) documentary facts; they are typically static (fixed) facts; most stylized state facts are also aggregate (cumulative) facts; and they are attempts by state governments (thought its officials) to divide and characterize citizens in ways that permit them to make a collective assessment. All together, Scott considers these techniques of simplification as the state's attempt to "monitor, count, assess, and manage" the population in an attempt to "reduce the chaos" of natural human life into a structured plan which mirrors state government objectives.[106] In the context of Scott's previous work in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, these state projects can be viewed as methods to increase control of the powerful and decrease the possibilities of opposition on behalf of the population at large.

In what initially appears as a significant shift in emphasis from Scott's earlier work which centers upon peasantry resistance and other subordinate groups, the early stages of *Seeing Like a State* focus on above-mentioned examples such as governments, bureaucrats, modernist planning and their regrettable legacy of collaboration in various locations and time periods. However, in the later stages of the text, Scott turns his focus back to grass-roots communities which serve as the central focus of *Moral Economy of the Peasant*, *Weapons of the Weak*, and *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. Among other things, Scott identifies his central purpose as a detailed analysis and strong criticism of high modernism's attack on local knowledge and indigenous systems of comprehension. In addition, Scott argues for the indispensable role of "practical knowledge, informal processes, and improvisation in the face of unpredictability".[107] Similar to what is expressed in Scott's earlier works, within *Seeing Like a State* he concludes that those in situations of subordination have a great deal of insight to offer, but due to their circumstances, they are not given opportunities to do so.

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[106] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 82.

[107] Scott, S*eeing Like A State,* pg. 57

In many ways, Scott argues for some of the same ideals brought forward within mission as accompaniment. As was highlighted in the previous chapter, mission as accompaniment seeks to transform the traditional labels of "giver" and "receiver" by seeing the incredible value and usefulness in local wisdom. In order to correct previous North American missionary practices of controlling local projects "from above", mission as accompaniment seeks to give local churches primary decision-making capacity for mission in its own locations. The connections between mission as accompaniment and *Seeing Like a State* are clear. When missionary activity is at its worst, it includes much of what Scott explains about failed government attempts to improve the human condition: control, domination, the ability to judge and measure results, and an overall lack of appreciation for what matters "on the ground". However, Scott also offers insight into what North American missionary activity would look like at its best: release of control, walking alongside companions through mutuality and solidarity, and through the process allowing for local wisdom to bring about structures and practices which lead to that which is best for the objectives of the local community.

An additional strong connection between the objectives of mission as accompaniment and *Seeing Like a State* is found within Scott's focused attention on the practical wisdom of local communities, illustrated by the Greek concept of *"métis"*.[108] Scott understands *métis* as "a wide array of practical skills and acquired intelligence in responding to a constantly changing natural and human environment."[109] In literature, the central example is Odysseus, who demonstrated *métis* through an ability to improvise according to complexities of ever-changing situations.[110] The essence of *métis*, which Scott sees as a characteristic that failed state projects disregard – is knowledge about when and how to apply rules of thumb to concrete situations. Without question, such values are applied directly to the central priorities of mission as accompaniment.

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[108] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 309.

[109] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 313.

[110] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 313.

Similar to Scott's explanation of failed state projects, a significant portion of past North American missionary activity consisted of establishing churches and attempting to sustain structures which were dependent upon outside intervention and control. However, comparable to Scott's argument for increased appreciation of *métis*, mission as accompaniment acknowledges a shift in roles amongst missionaries and calls for an appreciation of local wisdom by uplifting local priorities and supporting structures which are interdependent and self-expressive in nature. In addition, as Scott criticizes the "top-down" nature of government action upon its citizens, much of past missionary practices also included such roles as teaching and supervision. As a result, as Scott calls for massive change in government methods, mission as accompaniment seeks a dramatic transformation in missionary activity through seeking justice, active-learning, and comprehension of local wisdom. All together, while *Seeing Like a State* never speaks of accompaniment, and documents such as *Global Mission in the 21st Century* which articulate mission as accompaniment never mention *métis*, the two are strongly linked in an overall commitment to uplift local priorities through an appreciation for the massive value of indigenous wisdom.

In addition to offering numerous explanations as to why certain large-scale projects to improve the human condition have failed, Scott offers straightforward proposals which, he believes, would significantly improve the livelihoods of those whom are often forgotten by top-down institutions. Similar to the connections found earlier between *Seeing Like a State* and mission as accompaniment, Scott's proposals for institutional leadership should be taken seriously by those whom wish to practice mission as accompaniment in light of power disparity between companion churches. Scott's proposals include:[111] Large institutions should take small steps rather than large ones, for institutional leadership should assume that they do not know the consequences of their actions; policies should be easily reversible, for "irreversible interventions have irreversible consequences";[112] plan on surprises, and assume that events will not happen

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[111] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 345

[112] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 345

as expected; and plan on human inventiveness, for those involved in projects will ultimately carry forward ideas about how to improve its functions. In Scott's view, these four proposals ultimately argue for "*métis* -friendly institutions" which are well-adapted to the inevitability of surprise, spontaneity, and informal innovations.[113] For the purpose of this study, Scott's notions are critical for North American churches that seek to put mission as accompaniment into practice in the midst of an ever-changing global environment which includes numerous power disparities. Specifically, the idea of a *métis*-friendly North American church would dramatically alter the shape of missionary activity, would be warmly received by companions, and it would radically improve the landscape of global mission.

All together, Scott's claims found within *Seeing Like a State* are highly intriguing in their relationship to previous works, for they offer insightful alternative methods to consider institutions and their attempts at large-scale social transformation. As an essential element of a "free society" is to ensure open and accessible space for free-thought and resistance to control, even amongst those "powerless" on the "lower rungs" of society, Scott concludes that institutions are compelled to resist temptations to centralize power and thus exclude the wisdom of those with practical experience in the grass-roots of daily life. With these thoughts in mind, while Scott does not offer specific plans or policies which would ensure positive structures which resist forms of domination, his basic guidelines for "*métis* friendly" models which allow for free-thinking and improvisation are thought-provoking and positive. All in all, it would appear Scott's firsthand experiences in peasant communities and subsequent observations in *Moral Economy of the Peasant*, *Weapons of the Weak*, and *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* all play a significant role in his insistence upon listening to and learning from the voices on the ground. Scott shows that the "experts" of improving the human condition are not necessarily those who voices are heard most often, but those with the practical wisdom and flexibility of altering thoughts and behaviors based upon ever-changing conditions.

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[113] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 352

Primary Theme: Resistance as a Result of Power Disparity

While it is somewhat foolish to try and summarize the extensive work of James C. Scott, one cannot escape the conclusion that *resistance as a result of power disparity* is a consistent theme found throughout his various research endeavors. For example, *Moral Economy of the Peasant*, *Weapons of the Weak*, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, and *Seeing Like A State* all include numerous insights into how power disparity creates movements of resistance amongst poor and marginalized populations. In addition, while each text is unique and offers specific insights, what binds them together is the persistent topics of oppression, struggle, and the various methods of resistance that dominated populations utilize in order to express their opposition to those in power. Specifically, what Scott repeatedly details is that, while the distinction between obedience and resistance are often unclear, and the "public" record of resistance may be quite different from that which takes place "on the ground", the presence of inequality creates situations where resistance takes place in both outward and hidden forms. As a result, those looking to consider Scott's work are required to explore his definition of resistance, and consider how it applies to various social settings.

One of the primary functions of Scott's work is to reconsider previously held definitions of "resistance". Whereas some consider a *resistance movement* as "an organized effort by some portion of the civil population of a country to resist the legally established government or an occupying power and to disrupt civil order and stability"[114]; Scott highlights assumptions about the criteria of resistance and attempts to formulate new understandings which can be applied to the everyday forms of resistance which are often employed by poor and marginalized communities. In other worlds, whereas standard definitions of resistance seem to utilize the perspective of the powerful, Scott examines and articulates resistance from the perspective of marginalized communities who are too often oppressed by institutional powers:

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[114] United States Department of Defense, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, (Joint Publication 1-02., April 2001), pg. 477.

If one takes the dictionary definition of the verb to resist – "…to exert oneself so as to withstand or counteract the force or effect of…" – how is one to categorize the subtle mixture of outward compliance and tentative resistance involved in the attempted boycott of combine-using farmers? So far as the public record is concerned, it never happened and yet, at another level, it was a labor strike, albeit one that failed.[115]

In addition to offering arguments about the definition of resistance from the perspective of oppressed communities, Scott also criticizes commonly held assumptions which try to make clear definitions as to what constitutes genuine and/or "real" resistance:

Can individual acts such as theft or the murder of livestock be considered resistance even though they involve no collective action and do not openly challenge the basic structure of property and domination? Can largely symbolic acts such as boycotting feasts or defaming reputations be called resistance, although they appear to make little or no dent in the distribution of resources?[116]

As a result of these insights, and in light of Scott's own experiences alongside peasant communities in Southeast Asia, he pushes for a wider and deeper understanding of *resistance* that includes multiple forms and is employed by a variety of people. According to Scott, resistance can be defined as:

….any act(s) by member(s) of a subordinate class that is or are intended either to mitigate or deny claims (for example, rents, taxes, prestige) made on that class by superordinate classes (for example, landlords, large farmers, the state) or to

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[115] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. 289-290.

[116] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. 290.

advance its own claims (for example, work, land, charity, respect) vis-à-vis those superordinate classes.[117]

While Scott fully admits his definition of resistance is imperfect in numerous ways, he argues that it holds a variety of advantages over previously held understandings.[118] For example; he argues that his refined definition highlights the material foundation of class relations and class struggle; it allows for both individual and cooperative methods of resistance; it does not rule out forms of ideological resistance that challenge dominant thought and seeks to emphasize alternative concepts of community relations; and it focuses on purpose and intentions rather than penalties or cost, for it recognizes that many acts of resistance fall short of intended goals.

According to Scott, a primary critique of commonly-held definitions of resistance lies in the "misleading, sterile, and sociologically naïve insistence" upon differentiating individual acts from seemingly "principled, selfless, collective actions", and "excluding the former from the category of *real* resistance".[119] According to Scott, to persist with such distinctions as a means of comparing various forms of resistance and their consequences is acceptable, but an insistence upon using them as basic criteria to define resistance is to neglect the essence of politics carried out by the oppressed:

> To require of lower-class resistance that it somehow be "principled" or "self-less" is not only utopian and a slander on the moral status of fundamental material needs; it is, more fundamentally, a misconstruction of the basis of class struggle, which is, first and foremost, a struggle over the appropriation of work, productivity, property, and taxes. "Bread-and-butter" issues are the essence of

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[117] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. 290.

[118] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. 290.

[119] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg.295.

lower-class politics and resistance. Consumption, from this perspective, is both the goal and the result of resistance and counterresistance.[120]

In summary, Scott concludes that if observations directed toward resistance movements were limited to formally organized and outwardly visible activity, much of the below-the-surface resistance which has taken place throughout history would be ignored and forgotten.[121] As a result, according to Scott, an objective of social analysis which focuses on resistance movements is not to discover a "consensus of agreed-upon rules", but to understand how divergent constructions of those rules and their application are related to class interests.[122] All in all, the theme of resistance, and how it is to be understood and defined, is a primary component of Scott's work. As a result, those wishing to understand Scott are required to reconsider commonly held notions of resistance. For the purpose of this study, Scott's definition of resistance will be applied to mission as accompaniment in light of power disparity amongst companions.

Appropriating Scott

The work of James C. Scott has transformed the ways in which social observers consider interactions surrounding power relations.[123] Specifically, as a result of Scott's attention to hidden transcripts, those who observe exchanges between dominant and dominated populations have a greater understanding of the difference between "onstage" and "offstage" behavior. While Scott's various forms of research highlight numerous examples of more extreme cases of individual and communal domination, his concepts can also be applied to "every day" interactions between individuals and groups in which power disparity exists. As a result, even though Scott's work has already been applied to

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[120] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg.296.

[121] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. 298.

[122] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pg. 310.

[123] While Scott's initial observations focus upon Southeast Asia, such insights have been applied in various contextual circumstances around the world.

a wide variety of disciplines, one may conclude that his research can be extended even further, for the question of power and its impact upon relationships is an area which continues to require detailed attention.

As has been stated repeatedly in this chapter, North American church leaders would greatly hesitate to apply Scott's themes of domination and political resistance when reflecting upon their missionary activity around the world. Whereas numerous mainline North American denominations have publically acknowledged a need to reform past missionary practices, few would be ready to openly acknowledge various ways in which domination and oppression continues to exist among churches as a result of unequal power distribution. As contemporary North American church leaders speak often of mutuality, solidarity, partnership, reconciliation, justice, and so forth, the mere idea that companions in foreign lands might actually *resist* their missionary presence leads to a sense of discomfort that many are not willing to acknowledge in public. Nevertheless, one of the functions of this study is to bring the hidden transcripts of church companionship to the forefront, acknowledge them, and consider the pursuit of mission as accompaniment in light of such uncomfortable realities which continue to hinder the overall objectives of God's global mission. All together, it is hoped that such a research endeavor would lead to relationships amongst global companions that more faithfully reflect the spirit of companionship that mission as accompaniment seeks.

As was stated in the previous chapter, one of the primary objectives of mission as accompaniment is to acknowledge past abuses of power and embrace the decision-making authority of companionship churches. However, while the language of mutuality is shared on an institutional level, it can be argued that a number of North American mission personnel *continue* to grasp onto control and have yet to fully trust and honor local priorities. As a result, certain North American missionaries continue to posses their own "hidden transcripts", for while a message of "trust" and "empowerment" is spoken in public leadership circles, attitudes of paternalism and racism may dwell underneath the

surface (either consciously or subconsciously).[124] While much has been spoken about the value of indigenous knowledge and local priorities, an inappropriate use of power by North American churches continues to be an unfortunately reality within 21st century missionary activity. As a result, while those engaged in missionary activity would most likely deny such accusations of "dominance" or "oppression" when in relationship with companions, stories of foreign control and overassertive missionaries continue to exist. Unfortunately, the misuse of missionary power is not merely a regrettable aspect of the past, for those churches in the developing world who continue to host authoritarian missionaries continue to be restricted in their ability to be self-propagating, self-governing, self-supporting, and self-articulating. As a result, while host churches may publically welcome their North American missionaries to be involved alongside them, the reality of inequality and domination would lead one to believe that a different story resides beneath the surface.

As stated earlier, James C. Scott insists upon differences in the way people behave "onstage" and "offstage" in the midst of power disparity, similar to the earlier-mentioned narrative of the North American evangelist and isiZulu translator. In addition, Scott concludes the nature of hidden transcripts are determined by the degree in which power disparity exists, or as Scott noted, "…the more menacing the power, the thicker the mask."[125] What is important to remember is that the presence of hidden transcripts

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[124] While this paper does not delve into the impact of racism upon global mission companionship, I would argue that further considerations of mission as accompaniment would greatly require it. As the ELCA general membership is roughly 97% white/Caucasian, I believe it would be mistaken to conclude racism in no way has an impact upon the ways in which the ELCA relates to its companions in the southern hemisphere. While the topic of racism is certainly one of extreme uneasiness and difficulty (especially for white North Americans like myself who continue to benefit as a result of racial oppression), I believe it should not be ignored, thus I hope to explore it (and more importantly, be aware of it) further in the years to come.

[125] Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, pg 3.

among those on the receiving end of domination in no way indicates a level of immorality among them. But rather, people who are subject to control are engaged in tactics that allow for maximized return with least amount of risk. As was stated earlier, Scott titles this the "safety-first principle".[126] While much is made of "speaking truth to power" and prophetic action, the reality of global power struggles is that such "open" acts are rare because of the huge amount of risk involved. For the isiZulu translator, he was not willing to risk the opportunity to fund church building projects, thus it was "safe" to participate in the "performance" of the North American Evangelist. With this being said, the purpose of this study is not to criticize the existence of hidden transcripts amongst those on the receiving end of domination. On the contrary, as hidden transcripts are the result of unequal power distribution, the purpose of this study is to place the responsibility upon the North American church to acknowledge such ongoing disparities and seek ways to transform their relationships with global companions in a way that reflects the objectives of mission as accompaniment.

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[126] Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant,* pg. 24.

CHAPTER 4: CAN ONE ENGAGE IN MISSION AS ACCOMPANIMENT IN THE MIDST OF POWER DISPARITY BETWEEN COMPANIONS?

Introduction

The previous chapters of this study provide an overview of mission as accompaniment and James C. Scott's notion of hidden transcripts. In doing so, the concept of hidden transcripts serves as a critical tool to reconsider mission as accompaniment in light of ongoing power disparity amongst global mission companions. As a result, whereas the previous chapters show how the pursuit of mission as accompaniment is hindered by power differential amongst global companions, this chapter will argue that mission as accompaniment, when it takes the hidden transcripts of companionship seriously, can – and should – be utilized as a method to reduce ongoing power discrepancies and serve as a spark to boldly convert the unjust connections of global relationships into bonds which more faithfully reflect the Christ-like pursuit of dignity, mutuality, compassion, and justice.

As has been highlighted earlier, the ability to speak truth through genuine dialogue is a primary indicator as to whether or not global companions embark in mission as accompaniment. On the other hand, the existence of hidden transcripts – which reveals limitations in truth-telling and dialogue – demonstrates that power imbalance is an unfortunate reality and that mission as accompaniment has not been fully realized. As a result, in order to highlight how mission as accompaniment can more faithfully and fruitfully promote relationships of mutuality among church companions, the central focus of this chapter will be placed upon the objective of truth-telling and dialogue.

The sections which follow offer numerous insights for North American churches to more fully promote truth-telling and dialogue through the process of mission as accompaniment. Specifically, the subsequent areas of focus will examine the concept of power from sociological and theological points of view in order to provide further groundwork for the overall task of transforming power disparity. In addition, the

research will highlight the previously mentioned concept of *métis* and its practical application to global mission, as well as offer renewed insights into mission as accompaniment as a potential vehicle for the "conversion of connections". All in all, with previous chapters on mission as accompaniment and hidden transcripts serving as the foundation, the sections which follow seek to reconsider the North American missionary task in light of power discrepancies, in the hope that renewed efforts may serve to promote truth-telling and dialogue in order to facilitate genuine companionship.

An Examination of Power: Sociological Viewpoints

To speak of human relationships is to be mindful of power and its various levels of disparity. Whether one considers a parent and child, an employee and employer, or North American missionaries and local hosts whom attempt to participate in God's mission alongside one another, each relationship possesses a certain degree of power disparity that needs to identified, considered, and properly managed. Specifically, for the purpose of this study, one is compelled to consider the nature of power and its relationship to global mission companionship, and how power has an impact upon truth-telling and the mission methodology of accompaniment. With the work of James C. Scott serving as an important lens to focus upon dialogue and truth-telling in light of unequal power distribution, one must look deeper and consider the overall nature of power, its sources, and various forms.

While many have attempted to provide broad understandings of power, the only consensus appears to be the reality that no consensus exists.[127] Through a comprehensive study of power and various theorists who have commented on its sources and impact, one conclusion to consider is that *power is diverse* and *power is everywhere*. Power comes in various shapes and forms, and the ways it is implemented and experienced varies widely depending upon culture, social location, and individual personalities. There are occasions

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[127] As mentioned previously, the work of Antonio Gramsci, Jurgen Habermas, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michel Foucault are considered helpful.

when power is easily observed, such as dynamics between a mother and child, yet there are other periods when power is subtle or cleverly disguised, such as the news media and its command of public opinion or the scent of freshly baked bread and its influence over the senses of potential consumers. Nevertheless, regardless of the shape, form, or visibility of power, it is universal in the sense that *all people* regardless of race, social class, or gender are "simultaneously constructed by power and exercise power."[128] With these thoughts in mind, one must carefully observe the numerous conceptions of power and how they relate to various interactions.

In order to better understand power, especially when in consideration of truth-telling and mission as accompaniment, one is compelled to examine the origin of power. According to Michael Mann, the "original source" of power derives from human nature. Specifically, he believes the desire for power originates within the human drive to increase "enjoyment of the good things of life", and the human capability of "choosing and pursing appropriate means for doing so."[129] In addition to human nature, Mann offers four larger-scaled sources of power: ideological, economic, military, and political. In his understanding, *ideological* power develops from "meaning, norm, and ritual"; *economic* power develops from "the satisfaction of subsistence needs through the social organization of the extraction, transformation, distribution, and consumption of the objects of nature"; *military* power develops "from the necessity of organized physical defense and its usefulness for aggression," and *political* power develops from the "usefulness of centralized, institutionalized, territorialized regulation of many aspects of social relations."[130] As a result of these aforementioned thoughts from Mann, and in light

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[128] Paul Germond, "Theology, Development and Power: Religious Power and Development Practice", *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 110 (July 2001). pg. 28.

[129]Michael Mann, *The sources of social power: Volume I. A history of power from the beginning to A.D. 1760*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). pg. 4.

[130] Mann, *The sources of social power,* pg. 22, 24, 25, 26.

of Scott's previously mentioned notions, one may conclude that power is diverse and unique to a particular place and time.

According to Mann, just as there are various sources of power, there are also various types of power, such as: collective, distributive, extensive, intensive, authoritative, and diffused. In more specific terms, *collective* power is described as individuals in cooperation "enhancing their joint power over third parties or even nature";[131] *distributive* power illustrates the mastery one person exercises over others;[132] *extensive* power makes reference to organizing "large numbers of people over vast territories in order to engage in minimally stable cooperation";[133] *intensive* power indicates the ability to organize "tightly and command a high level of mobilization or commitment from the participants, whether the area and numbers covered are great or small";[134] *authoritative* power is willed by groups and institutions, and it comprises "definite commands and conscious obedience";[135] and *diffused* power spreads in a more "spontaneous, unconscious, decentered way" throughout a group of people, resulting in "similar social practices that embody power relations but are not explicitly commanded."[136] In summary, Mann concludes that the more types of power an organization possesses, the more effective it would be at obtaining its objectives. As a result, when examining the aforementioned work of Mann in light of Scott's notions in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* one may conclude that the more types of power an organization possesses, the more likely they would express various forms of domination. As a result of an organization expressing domination, there is a greater likelihood of hidden transcripts among those on the receiving end of authority as well as those in positions of control.

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[131] Mann, *The sources of social power,* pg. 6.

[132] Mann, *The sources of social power,* pg. 6.

[133] Mann, *The sources of social power,* pg. 7.

[134] Mann, *The sources of social power,* pg. 7.

[135] Mann, *The sources of social power,* pg. 8.

[136] Mann, *The sources of social power,* pg. 6-8.

Just as there are various sources and types of power, there are also numerous ways in which power has an impact. Specifically, Merriam-Webster's dictionary states that *power* is the "possession of control, authority, or influence over others" and "the ability to act or produce an effect," which means, those in positions of power are often widely influential over the actions and beliefs of others.[137] For example, those in power may have influence over living conditions, financial wages, ability to communicate, nutrition, freedom of movement, voting preferences, spending habits, language, educational achievement, and even more serious, the hopes, dreams, and daily thought processes of others in society. As Paul Germond attests, "A radical view of power states that one may exercise authority by controlling the very desires and wants of another."[138] While much more can be stated when in reflection about power, one general conclusion is that, when considering the sources, types, and impact of power, one is reminded of the tremendous responsibility to acknowledge the existence of power, and as a result use it wisely. These thoughts are incredibly important when reflecting upon the power of North American churches and their relationship to companions around the world.

While there are many different sources, types, and consequences of power in its various expressions, one reality of a multi-cultural world is that various people react to power disparity in a multitude of fashions as a result of geographical location, culture, gender, and numerous additional factors. Whereas Scott shows that all dominated populations resist power disparity in some shape or form, studies on culture show that certain populations are more likely to resist openly and publically. Along these lines, as mission as accompaniment focuses specifically upon church companionship across cultural lines, a greater understanding of different "worldviews" and how they influence reaction to power disparity is critical for the purpose of this study.

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[137] Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/power

[138] Germond, "Theology, Development and Power", pg. 24.

As stated by Walter Wink, "worldviews" are:

>…the fundamental presuppositions about reality, the elementary bases of thought for an entire epoch. A worldview dictates the way whole societies perceive the world. It is neutral, in the sense that it provides only the presuppositions with which to think, not the thought themselves.[139]

As worldviews are considered to be foundational for the overall pursuit of understanding decision-making and overall behavior, it is thus important to review Walter Wink's summary of five worldviews which have impacted Western societies: traditionalist, dualistic, materialist, supernaturalist, and integral. Among other things, a greater comprehension of these conceptualizations allows for a deeper reflection upon how and why individuals react to similar situations in different ways.

According to Wink, the *traditionalist worldview* is that which is reflected in the Bible, and for the most part, was widely accepted in various ancient societies such as Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Babylonian, Indian, and Chinese. Among other things, a traditionalist worldview holds that all events which take place on Earth have a "heavenly counterpart", or in other words, both a visible and invisible dynamic.[140] Specifically, if there is power struggle on Earth, there is also a "mirrored" spiritual warfare taking place in the heavenly realm. The traditionalist understanding, which continues to exist in various parts of the world, concludes that every spiritual reality has a physical consequence, and there can be no event that does not consist, "simultaneously, of the visible and invisible".[141] While many whom adhere to the traditionalist worldview would

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[139] Walter Wink, "The New Worldview: Spirit at the Core of Everything", found in Ray Gingerich and Ted Grimsrud, Ted (editors), *Transforming the Powers: Peace, Justice, and the Domination System*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006). Pg. 17.

[140] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 18.

[141] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 17.

experience these spiritual powers as a matter of fate, a broad understand includes a belief that prayer and other forms of intercession can lead to a reversal of destiny.

In contrast to the traditional worldview, the dualistic understanding offers a belief that the physical world is evil and the spiritual world pure. As the *dualistic worldview* is considered to be closely related to Gnosticism, the concept offers a dramatic critique to the Judeo-Christian understanding of creation being considered "good", such as was described in creation accounts found in Genesis. According to Wink, in a dualistic worldview bodies are seen as a prison into which spirits are trapped, thus the aim of religious practice in a dualistic worldview is to "rescue one's spirit from the flesh and the Powers and regain that spiritual realm from which one had fallen".[142] The body is, in this understanding, a disposable vessel to be shed when one returns to the natural home after death, the spiritual world.

As a strong rejection of dualism, the *materialist worldview* holds no belief in heaven, God, soul, or the spiritual realm. As a result, only that which can be experienced firsthand with the five senses and rational thought is considered to be important reality. As Wink states, those with a strong materialist worldview hold that "The spiritual world is an illusion. There is no higher-self; we are mere complexes of matter, and when we die we cease to exist except as the chemicals and atoms that once constituted us. Matter is ultimate and eternal; we are ephemeral".[143] And so, those with a materialist worldview believe that life itself has no meaning, thus humanity has to create meaning (but of course, these meanings are understood as meaningless because they are of human origin). Wink argues that the implications of a materialistic worldview are currently experienced in North American society in such manners as: individualism, greed, worship of money, and pursuit of material possessions over and above a commitment to justice and peace.[144]

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[142] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 19.

[143] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 20.

[144] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 20.

For the overall purpose of this study, such insights are incredibly useful as North American churches attempt to relate with companions around the world.

In reaction to perceived dangers of materialism, certain theologians and others not prepared to surrender belief in a spiritual world decided to concede earthly realities to scientists and preserve an understanding of the heavenly realm immune to confirmation of human senses. As many religious adherents were taught, the *supernaturalist worldview* allowed for science to be seen as confronting "how" the world was created, whereas theology considered the deeper question of "why." Specifically, the supernaturalist worldview shares commonalities with the previously mentioned traditionalist worldview, yet it differs in the sense that science is given a more prominent role in explaining why certain events occur, rather than holding to fatalistic viewpoints and the belief that what takes place on Earth has a reflected reality in Heaven. According to Wink, a result of the "troubling" supernaturalist worldview meant a split of reality between theology and science, and "the price paid for this uneasy truce with science was the loss of a sense of the whole and the unity of heavenly and earthly aspects of existence".[145] Instead of allowing for science and theology to serve as dialogue partners, each went in separate directions and made independent claims upon seemingly disconnected realities.

A fifth and final worldview described by Wink, *the integral worldview*, derives from a variety of diverse sources, such as: physics, psychology, philosophy, theology, ethics, science, and various religious traditions such as Christianity, Buddhism, and Native American spirituality.[146] Among other things, the "integral view of reality sees everything as having an outer and an inner aspect".[147] The spiritual realm does not exist outside and/or apart from the physical, thus it is the "unity of outer and inner than

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[145] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 21.

[146] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 21.

[147] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 21.

characterizes" human experience of the integral worldview.[148] According to the integral worldview, the spiritual world is not perceived as "up" as in heaven, but rather God can be found "within" people and places, institutions, and even political organizations. As a result, God is "not just within us but within everything" and "all creatures are potential revealers of God", thus the "goal" is "not to have some people practicing mysticism, while others engage in social action. Rather, we wish to bring those two aspects together, both in the lives of individuals and in their communities".[149] In summary, an integral worldview considers that all is related, all is united, and all are responsible for everything.

An attention to various forms of worldview is critically important for the overall purpose of this study, for among other things, it lays a foundation for understanding diverse ways in which people live-out their beliefs, and even more specifically, how they experience and react to power differential. As Wink states:

Our worldviews determine to a large extent what we can believe about life, faith, and the very cosmos. If we are unaware of which worldviews claim our allegiance, they will continue to determine our behavior in ways to which we are simply blind".[150]

Along these lines, the work of Geert Hofstede in *Culture's Consequences* and additional research is especially helpful.[151] Among other things, Geert Hofstede conducted a comprehensive study of how norms and values in the workplace are influenced by culture, which as described earlier, is deeply influenced by worldview. The understandings brought forward by Hofstede are of considerable value, not only in the

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[148] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 21.

[149] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 21.

[150] Wink, "The New Worldview", pg. 17.

[151] Geert Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations across Nations*. Second Edition. (London: Sage Publications, 2001).

multi-national business world, but also for church companions which seek to operate across cultural boundaries.

According to the Institute for Training in Intercultural Management (ITIM) International, Geert Hofstede analyzed a substantial collection of employee value scores collected between 1967 and 1973, which included information from more than seventy countries, from which he initially utilized the forty largest and later extended the investigation to fifty countries and three regions.[152] Since 2001, Hofstede listed scores for seventy-four countries and regions, partly based on duplications and expansion of the original study on diverse populations. From the initial results, and later additions, Hofstede developed a model that identifies four primary dimensions to assist in identifying culture: Power Distance (PDI), Individualism (IDV), Masculinity (MAS), and Uncertainty Avoidance UAI). Hofstede would later add a fifth dimension, known as Long-Term Orientation (LTO).

While Hoftstede's work has been widely regarded and accepted, it is not without criticism, for among other things, he appears to assume uniform cultures within each nation state.[153] With an ever-increasing level of global mobility, it is indeed problematic to generalize when considering how certain individuals behave within a given culture. Nevertheless, regardless of their limitations, each of Hofstede's five dimensions can be considered incredibly helpful for those wishing to engage in cross-cultural communication and partnership. Specifically, for the sake of this study on power, truth-telling, and mission as accompaniment, special attention is to be given to Hofstede's understanding of *Power Distance Index (PDI).*

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[152]ITIM International is a consulting firm utilizing Hofstede's research, to be found at: http://www.geert-hofstede.com/index.shtml

[153] Perhaps the most notable of Hofstede's critics include: Brendan McSweeny, Brendan **"**Hofstede's Model of National Cultural Differences and Their Consequences: A triumph of faith - A failure of analysis". The European Business Forum: *http://geert-hofstede.international-business-center.com/mcsweeney.shtml*

According to Hofstede, Power Distance Index (PDI) places a numerical value on the extent by which less powerful members of society "accept" the reality that power is distributed unequally.[154] Whereas disproportionate allocation of power is a reality within any social location, certain individuals, due in part to their worldview, are more willing to allow these inequalities than others, and thus be more willing to endure oppressive situations and resist outward revolt against those in power. According to Hofstede, the PDI is measured "from below", and suggests that those with a high score signifies a society that is more willing to endorse inequality, whereas those with a "low" PDI indicates those which do not.

Hoftstede's Power Distance Index is as follows:[155]

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[154] Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences, p*g. 53.

[155] Gert Hofstede, "Cultural Dimensions", (ITIM International, 2009), *http://www.geert-hofstede.com/hofstede_dimensions.php*

Arab World **	80	India	77	South Africa	49
Argentina	49	Indonesia	78	South Korea	60
Australia	36	Iran	58	Spain	57
Austria	11	Ireland	28	Suriname *	85
Bangladesh *	80	Israel	13	Sweden	31
Belgium	65	Italy	50	Switzerland	34
Brazil	69	Jamaica	45	Taiwan	58
Bulgaria *	70	Japan	54	Thailand	64
Canada	39	Luxembourg *	40	Trinidad *	47
Chile	63	Malaysia	104	Turkey	66
China *	80	Malta *	56	United Kingdom	35
Colombia	67	Mexico	81	United States	40
Costa Rica	35	Morocco *	70	Uruguay	61
Czech Republic *	57	Netherlands	38	Venezuela	81
Denmark	18	New Zealand	22	Vietnam *	70
East Africa **	64	Norway	31	West Africa	77
Ecuador	78	Pakistan	55		
El Salvador	66	Panama	95		
Estonia *	40	Peru	64		
Finland	33	Philippines	94		
France	68	Poland *	68		
Germany	35	Portugal	63		
Greece	60	Romania *	90		
Guatemala	95	Russia *	93		
Hong Kong	68	Singapore	74		
Hungary *	46	Slovakia *	104		

Estimated values

** Regional estimated values: "Arab" World (Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates); "East Africa" (Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia), and "West Africa" (Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone).

According to Hoftstede, the implications of such PDI measurements are deep and wide-ranging. For example, in a "high power distance culture", those placed in positions of authority are more likely to demonstrate their power openly, subordinates are not given important and/or meaningful opportunities and often expect clear guidance "from above", subordinates are expected to take blame for mistakes, relationships between those in power and subordinates is rarely personal, and class divisions within society are generally accepted.[1] On the other hand, in a "low power distance culture", superiors regard subordinates with increased levels of respect, subordinates are entrusted with more important assignments, blame is either shared or often accepted by the superior due to it being his/her responsibility to manage, and managers may often socialize with subordinates.[2] Clearly, the differences between "high power distance" and "low power distance" cultures are numerous, as Hofstede shows:[3]

Low PDI	High PDI
All should be interdependent.	A few should be independent; most should be dependant.
Inequality in society should be minimized.	There should be an order of inequality in this world in which everyone has his/her rightful place; high and low are protected by this order.
Hierarchy means an inequality of roles, established for convenience.	Hierarchy means existential inequality.
Subordinates are people like me.	Superiors consider subordinates as being of a different kind.
Superiors are people like me.	Subordinates consider superiors as being of a different kind.
All should have equal rights.	Power holders are entitled to privileges.

[1] Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences,* pg. 97

[2] Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences,* pg. 97

[3] Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences,* pg. 98.

The use of power should be legitimate and is subject to the judgment between good and evil.	Power is a basic fact of society that antedates good or evil; its legitimacy is irrelevant.
Powerful people should try to look less powerful than they are.	Powerful people should try to look as powerful as possible.
Stress on reward, legitimate and expert power.	Stress on coercive and referent power.
The system is to blame.	The underdog is to blame.
The way to change a social system is by redistributing power.	The way to change a social system is by dethroning those in power.
Latent harmony between the powerful and the powerless.	Latent conflict between the powerful and powerless.
Older people neither respected nor feared.	Older people respected and feared.

In light of Scott's work on hidden transcripts, one may immediately criticize any survey which tries to openly observe and measure the ways in which subordinates interact with those in positions of power.[4] As Scott repeatedly notes, numerous subordinates may *appear* to accept power inequality in the public transcript (which would lead to a high PDI), yet underneath the surface may be fully engaged in daily forms of opposition which seek to remain undetected (which would signify a low PDI). While Hofstede's work does not appear to be influenced by Scott, it can be argued that Scott's thoughts on hidden transcripts allows one to reconsider Power Distance Index *as a guide*

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[4] While Scott's work can serve as a source of criticism for Hofstede, it can also be argued that Hofstede's work can be utilized in order to reflect critically upon Scott. It is possible that Scott, as he originates from a nation with a low PDI, is placing his own cultural values upon those whom originate from a high PDI. As much of Scott's field work took place in areas with a high PDI, one could argue that those whom he observed are more accepting of inequality that Scott was willing to admit. While this study is in agreement with Scott's notions of hidden transcripts and resistance, it is worth noting possible critics of Scott's work.

to the possible level of hidden transcripts within a given society. As a higher level of power disparity creates a thicker level of hidden transcripts, those with a higher level of PDI may be considered as strong candidates for possessing hidden transcripts in the face of oppression. Clearly, for those wishing to practice mission as accompaniment in various areas around the world, this knowledge is extremely valuable.

For an individual originating from northern hemisphere traveling into the southern hemisphere (as continues to be the norm in global mission companionship), it is likely that he/she will be leaving from an area with a low power index. As stated earlier, this means the individual will be accustomed to a society in which power relations are open, and dialogue is often non-threatening. However, if one enters into one of the "traditional" areas of mission, such as South America or Africa, he/she would likely be entering into an area with a high power index, meaning open communication between powerful and subordinate is highly unlikely. As a result, those coming from North America and Europe may come to the southern hemisphere with a far different understanding of power relations from those whom are set to receive them, thus cross-cultural communication is set in different directions.

For example, a traditional "sender" in mission, such as the United States, Germany, and various other European nations, scores an average of 41.74 on the Power Distance Index. As stated earlier, this signifies – according to Hofstede – a belief that people should be able to speak honestly and openly to those in positions of power without fear of retribution or punishment. On the other hand, those locations often considered as traditional "receivers", such as nations in South American, Africa, and others in the developing world, score an average of 68.05 on the Power Distance Index. In striking contrast to the traditional senders, those in the high power distance index nations are, according to Hofstede, significantly less likely to speak truthfully and engage in dialogue with those in positions of power, for such an act may result in harsh consequences.

While much more could be said about Power Distance Index and implications of Hofstede's extensive work for the overall task of mission as accompaniment, for the

purpose of this study a general introduction is sufficient, for one can immediately recognize the challenges involved when people of diverse cultures respond to power disparity in a variety of ways. Whereas Hofstede argues that those with a low PDI accept their positions of domination, Scott attests to the contrary, for the hidden transcripts of subordinate populations only give the *appearance* that such acceptance is the norm. As a result, those engaged in mission as accompaniment are required to be aware of such cross-cultural realties when in cooperation with those whom originate from cultures different from their own. While North American missionaries may openly encourage truth-telling and open dialogue, those from the southern hemisphere may be hesitant to express their hidden transcript in public, for the consequences may be too great to risk. With the above being said, if one of the primary goals of mission as accompaniment is to transform traditional roles of giver and receiver and empower those who have been (and continue to be) on the receiving end of domination, then one must offer dedicated and persistence attention to the realities of Power Distance Index, the diversity of worldviews, as well as the diverse sources, impact, and forms of power.

An Examination of Power: Theological Viewpoint

As discussed in the previous section, various sociological resources and topics such as worldview and Power Distance Index are crucial for mission as accompaniment, as power disparity is an ongoing reality of global relationships. Specifically, as truth-telling and dialogue are essential characteristics in the pursuit of mission as accompaniment, North American churches must confront issues surrounding power, for disparity of power leads to a dramatic decrease in truth-telling and dialogue, which in turn limits the overall pursuit of mission as accompaniment. Whereas many in North American churches would like to believe power disparity, domination, and oppression are attributes limited to repressive governments, financial institutions, and other secular organizations, power disparity – and its negative consequences – is a reality that also has an influence on the global church, and as a result must be addressed. As Stephen Sykes comments in *Power and Christian Theology*:

I have come to the view that the health of the Church is more threatened by the disguise of power than by its open acknowledgement. It seems foolish and delusional to deny that the life of the Church includes what is ordinarily called politics. The abuse of power is better avoided by those who are completely aware of the temptations and have taken realistic steps to arm themselves against them.[5]

Stephen Sykes offers a significant contribution when trying to understand how the North American church can acknowledge power disparity and attempt to cooperate in realistic terms through methods which promote dignity and respect among companions. For example, within *Power and Christian Theology*, Sykes considers three separate forms of power in which theologians have been traditionally concerned:[6] The Power of God, such as "The Almighty One" and other expressions of God's Reign; The Power of the Church, such as its influence in society; and Power in the Church, such as the allocation and implementation of power by various members of the Church. Whereas all three of Sykes distinctions are of great value, for the purpose of this study on global companions within the church, a focus on *power in the church* requires additional consideration.

As is the case with various institutions, as Christian churches developed and become more influential over history, its leaders have included people of high distinction and influence, and their exhibited large levels of authority both inside and outside the immediate realm of the church.[7] The reality of high levels of power and authority amongst church leaders is not surprising, even if it is rarely considered. As church leaders often manage financial budgets, provide council for congregants, assist to lead global mission projects around the world, and are sought for spiritual and moral guidance from the general society (and not to mention, when they are aware of private confessions from various members in society), the reality of power amongst church leaders is an ongoing dynamic that cannot be ignored. As a result, it is clear that leaders within

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[5] Stephen Sykes, *Power and Christian Theology,* (New York: Continuum, 2006), pg. xii.

[6] Sykes, *Power and Christian Theology*, pg. ix.

[7] Sykes, *Power and Christian Theology*, pg. 135.

churches possess a great deal of power both inside and outside the immediate realm of the organization. However, as Sykes states, the existence of power in churches is not necessarily something to be avoided:

> …it is mistaken to suppose either that the life of the Church could be a power-free zone, or that it should be. The biblical resources which encourage us to be cautious about power should not lead us to a wholesale rejection.[8]

According to Sykes, while one cannot ignore Biblical accounts such as Romans 13:1 ("Every person must submit to the supreme authorities"), such verses do not promote abuse of hierarchical power and blind social conformity.[9] In contrast to secular institutions, church leaders are called to follow the model of Jesus through an exhibition of humility and acknowledgement that all people regardless of social standing have something to offer and are valued in God's eyes. As Jesus consistently reminded his disciples, power in and of itself is not a problem, but rather, the life of the Church would not allow for power which is used through forms of domination and oppression.

As is the case with many organizations, power structures in churches have adjusted over time, and have consistently adapted in order to make room for the diversity of God's provision for mission.[10] As Sykes states:

> It is tempting to depict the history of the Church as a two-act play. In the first act, foolish people hungry for power invented a hierarchical institution and justified it by arguing that God distributed power from above through serried ranks of intermediaries. In the second act, the people of God came to their senses and realized that power comes from below, from the people, and it is only with their

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[8] Sykes, *Power and Christian Theology*, pg. 141-142.

[9] Sykes, *Power and Christian Theology*, pg. 144.

[10] Sykes, *Power and Christian Theology*, pg. 150.

permission and subject to their veto, that anyone can be temporarily entrusted with wider responsibilities.[11]

Whereas Church leaders may have at one time been the most educated individuals in the community, these realities have changed, thus structures have adapted in order to recognize the numerous gifts of those at various levels of a given church structure. On another level, as the church continues to explore its mission as a global body in companionship with others, a similar process of acknowledging the gifts and indigenous knowledge of others will need to continue. While the global church most certainly requires women and men to lead, the form of leadership is to be conducted in a way that acknowledges the existence of power, yet values others in a way that the exercise of power remains humble, respectful, and compassionate.

In order to continue the process of reconsidering of mission as accompaniment in light of power dynamics, reflection upon the mission and ministry of Jesus is essential to the task. Along these lines, one of the rare works which have brought James C. Scott's notion of hidden transcripts into the theological realm is of high value. Specifically, the various research articles edited by Richard A. Horsley found within *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul* are of massive importance. Among other things, through an examination of biblical texts in light of Jesus' social and political situation, *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul* shows various ways in which Jesus responded in the face of power:

> Established biblical studies tends to reduce Jesus and the Gospels and Paul's letters and "churches" to their religious dimension. This is rooted in the Western separation of church from state, of religion from politics and economics…The work of James C. Scott can help New Testament interpreters understand how the

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[11] Sykes, *Power and Christian Theology*, pg. 145-146.

material and political dimensions are interconnected with the emotional and religious dimensions.[12]

While the purpose of this study is not to offer biblical interpretation, mission as accompaniment is – at its core – shaped by the ministry of Jesus. As a result, because the primary sources for understanding the words and actions of Jesus are found within the Gospel narratives, a review of mission as accompaniment in light of power disparity requires a re-reading of biblical texts through the lens of power, domination, and resistance.

As a result of various thoughts brought forward in *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul*, one is able to reconsider Jesus' activity in light of various concepts and uses of power. In other words, as stated by William R. Herzog II:

> …Scott has shown how important it is to understand the social dynamics and cultural contexts in which speech occurs, especially when we are trying to understand the situation of peasants, artisans, and other nonelites. This means that many texts cannot simply be taken at face value. It is important to understand the political situation in which people speak and act, and this includes the historical Jesus. Scott has contributed to our understanding of both the public and hidden dimensions of the Gospel texts by attending to the public and hidden transcripts contained in them…After reading Scott's work, reading the Gospels will never be the same.[13]

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[12] Richard A. Horsley (editor), *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul*, (The Netherlands: Brill Academic Publications, 2004). pg. 20, 21.

[13] William R. Herzog II, "Onstage and Offstage with Jesus of Nazareth: Public Transcripts, Hidden Transcripts, and Gospel Texts", in Richard A. Horsley, (editor),

Those whom read the Gospel narrative in light of Scott's work on domination and resistance will notice various ways in which Jesus relates to issues of power. For example, immediately after Jesus' baptism he withstood numerous offers to misuse power (Matthew 4:1-11; Mark 1:12-13; Luke 4:1-13), and continually critiqued and confronted those placed in positions of power through both public (Matthew 21:12-13; Mark 11:15-17; Luke 19:45-46; John 2:14-22) and hidden methods (Matthew 22:15-22; Mark 2:13-17; Luke 20:20-26).[14] Jesus criticized religious and political systems which sought to monopolize power (Matthew 9:14-17, 12:1-8; Mark 2:18-22, 2:23-28; Luke 5:33-39; 6:1-5), and rebuked those who possessed misguided desires for power (Matthew 19:16-30; Mark 10:17-31; Luke 18:18-30). Jesus spoke about a forthcoming reversal of power (Matthew 19:30, 20:8, 20:16; Mark 10:28-31; Luke 13:30, 18:28-30, 22:28-30), and also accompanied those on the margins of society often regarded as powerless, such as children (Matthew 19:13-15; Mark 10:13-16; Luke 18:15-17), lepers (Matthew 8:1-4; Mark 1:40-44; Luke 5:12-14), paralytics (Matthew 9:2-8; Mark 2:1-12; Luke 5:17-26), and those suffering from blindness (Matthew 9:27-31, 20:29-32; Mark 10:46-52; Luke 18:35-43) and other forms of mental, spiritual, physical, and social ailments.

In light of insights brought forward in *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul*, it is no coincidence that Jesus' words and actions (especially his death and resurrection) were centered upon the faithful use and righteous distribution of power. In addition to various references made to spiritual struggle (Matthew 8:28-34, 17:14-21; Mark 1:23-28, 5:1-20, 9:14-29; Luke 4:33-37, 8:26-39, 9:37-43), domination and exploitation as a result of religious and political power disparity were frequent occurrences in Jesus' context, for he lived within an "imperial situation" in which leaders were interested in "obedient subjects, not active citizens".[15] While the often-cited tradition of church and state separation attempts to

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Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul, (The Netherlands: Brill Academic Publications, 2004). pg. 60.

[14] Herzog II, "Onstage and Offstage with Jesus of Nazareth", pg. 41.

[15] Herzog II, "Onstage and Offstage with Jesus of Nazareth", pg. 49.

reduce Jesus' mission and ministry to its spiritual dimension, a deeper focus upon social power struggle in Jesus' circumstances would lead one to believe otherwise. With Roman military forces committed to occupation, religious leadership all too eager to collaborate, and multitudes of marginalized people thirsting for change, one can argue that Jesus acted within an "age of revolution".[16] When read within the context of domination and struggle, the Gospel account illustrates Jesus not only dying and rising to conquer forces of sin and death once and for all, but he also sought transformation of the unjust systems which existed as a direct result of oppression.

As was stated in Chapter Two of this study, the central biblical text of mission as accompaniment is the Luke 24 "Road to Emmaus" account:

> The disciples on the road, the accompanying stranger, the dialogue and examination of scripture, the extending of hospitality and a meal, and finally, the revelation of the risen Christ in the breaking of bread, are all elements of the story that provides images of the journey together in God's mission. We walk with each other in a journey where the presence of God is revealed to us. God in Christ accompanies us in the fellowship of word and table.[17]

In light of insights brought forward by *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul*, it is worth reconsidering the Road to Emmaus text in light of power disparity and resistance to oppression. Similar to that which was stated earlier, while the purpose of this study is not to offer new biblical interpretations, the Luke 24 account is central to mission as accompaniment, thus one must attend to the text in some way in order to contribute to the overall process of this

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[16] Allen Dwight Callahan, "The Arts of Resistance in an Age of Revolt", in Richard A. Horsley (editor), *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul*. (The Netherlands: Brill Academic Publications, 2004). pg. 29-40.

[17] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 12.

study of reviewing mission as accompaniment in light of truth-telling and dialogue in the midst of power disparity. The work of Carlos A. Dreher in *The Walk to Emmaus* will provide a lens for this purpose.

The Walk to Emmaus by Carlos A. Dreher emerged from a seminar involving the Center for Biblical Studies (CEBI), which took place in Capao Redondo (Sau Paulo, Brazil) from August 17-21, 1992. Among other things, Dreher and the CEBI team wished to create a reading of the Bible in which "people's lives come first", and was based on more than simply sharing information.[18] As a result, in their examination of Luke 24:13-35, not only did they discover insights into methods of Bible reading, but also to issues of popular education based upon the renowned work of Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.[19] The work brought forward by Dreher and the CEBI participants are of great use in the overall objectives of this study.

Among other things, within *The Walk to Emmaus*, Dreher divides the Luke 24:13-36 account into the following sections: The Disciples and the Culture of Silence (Luke 24:13-17); Jesus and the Disciples: The Beginning of Popular Practice (Luke 24: 15, 17-19); The Disciples' Knowledge: Their Analysis of Reality (Luke 24:19b-24); The Role of the Bible: The Right Moment (Luke 24:25-27); Practice Opens the Eyes: Theory Only Warms the Heart (Luke 24: 31b); and The Ultimate Goal: to Educate Historical Subjects (Luke 24:33-35). As Drefer states:

> …the walk to Emmaus will have seven steps. It will begin by getting to know the disciples on the basis of the culture of silence. It will continue by learning from Jesus about the beginning of popular practice. In the third step, it will pay attention to the disciples' knowledge, to the way in which they do their own

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[18] Carlos A. Dreher, *The Walk to Emmaus*. Translated by Paulo Ueti Barasioli. (Con-Texto Grafica e Editor, Centro de Estudos Biblicos, 2004). pg. 6.

[19] Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary Edition*. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. (New York: Continuum, 2001).

analysis of reality. It will ask about the role of the Bible and the moment to use it. It will remind us, in the fifth step, that practice opens the eyes and that theory only warms the heart. In the sixth step, it will discuss the courage to disappear. Finally, it will reach the goal of the entire journey, which is the education of historical subjects.[20]

While each of the seven steps are of great overall value, for the purpose of this study on mission as accompaniment, one is to pay special attention to the "culture of silence" and "the disciples knowledge". These specific insights relate directly to the work of James C. Scott, and contribute greatly to the reconsideration of mission as accompaniment in light of power disparity and its impact upon truth-telling and dialogue.

According to Dreher, the two who walk the road to Emmaus have lost hope because of Jesus' tragic death, and because they were most certainly unable to express their sadness in public (for they would have risked their own death by the hands of those in power), they engage in the "culture of silence" as highlighted by Paulo Freire. The massive disappointment felt by the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, according to Dreher, is similar to that experienced by many in the developing world who fall victim to domination and oppression:

> According to Paulo Freire, the oppressed of the Third World don't speak. Or, when they do speak, they speak the language of their oppressors. The words that they utter aren't theirs and don't express their own thinking. They have learned to say them in order to explain their situation. They have learned them at home, school, at church, in many other places. These are words that justify the state of affairs in which they live, words that confirm their situation of oppression.[21]

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[20] Dreher, *The Walk to Emmaus*, pg. 7-8.

[21] Dreher, *The Walk to Emmaus*, pg. 10.

Similar to thoughts carried forward by Geert Hofstede and James C. Scott, from the perception of *appearances*, people on the receiving end of domination (similar to the two on the road to Emmaus) seem to accept their situations, even if they are incredibly oppressive in nature. As a result, people on the receiving end of domination may utter statements that are fatalistic in nature ("God has a plan...", "We have to be thankful…", This is God's will.."), or other misguided theological declarations about blessings and curses. However, as Scott would surely agree, Dreher claims that such statements are not what people *truly believe*, for the statements are merely "what their oppressors have taught them to think and to say".[22] Similar to Scott's notions of hidden transcripts, people on the receiving end of domination are unwilling to allow their public transcripts to come forward, for the consequences of such declarations could be disastrous.

According to Dreher, the two on the road to Emmaus suffered from the culture of silence as a result of their tremendous loss and resulting despair. Jesus had died, and their hopes were dashed. However, as the Luke 24 account shares, their silence did not remain, for they were given an opportunity to speak through Jesus' asking questions, and their knowledge was able to come forward. Along these lines, Dreher's account on "The Disciples Knowledge: Their Analysis of Reality" is of great value. As a realization of the culture of silence reminds those whom practice mission as accompaniment to look beneath the surface of openly observable action, a renewed appreciation and concentration upon the knowledge of the disciples on the road to Emmaus reminds global mission practitioners of the important wisdom found within local communities. Without question, such insights brought forward by Dreher are not only valuable in reading Luke 24, but are also of incredible worth for the overall pursuit of mission as accompaniment.

As a result of fear and a desire for survival, the two disciples had been forced to keep their disappointment concealed while amongst the powerful in Jerusalem. However, along the road to Emmaus they were finally given an opportunity to voice their

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[22] Dreher, *The Walk to Emmaus*, pg. 11

hidden transcripts when Jesus asks for their account of reality.[23] As Dreher indicates, what is most striking about the overall nature of the text is that the two on the road speak much more than Jesus, the more "powerful" Son of God, who is content to listening.[24] While Jesus eventually speaks, the overall emphasis upon the text, according to Drefer, seems to be placed upon the knowledge of the two disciples along the road.[25] In light of the overall objectives of this study on mission as accompaniment, such an emphasis is of considerable value:

> …humble and poor people do analyze reality. This is the surprising truth of the story of Emmaus and of our daily lives. Simple people are not ignorant, as we have been taught to think. They do know, and they know a lot. They just need an opportunity to say their own word, and then their knowledge with flow.[26]

While the two disciples on the road to Emmaus did not utilize intellectual speech, their analysis of reality clearly demonstrates a strong sense of knowledge, for it originates from their own lived experience under the throngs of domination and oppression. As Dreher notes, the two on the road were aware that those in political and religious power put Jesus to an unjust death, thus they needed to flea in order to escape persecution and a similar fate. While the two on the road did not use terms such as "structures", "imperialism", "empire", or "super-powers", what seems clear, according to Dreher, is that they had hoped Jesus would reverse the social and political order of their existence, and since Jesus had died, it also seemed as if such dreams and aspirations had vanished. While Jesus could have immediately revealed himself and provide instruction, he valued their lived experience, and through the act of genuine listening the two were able to express their valuable knowledge and critical insights to Jesus. As a result of the interaction, the two were able to encounter Jesus more fully in the breaking of the bread,

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[23] Luke 24:19

[24] Dreher, *The Walk to Emmaus*, pg. 16

[25] Dreher, *The Walk to Emmaus*, pg. 16

[26] Dreher, *The Walk to Emmaus*, pg. 17

they were eventually empowered to reverse their direction. As Dreher states, the reversal of direction away from Emmaus and toward Jerusalem was, among other things, a direct act of opposition against the oppressive powers that had originally set the two out on the road.[27] In other words, one can argue that through the experience of allowing their hidden transcripts to become public while alongside Jesus on the road of Emmaus, the two disciples were empowered to confront the powers in Jerusalem which had originally forced their hidden transcript to remain hidden.

The reading of Luke 24 within *The Walk to Emmaus* has strong implications for mission as accompaniment. Among other things, the attention placed upon various "cultures of silence" allows for practitioners of mission as accompaniment to review the process of truth-telling and dialogue, in order to more fully consider whether or not power and domination has allowed for such voices to be heard. In addition, a renewed appreciation for the knowledge of "ordinary people" is of critical value. When individuals (as well as collective communities) are given a safe opportunity to speak their hidden transcript openly without risk of negative consequences, their knowledge rises to the surface, mutual understanding is reached, and appropriate steps for action are both articulated and applied. For the purpose of mission as accompaniment in light of global power disparity, such a reassessment of Luke 24 provides a profound resource in order for North American churches to take truth-telling and dialogue seriously.

In summary, while one could certainly utilize numerous theological resources in order to delve much deeper into Jesus' attention to power disparity (and thankfully, many have investigated the topic);[28] for the purpose of this study, it is sufficient to note the

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[27] Dreher, *The Walk to Emmaus*, pg. 76-77

[28] Additional resources would include: Bammel E. and C.F.D. Moule (editors), *Jesus and the Politics of his Day*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Marcus Borg, *Conflict, Holiness and Politics in the Teachings of Jesus.* (Harrisburg, Pa: Trinity Press International, 1998); Warren Carter, *Matthew and the Margins: A Sociopolitical and Religious Reading*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000); James R. Cochrane, *Circles of*

manner in which Jesus' earthly ministry emphasized reconciliation through more equitable and honorable social systems. While many have tended to treat Jesus as a "politically quiescent religious teacher";[29] the biblical witness reveals that Jesus was, in his own way, a promoter of revolutionary change.[30] As James C. Scott notes repeatedly in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, whenever there is domination, there is almost always resistance from those who are dominated. As a result, in continuation with the earthly ministry of Jesus, those who pursue mission as accompaniment in the 21st century must reconsider levels of power disparity and respond with bold action centered upon genuine respect for the priorities of those who are too often ignored.

Dignity: Community Wisdom and Theological Reflection. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999); Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People*, (Chicago: Chicago Press, 1985); Kenneth C. Hanson and Douglas E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflict*. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998); William R. Herzog, II. *Jesus, Justice, and the Reign of God: A Ministry of Liberation*. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000); Horsley, Richard A. Horsley, *Jesus and Empire: The Kingdom of God and the New World Disorder*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003); Ethelbert Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesars*. Translated by K. and R. Gregor Smith. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955); Rasiah S. Sugirtharajah, (editor), *Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991); Leif E. Vaage, (editor), *Subversive Scriptures: Revolutionary Readings of the Christian Bible in Latin America*, (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997).

[29] Horsley, *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 7.

[30] Walter Wink, "Neither Passivity Nor Violence: Jesus' Third Way" (Matthew 5:38-42 par.). in Willard M. Swartley (editor), *The Love of Enemy and Nonretaliation in the New Testament*, (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), pg. 102-125

Moving Forward: An Appreciation of Community Wisdom and *Métis*

As mentioned in Chapter Two of this study, one of the primary functions of mission as accompaniment is to "move beyond the traditional relationships of the past between North and South and South to South".[31] In more precise terms, the common identification of churches in the northern hemisphere as "givers" and those in the south as "receivers" is no longer appropriate or accurate. The traditional roles and labels require transformation, but of course, the process of "moving beyond" long-established global church distinctions does not occur through mere words and articulate social statements, but it requires intentional and bold action through a release of institutional power on behalf of churches in the northern hemisphere. While mission as accompaniment does pursue such objectives, the harsh realities of power disparity continue to exist as a result of northern churches and their reluctance to release control. As a result, a number of churches of the southern hemisphere are no longer interested in passively waiting for northern companions to take action:

> …(churches of the southern hemisphere) are challenging the imperialism and systematic racism of white privilege in the church, the dominance of Western contextual theology and styles of church structures, and the power and influence exerted by those who hold control of the global Christian community's financial resources.[32]

It can be argued that churches in the southern hemisphere are currently engaged in acts of resistance against churches of the global north. While this resistance is not necessarily a demand to end all forms of companionship amongst global churches, it is a strong movement to transform the ways in which global mission companionship takes place. Among other things, churches of the southern hemisphere are demanding that their voices be heard, that their priorities be valued, and that the Gospel is allowed to be articulated

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[31] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21ˢᵗ Century*, pg. 5.

[32] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21ˢᵗ Century*, pg. 13-14.

from their own points of view and expressed in their own particular ways. As a result, churches of the northern hemisphere must respond to this resistance from the south through a genuine appreciation (which is displayed in both word and deed) for local insights and indigenous knowledge systems. With these thoughts in mind, the following section will explore such possibilities through an examination of community wisdom and the previously mentioned concept of *métis.*

In *Circles of Dignity: Community Wisdom and Theological Reflection*, James R. Cochrane offers important insights which challenge the status quo of theological reflection. Among other things, Cochrane contends that the often unheard and unappreciated theologies of communities or persons normally regarded as insignificant have a crucial role in testing and/or disrupting those beliefs typically considered as acceptable. As was the case with Dreher's earlier expressed notions in *The Walk to Emmaus*, Cochrane also argues for genuine appreciation and comprehension of the voices which have long been silenced as a result of power disparity. As a result, Cochrane calls for those in traditional positions of institutional power to open spaces for genuine listening, so that such voices of the marginalized can finally be heard. As Cochrane states the purpose of such a listening endeavor is:

> …to challenge, from a particular location, the dominant discourses in global theology. In this sense, it is a deeply ecumenical venture in theological thinking, not a study of a local community pleading their case. Voice rather than context predominates. The voice here, often regarded as unsophisticated, is usually seen as a minor consumer or contributor of theological ideas, the voice of an outsider.[33]

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[33] James R. Cochrane, *Circles of Dignity: Community Wisdom and Theological Reflection*, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1999). pg. xvii.

As stated by Cochrane, the "key theme" in his reflection on community wisdom is that of "voice".[34] Specifically, when in consideration of global discourse on theology and implementation, numerous questions arise such as: Whose voice is heard, and whose is ignored? Whose voice takes preference over others? How does one handle a multitude of voices? Without question, for the purpose of this study on mission as accompaniment and the impact of power disparity upon truth-telling and dialogue, such questions offered by Cochrane offer significant contributions for the future of global companionship.

Cochrane's strong focus on "voice" within global theological reflection has a number of key implications for North American churches, including that of active listening amongst global companions. Whereas those in positions of power too often posses a single-minded concentration upon teaching, sharing, and expounding wisdom and knowledge upon others, Cochrane shows how church leaders benefit when actively listening to those whom have long been labeled as receivers:

> Ordinary believers, in their original experiences of faith and their practical reflection on daily life, however unsophisticated or flawed their theology, confront us with issues and challenges too seldom incorporated into the formal theological work of the Christian community.[35]

In many ways, the act of listening sets in motion the transformation of power imbalance that mission as accompaniment seeks. Whereas Cochrane makes reference to examples of church leaders and laypeople, it can also be argued that such concepts can relate to power disparity amongst church leaders within the northern hemisphere and those in the south. When leaders traditionally labeled as superior learn to listen to those habitually designated as inferior, both parties in the conversation may be able to experience the initial steps of genuine dialogue and truth-telling within mission as accompaniment.

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[34] Cochrane, *Circles of Dignity,* pg. xix.

[35] Cochrane, *Circles of Dignity,* pg. xix.

While active listening on behalf of those in power is a worthwhile step toward mission as accompaniment, the act of listening is most certainly not a cure for power disparity. In light of Scott's concept of hidden transcripts and Geert Hofstede's Power Distance Index, one must call into question *how* those in positions of power are prepared to listen and what factors lay underneath the public forms of expression. While the act of listening may provide initial steps for the pursuit of dialogue and truth-telling, existing levels of power imbalance will always hinder open communication, for those on the receiving end of domination will remain skeptical of the intentions of such an endeavor. For example, what happens if the conversation involves disagreement? Why should those on the receiving end of domination believe those in power have honorable intentions? Why should any subordinate trust one who dominates? While those in positions of power risk virtually nothing when attempting to dialogue with those with less authority, those on the receiving end of domination have nearly everything to lose.

An essential objective of mission as accompaniment is truth-telling and dialogue amongst companions. However, the primary question remains: Can the powerful be trusted in such an exercise? In addition, perhaps more appropriately, can the powerful truly listen to those whom they have traditionally dominated and have for all too long chosen not to listen to? Along these lines, in "Can the Subaltern Speak?", Gayatri Spivak considers ways in which the dominant typically converse with those on the lower rungs of society.[36] Specifically, Spivak wonders whether or not those in power have the ability to listen and learn from the subaltern in a way that values and respects community wisdom. Unfortunately, according to Spivak, all too often people in positions of power enter into a conversation with traditional subordinates as a sort of "master" (expert, researcher, interpreter, and/or authority figure), and when this occurs, that person in power is likely to speak "for" and/or "at" the poor and marginalized, who then have no

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[36] Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by C. Nelson and L. Grossberg. (London: MacMillan, 1988). Pg. 271-313.

voice of their own.[37] As a result, those on the lower end of the power scale are not
allowed to fully enter into dialogue and genuinely speak for themselves. In summary,
Spivak argues that genuine discourse includes speaking to the other who in turn speaks to
oneself, but this activity is nearly impossible when power disparity exists.[38]

While Spivak's view of genuine conversation in the midst of power disparity can
be considered quite pessimistic, her insights offer significant contributions for the overall
objective of this study. While North American churches continue to articulate the
language of accompaniment, they are placed in situations of global companionship
alongside those whom have traditionally been spoken "at", "for", or "to". As Spivak's
notions are integrated into those of James. C. Scott, a negative result of non-listening
dominance is that people who claim to know the thoughts and behaviors of those in
subordinate populations have only received the public act and/or expression, whereas
much among dominated populations takes place underneath the surface. As a result,
outsider observers do not have as accurate a picture of reality as they might often assume.
And so, in light of such thoughts, it can be argued that in order for such hidden transcripts
to become public, the key is more than just listening, but a genuine building of trust must
take place, which takes time and sacrifice on behalf of those in positions of power.
Specifically, this trust is built through a genuine appreciation *and* application of
community wisdom.

While a significant amount of scholarship has focused upon the need for poor and
marginalized populations to guide theological developments, the same is required for
mission organizations and the planning and implementation of programs and projects. As
local populations are the true experts of what is taking place within their own context,
those coming from the "outside" can no longer speak "to" or "at" local host
organizations, but rather, listen and learn from the wealth of indigenous knowledge which
already exists. As James C. Scott argues in *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to*

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[37] Cochrane, *Circles of Dignity,* pg. 98

[38] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", pg. 271-273.

Improve the Human Condition Have Failed, the inability to listen to indigenous knowledge is often a primary reason as to why large-scale projects to improve the human condition end in utter failure. On the other hand, one can argue that the act of listening, and subsequent decisions that occur as a result, are not only positive for the success of projects, but they also assist significantly in the building of trust amongst companions.

In *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, James C. Scott offers numerous helpful insights into why an appreciation for local knowledge is essential when attempting to create positive social change. Similar to proposals by Spivak, Scott argues that large scale operations often ignore indigenous knowledge for the sake of centralization and legibility, but in doing so promote an "imperial" view which leads to propagating the dominant view and continuing to silence ideas from below.[39] In following the studies of Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant, Scott utilizes the Greek concept of *métis* as a means to explore the value of indigenous knowledge over and against general and abstract forms often imposed upon dominated populations.[40] For the purpose of this study, the concept of *métis* serves as a crucial link in the overall pursuit of mission as accompaniment, for it puts the act of listening into action, which in turn leads to building of trust amongst global companions.

According to Scott, *métis* is broadly understood as "a wide variety of practical skills and acquired intelligence in responding to a constantly challenging natural and human environment".[41] In contrast to abstract theories which are believed to be accurate in most situations, Scott believes *métis* "resists simplification into deductive principles which can successfully be transmitted through book learning, because the environments in which it is exercised are so complex and nonrepeatable that formal procedures of

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[39] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 311.

[40] Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, translated by Janet Lloyd, (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1978).

[41] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 313.

rational decision making are impossible to apply".[42] All in all, the "essence" of *métis*, according to Scott, is knowing how and when to apply basic rules of thumb, learned through extensive practice and experience, in a concrete and applicable life situation.[43] For the purpose of this study, *métis* is an extremely valuable concept for North American churches that seek to depart familiar territory and accompany companion churches in cultural contexts in which most North Americans have little and no practical experience.

As previously indicated in Chapter Three, *métis* represents a "wide array of practical skills and acquired intelligence in responding to a constantly changing natural and human environment".[44] In essence, while certain pieces of academic and/or theoretical knowledge can be learned while disconnected from practical reality (through books, videos, lectures, etc.), *métis* requires local wisdom and technique that is only learned from repeated experience within a particular social context. While *métis* is typically translated into English as "cunning" or "cunning intelligence", Scott believes the translation fails to do justice to the "range of knowledge and skills" represented by *métis*.[45] All together, *métis* requires adaptability and capacity to understand, thus for one to obtain it, practical experience and activity within a specific environment is required.

In an attempt to further explain the concept of *métis,* Scott offers an explanation of its counterpoint, that of *techne*. In stark contrast to the indigenous and spontaneous nature of *métis*, according to Scott, *techne* is:

> …characterized by impersonal, often quantitative precision and a concern with explanation and verification, whereas métis is concerned with personal skill, or "touch", and practical results.[46]

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[42] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 316.

[43] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 316.

[44] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 313

[45] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 313

[46] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 320

In addition, Scott writes:

> Techne is characteristic, above all, of self-contained systems of reasoning in which the findings may be logically derived from the initial assumptions.[47]

The problem with *techne*, according to Scott, is that an automatic and thoughtless application of broad rules that ignores the specifics of local context is an invitation to grand failure and disappointment. As he writes, "The more general the rules, the more they require in the way of translation if they are to be locally successful".[48] In addition, as *techne* seeks to limit the probability of chance, and because life itself is continually filled with unpredictable circumstances, *techne* continually falls short:

> A mechanical application of generic rules that ignores the particularities of a specific context is an invitation to failure, social disillusionment, and likely both.[49]

Unfortunately, according to Scott, the course of history has shown the rise of *techne* and the decrease of *métis*:

> As physical mobility, commodity markets, formal education, professional specialization, and mass media spread to even the most remote communities, the social conditions for the elaboration of métis are undermined.[50]

For the purpose of this study on mission as accompaniment, the concepts of *métis* and *techne* are of immense value as the North American church reflects upon its missionary

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[47] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 320

[48] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 318

[49] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 318

[50] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 335

practices and considers practical action for the future. In many ways, it can be argued that North American churches have significant experience in applying broad-based rules (*techne*) within the global south that are often detached from the realities and concerns of local companions. As Scott argues, such hierarchical policies are usually enforced in order to prevent risk and exert control, and for these reasons such endeavors almost always result in failure.[51] On the other hand, one cannot deny that certain North American missionaries have learned to let-go of broad-based Euro-Centric rules and have grown to appreciate and apply the localized wisdom of companionship communities (*métis*) into decision-making and practical action. For North American missionaries who place the priorities and theological understandings of the local people above those of their own sending organization, they clearly take a great risk, and unfortunately, because of fear of discipline, such activity has been rare over the course of missionary history. However, one can argue that if North American church institutions *encouraged* their international missionaries to utilize *metis* instead of *techne*, not only would trust amongst global companions be more fully realized, but also, the goals of truth-telling and dialogue within mission as accompaniment would be more fully achieved.

In summary, churches in the southern hemisphere fully know when their North American companions are not listening, and they are also wise enough to realize when North Americans are pretending to listen when only strategizing "beneath the surface" about how to best get their own priorities and "results" across. While church leaders of the southern hemisphere may smile and offer thankfulness "onstage," it is likely (and completely understandable) that frustration is voiced "offstage" as soon as the North Americans are out of sight. With these thoughts in mind, while mission as accompaniment can be perceived a method to address and transform the realities of power disparity, any amount of hidden transcripts between global companions should be seen as evidence that mission as accompaniment has not been fully achieved. As a result, churches within North America must critically reflect upon the ways in which they relate with southern hemisphere companions. In other words, as churches across the globe are

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[51] Scott, *Seeing Like A State,* pg. 318

intimately connected, one must examine *how* they are connected and whether or not such connections are in need of dramatic conversion.

Mission as Accompaniment: Conversion of Connections

Whereas missionary endeavors of past generations often sought to *create* connections with others around the world, global mission in the 21st century requires an acknowledgement that companions are *already connected* in various ways long before they have an opportunity to meet in person. As Steve de Gruchy states in "Being Connected: Engaging in Effective World Mission", people are "connected" as a matter of *fact* and *faith*, thus the pursuit of global mission is to *function* in ways that transform global connections into relations that faithfully reflect the nature of Jesus' commitment to solidarity and respect.[52] In light of the overall objectives of this study on power disparity and mission as accompaniment, such concepts surrounding connectedness require detailed attention and direct application.

As de Gruchy highlights, people around the world are connected as a matter of *fact*. Whereas past generations did not possess the availability of global television networks, international travel, or the Internet, the current generation is connected as a matter of fact in ways unlike any other before it. However, as de Gruchy states, these connections run "deeper", for people are also connected as a matter of fact through "global events and global happenings".[53] Whether it is worldwide sporting events like the Olympics or soccer World Cup, or struggles which capture international attention, such as the Tsunami in Asia or recent events in Haiti, there is a deep sense of global connectedness which seems to cross national boundaries.

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[52] Steve de Gruchy, "Being Connected: Engaging in Effective World Mission", (unpublished document). *Episcopal Conference: "Everyone, Everywhere"*. (Baltimore, Maryland: June 5, 2008).

[53] de Gruchy, "Being Connected", pg. 1.

While numerous global connections involve positive feelings and good intentions, the reality of a globalized world in the 21st century is that connections "run deeper" as a result of the "global economy, global market, and global way of production, distribution, consumption, and waste".[54] As de Gruchy states, local communities are intricately intertwined with others thousands of miles away in manners like never before:

> Things that are mined in Africa are taken to Europe where they are manufactured utilizing components that are added from Asia, and then sold on the North American market by people from Latin America.[55]

Through such realizations, it becomes clear that the worldwide connectedness of the 21st century is not "benign", and the "global village" is not in a "romantic valley on a green hillside."[56] To the contrary:

> This is a village that has a chief, a headmen, and favored families, and poor families, and women who collect the water and the firewood, and beggars living on the scraps on the edge of the town; and lepers who aren't allowed in town. And the price of having a stall in the market is too high for some families to trade their goods.[57]

In the current global context, people around the world are elaborately and intricately connected as a matter of fact, yet these connections are not impartial. Whereas some have access to the above mentioned television networks and Internet, others are outwardly severed from the rest of the world as a result of geographical location and lack

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[54] de Gruchy, "Being Connected", pg. 2.

[55] de Gruchy, "Being Connected", pg. 2.

[56] de Gruchy, "Being Connected", pg. 2.

[57] de Gruchy, "Being Connected", pg. 2.

of resources.[58] As a quick examination of global economic data confirms, the gap between rich and poor is increasing, and some would argue that it is because of such multi-national connections that the financial wealthy are able to exploit the poor in able to obtain such wealth.[59] And so, while people are connected, they are also in some ways disconnected as a result of such connections.

While much can be said about unjust connections within the 21st century, such one-sided acts of exploitation are by no means original to the current day and age. As de Gruchy notes, such "skewed" connections are rooted in hundreds of years of colonial conquest, and the current global situation is a result of past activity.[60] Whereas previous ventures included Christian exclusion of Muslims from Spain and journeys of discovery to the Americas, Africa, and the Pacific, these connections were the "forerunners to slavery, colonialism, and globalization."[61] The connections, in many ways, were the reasons for such exploitation, and it is similar connections that continue to shape the current global context.

Due to the consequences of historical circumstance and ongoing abuses of imperial power, the connections which shape the current global village are often biased and prejudiced, for they are "shot with power and privilege", and often allow for the most powerful to succeed at the expense of the poor and marginalized.[62] Without question, while all people are connected, there are winner and losers as a result of such connections. As a result, while it may be impossible to slow-down or reverse the process of globalization, the task of missionary activity in the world is to be engaged with intentional action which seeks to transform global connections so that all may benefit.

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[58] Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, (New York: Penguin Press, 2005). Pg 27.

[59] Sachs, *The End of Poverty,* pg 28.

[60] de Gruchy, "Being Connected", pg. 3.

[61] de Gruchy, "Being Connected", pg. 3.

[62] de Gruchy, "Being Connected", pg. 5.

Those who participate in missionary endeavors should, as a matter of *faith*, be concerned with the numerous gross injustices which shape the 21st century global village. As mentioned earlier, the Christian faith cannot ignore the realities of power abuse for the biblical witness illustrates how Jesus himself was deeply concerned with power. As a part of the essential and core nature of the church, followers of Jesus are called into relationships with others through their intimate connectedness.[63] As a result, the missionary activity of the church around the world must be one that accompanies those on the receiving end of domination, for as God chose to be connected to the world in a more intimate way through the incarnation of Jesus, those engaged in global mission are called to *accompany* throughout the struggles and hopes of daily human life.

As de Gruchy notes, the Latin root for religion, "re-ligare", means to "re-connect".[64] In such terms, and in light of the above mentioned thoughts on connectedness, it can be argued that the mission of Christian religion should be perceived and applied in a way that connects people around the world to God and to one another. As a result, instead of allowing missionary activity to divide people on the basis of race, gender, socio-economic status, citizenship, or even system of belief, mission as accompaniment is meant to hold connectedness as a matter of *fact* and *faith* together, and respond by *converting* connections from those of exploitation into those which reflect mutual dignity and promote fullness of life:

> …we are connected both as a statement of fact, and a statement of faith. We have to hold these two things together. If we drop the first one, we will drift off into some make-believe land in which we fail to recognize the reality of this world, and it pyramids of power. Too many Christians dwell in such a land, and as a result missionary work simply contributes to that abuse of power. If we drop the second one, we will slide into pits of despair and cynicism, fully aware of the

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[63] Romans 12:5; 1 Corinthians 12:12

[64] de Gruchy, "Being Connected", pg. 6.

reality of the world, but having not vision of an alternative. Too many activists and development workers inhabit that space. We have to hold together these two realities.[65]

For the pursuit of mission as accompaniment in the midst of power disparity, connectedness as a matter of both fact and faith needs to be closely linked and mutually appreciated, for those whom wish to accompany must function in a way that brings awareness to global injustice, and as a result strive to convert such connections into ones that resist exploitation and instead serve alongside one another for righteousness and equality throughout the world. As such activity takes place, trust between global companions can be built, and the result is reconciled and restored relationships, converted connections, and hidden-transcripts first created as a result of domination are replaced with acts of truth-telling and dialogue on the basis of mutuality and respect.

With the above statements in mind, one can immediately take notice of a massive shift in the overall process and goals of North American missionary activity. Whereas global mission movements of past generations sought conversion through altering a specific system of belief into that of the Christian faith, mission as accompaniment in the 21st century seeks conversion in a much different manner. In other words, with the connections of fact and faith in mind, the evangelical task of mission as accompaniment is not to convert mass quantities of people from so-called false religions to that of Christianity (nor is it promote North American forms of Christianity within churches throughout the southern hemisphere). Rather, the Good News shared by Christian missionaries should be the promotion and support of new forms of connections which function in ways that value the contextual particularities of each culture. In other words, the focus of conversion within mission as accompaniment is not necessarily the individuals who accompany one another, but rather, it is the *connection* shared between those engaged in accompaniment and their common relationship with God. With this

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[65] de Gruchy, "Being Connected", pg. 10.

being said, it can be argued that the overall purpose of mission as accompaniment in the midst of power disparity is the *conversion of connections*.

In slight contrast to the objective of converting connections, mission as accompaniment is currently often known as "walking together in a solidarity that practices interdependence and mutuality".[66] While this common understanding of mission as accompaniment should be celebrated for its shift from previous notions of global mission, one must analyze and critique such an understanding in light of current injustices surrounding global connections. For example, as mission as accompaniment takes place within a world of massive power disparity which creates suspicion amongst global companions, one must call into question *where* companions are actually "walking together" towards? In other words, what is the underlying objective of mission as accompaniment? What is the purpose? While mission as accompaniment, as it stands, seems to imply that *walking together* in and of itself is the goal (for transformation takes place within the process), those on the receiving end of domination may not be willing to participate in such an open-ended endeavor. Why should those on the receiving end of domination agree to walk alongside those who have been known to dominate? In other words, why walk together if companions are merely walking in circles? Among other things, what is required is a mutual agreement *from the start* that the purpose of walking together in accompaniment is to *convert connections* and thus transform the nature of the imbalanced relationship. If the powerful simply state, "let us walk together, trust the Holy Spirit, and see what happens", it is likely that those on the receiving end of domination would not be enthusiastic participants, and due to a lack of trust, would simply go through the motions of accompaniment while sharing hidden transcripts and secretly resisting the process each step of the way.

With all the above mentioned complicating factors surrounding global mission companionship in the current day and age, one is compelled to echo the title of this study and wonder whether or not mission is actually possible. *Is mission possible?* When

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[66] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 5

certain global companions possess massive amounts of wealth when compared to others, is mission possible? When a number of global companions dwell within nations whom have historically oppressed others, is mission possible? When predatory global economic systems are imbedded into the fabric of daily life (and several churches benefit as a result), is mission possible? When particular companions have traditionally dominated common notions of the Gospel and have often refused to hear alternative theological understandings, is mission possible? When various global companions have (and continue) to exert control far outside the boundaries of their own churches, is mission possible? With such overwhelming reasons for why mission may no longer be possible, it is understandable as to why some around the world conclude that the age of missionary activity should be finished.[67] However, while there are many reasons to believe why global mission is no longer possible, this study offers a resounding alternative, and states not only *why* missionary activity must continue, but *how* it should proceed in the midst of global power disparity.

At its very core, missionary activity must continue because the mission itself belongs to God and God alone. While there are countless metaphors and images used to describe God's nature and activity, it can be argued that God is the ultimate source of global mission because God is a "God in mission" continually involved in the acts of creation, liberation, and restoration.[68] As stated previously, God is on a mission to "create and sustain life"; "heal, restore, redeem, and liberate life"; and "create a new life-giving community".[69] Those who are called and gathered into the life of the church, as a result of their central identity as followers of Jesus and receivers of God's abundant grace, are sent into the world in order to respond to Jesus' love and participate in God's mission of creation, liberation, and restoration. As global companions in God's mission walk together in mutual accompaniment, they share burdens, express joys and sorrows, and advocate for justice and righteousness. While North American churches have

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[67] James. A. Scherer, *Missionary, Go Home!* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1961).

[68] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 7.

[69] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 7-8.

continually made mistakes along this missionary journey, it is by no means a reason to quit, for the mission of God continues until the unjust connections which currently shape the world are converted into relationships of respect and dignity that promote fullness of life. The mission in which the church participates is God's mission, thus only God has the authority to declare when the mission in finished or no longer possible.

While missionary activity should indeed continue, what must cease is the ways in which missionary activity has taken place. In other words, instead of promoting further division amongst global citizens, and instead of trying the promote North American concepts of God and church structures, the missionary task is about participating in God's mission of reconciling relationships and transforming the connections which bind together mass assortments of people and all the created order. Along these lines, the act of faith for the North American church is to allow companions around the world to articulate their theological understandings and administer institutions in ways that are most appropriate to their particular social settings. When North American resources are used to promote the genuine empowerment of local churches, a natural result is that – over the span of time – trust can be built, relationships restored, and truth-telling and dialogue more fully achieved.

While much of the above mentioned thoughts explain the benefits of mission as accompaniment for those in the southern hemisphere, what must be emphasized is that missionary activity of North American churches is as much for themselves as it is for companions around the world. In other words, mission as accompaniment not only calls for North Americans to accompany others, but it also requires that North Americans be open to being *accompanied by others*. Along these lines, while it can be argued that many North American Christians believe the work of international missionary activity is solely to "bring God" to foreign nations, or "serve the poor", the reality of the changing global context is that the center of Christian faith is shifting, and when this reality is added to the fact of global power disparity, it is churches in the northern hemisphere who need to be "missioned" in the coming generation through a deeper commitment to global formation and global information. As the articulation of the Gospel has been predominately controlled by churches in the northern hemisphere throughout past

generations, it can (and has) been argued that North Americans will not truly hear the Gospel until Africans, South Americans, and Asians are more fully heard.[70] The mere possibility opens a variety of questions: What new understandings about Jesus and the Bible will arise? What conceptions of God will be articulated when the hidden transcript of dominant conformity is dropped and replaced with truth-telling statements surrounding theology and spirituality? In addition, as churches of the southern hemisphere are allowed to speak freely, what proposals will be made to lessen the gap between rich and poor? What political action would be proposed? What takes place when the "typical" global Christian is no longer middle-class and white, but instead, living below the poverty line and of a darker shade of skin? While it may be frightening for some North Americans to give up control, this study holds that the global church would be at its most vibrant and relevant if all its voices where heard and utilized.

All together, with the above notions taken into account, mission as accompaniment is *walking together in a solidarity that practices interdependence and mutuality for the purpose of converting connections*. While one could certainly go into great detail about how such missionary activity should take place, for the purpose of this study on truth-telling and dialogue, it can be argued that the primary method of converting connections through mission as accompaniment is to *convert conversation*. When companions are able to bring their hidden transcripts to the surface and speak truth to one another without fear of punishment, the voices which have traditionally been silenced will be given a genuine opportunity to be heard and valued.[71]

> Today, we have opportunity for a much-needed process of truth-telling and
> healing. An important step on the way to mutual ground in relationships in
> mission is healing the pain and injuries of the imperialist and colonialist past. If

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[70] Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion is Christianity? The Gospel beyond the West*, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004).

[71] John de Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002).

we are going to move forward toward true mutuality between mission agency and church, we must find healing and forgiveness of past abuses in the missionary movement. We who represent mission agencies today are accountable for the past and for our own behavior and response in mission relationships today. We need to overcome defensiveness and create openness and space to receive the critique. Persons in companion churches have much to say, many stories to tell, much pain to reveal. Our relationships will not mature into mutuality until we walk through this needed process of truth-telling and reconciliation.[72]

When the powerful learn to listen and the oppressed discover how to speak, together they learn to dialogue, and an exchange of ideas like never before is the outcome. As a result, the process leads to fresh and prophetic proposals about how to more faithfully participate within God's global mission of creation, liberation, and restoration.

As people are able to speak truth to one another (and listen to truth from one another), the following step is the *restoration of relationships*. When those on the receiving end of domination are able to voice their pain and sorrow, those responsible for such oppression can more fully come to grips with their actions and humbly seek forgiveness. As John de Gruchy writes:

> The opening up of the space in between, drawing us into the confrontation and conversation, is the art of reconciliation at work, the taking of the first step if you like. It makes it possible for us to both see ourselves and to see the other, to recall and remember that which brought about destruction, alienation and dehumanization, and to explore the possibilities of overcoming and transforming the past.[73]

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[72] ELCA, *Global Mission in the 21st Century*, pg. 18.

[73] de Gruchy, *Reconciliation,* pg. 149.

While the process of confession and forgiveness is by no means quick and easy, and in certain cases may take generations, it is a critical step forward for relationships to be more fully restored. When conversations are converted from those of hidden transcripts to truth-telling and dialogue, such restoration of relationships is made possible.

As relationships are restored, *oppressive systems are transformed*. It can be argued that structures of domination exist because of disconnection in relationships. When people are categorized and generalized into basic groups, it becomes easier for certain individuals and groups to oppress others. However, when personal relationships are built and developed, no longer are people merely black, women, poor, homo-sexual, etc., but they are Children of God whom are worthy of divine value as sharers of a common creator. When relationships are restored, common humanity is acknowledged, and systems which oppress are transformed into connections of justice and mutuality:

> The truth liberates and sets free, the truth heals and restores, but only when the truth is lived and done. Truth serves the cause of reconciliation and justice only when it leads to a genuine *metanoia*, that is, a turning around, a breaking with an unjust past, and a moving toward a new future.[74]

When conversations are converted, relationships are restored, and oppressive systems are transformed into those which bring life in its fullness, the end result is the goal of mission as accompaniment: the conversation of connections.

Naturally, the process of mission as accompaniment for the conversion of connections is much easier in theory than in actual reality. Among other things, whenever human beings are involved in any process, there is likely to be mistakes, mishaps, and numerous forms of miscommunication (especially when cross-cultural realities are involved). More specifically, in a striking paradox, not only does the conversion of connections require a conversion of conversation, but the reverse is equally

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[74] de Gruchy, *Reconciliation,* pg. 164

valid, for the conversion of conversation requires a *conversion of connections*. As stated throughout this study, people are limited in their ability to converse with one another until the nature of their oppressive connections transform. More specifically, when disparity decreases, the result is dialogue and open conversation increases. And to the contrary, when disparity increases, truth-telling inevitably decreases. With such thoughts in mind, the dual understandings of *conversation* and *connections* are held in tension with one another and serve as a connective cycle of practical action for mission as accompaniment. When the connections of the global context are shaped in a new way, then truth-telling and dialogue can take place, which in turn continues to shape global connections. This cyclical process for mission as accompaniment in the 21st century is highlighted in the diagram below.

Conversion of
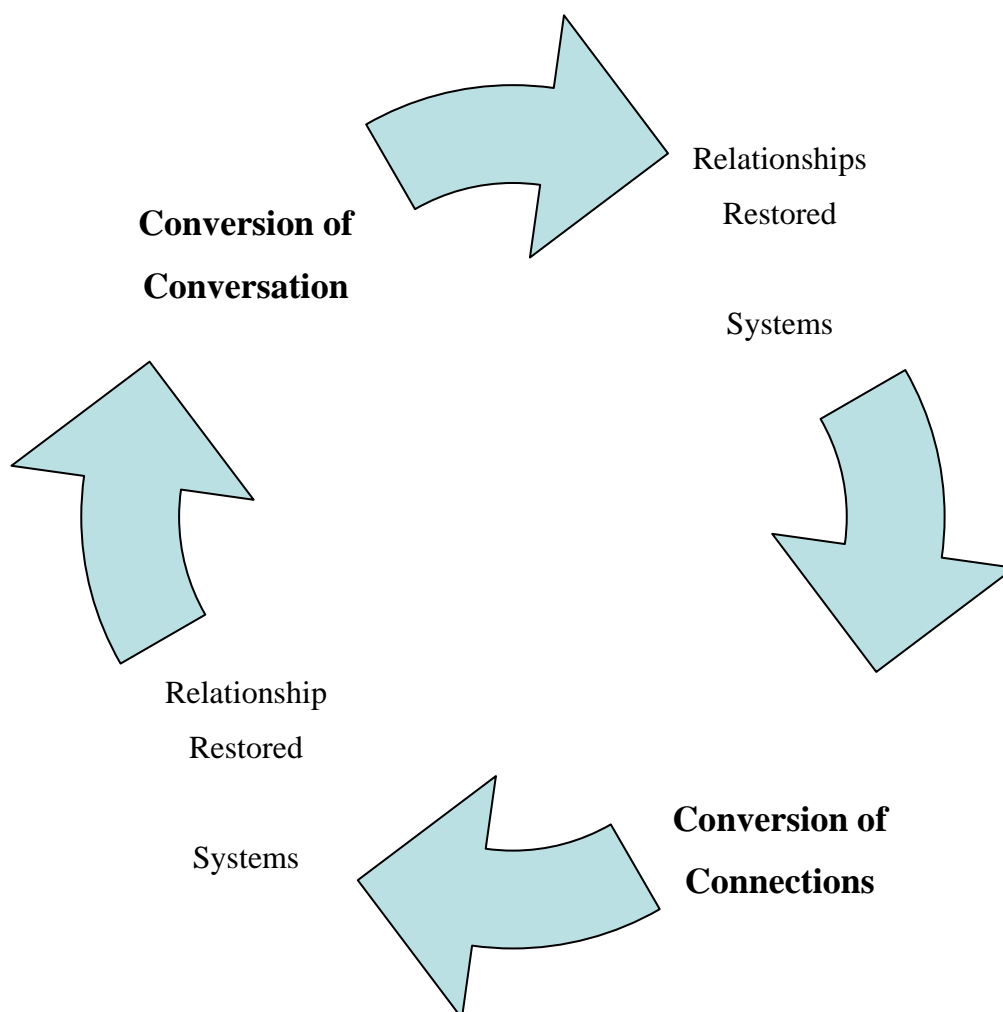Conversation

Conversion of
Connections
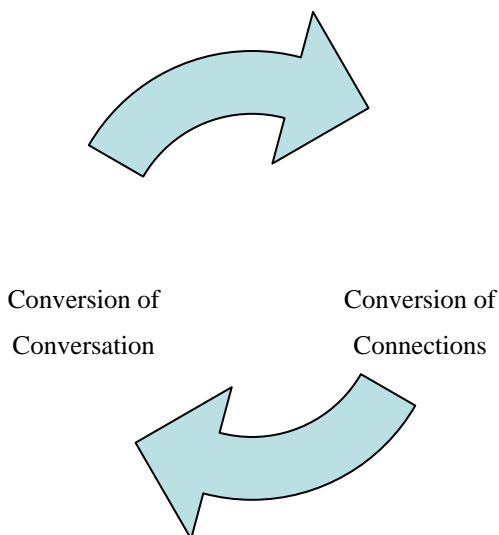
The two concepts of conversation and connection are strongly linked, and in many ways model an "action and reflection" mission methodology which incorporates both "being" and "doing". When North American missionaries consider the nature of global connections (reflection/being), the reality of unjust global power imbalance shapes the ways in which conversations take place (action/doing). As conversations proceed, continual reflection upon the changing nature of global connections takes place, which continue to impact the nature of interpersonal conversation.

The Conversation/Connection model, while simple, is by no means simplistic. While the "connection" aspect was highlighted earlier, the term "conversation" requires further explanation. For the purpose of the Conversation/Connection Model, "conversation" may include verbal discourse, but also "conversation" through deeds and other forms of action, such as: mutual service, advocacy, and fellowship.[75] In many ways, the term "conversation" in this model represents the entirely of how people relate to one another on an interpersonal level. While there will always be some sort of "connection" between global companions, there is not always "conversation". As a result, much of missionary activity includes conversation with global companions in a way that transforms the nature of global connections.

In addition to the nature of "conversation" in the midst of missionary activity, an additional factor worth explanation is the previously mentioned impact of restoring relationships and transforming oppressive systems. When conversations are converted, it then leads to a restoration of relationships, which in turn contributes to a transformation of oppressive social systems. In a similar manner (and an additional paradox), when connections are converted, it also leads to the same positive impact upon relationships and systems. As a result, in many ways, the Conversation/Connection model symbolizes the momentum which can be generated when conversation and connections are transformed to more fully reflect Jesus' commitment to mutual dignity and respect.

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[75] This "conversation" terminology is similar to what James C. Scott titled "transcripts", which is a complete record of both verbal and non-verbal acts. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance,* pg. 2.

Conversion of

Conversation

Relationships

Restored

Systems

Systems

Relationship

Restored

Conversion of

Connections

In a striking contract to the process of missionary activity highlighted in the diagram above, one can also notice the negative momentum which can take place when conversation and connections are not converted and remain one-sided and dominant. When conversations remain oppressive in nature, it leads to broken relationships, which in turn contributes to the support and maintenance of oppressive social systems. In a similar manner (and once again, an additional paradox), when connections remain oppressive, it also leads to a similar influence upon relationships and systems. As a result, in many ways, the Conversation/Connection model symbolizes the momentum which can be generated when conversation and connections are *not* transformed in ways that more fully reflect mutual dignity and respect.

Relationships

Broken

Oppressive

Conversation

Systems of

Oppressive

Connections

Relationship

Broken

Systems of
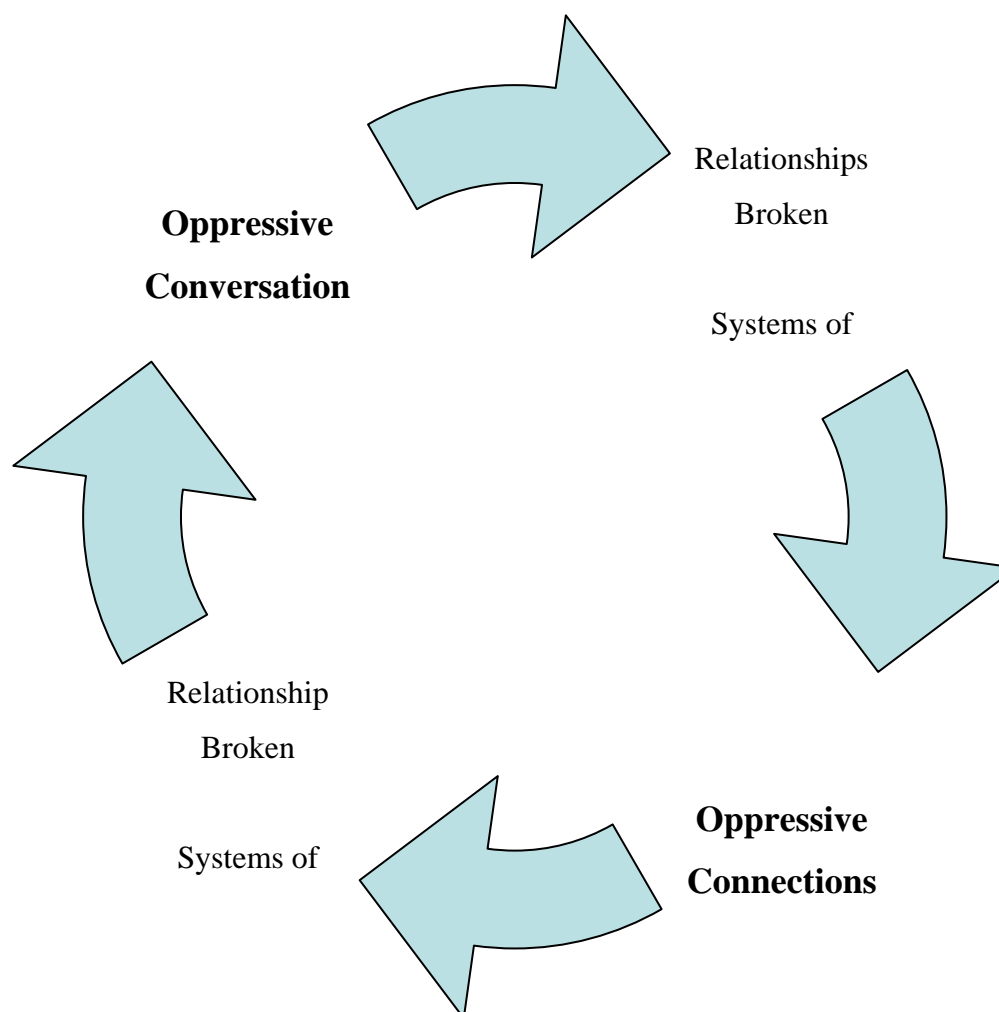
In light of the Conversation/Connection Model, this study argues for the need to continue missionary activity around the world, for faithful conversation leads to more faithful connections, and vice versa. The negative momentum of oppression which tears the world into various divisions needs to be slowed-down, stopped, and reversed. As a result, in order for connections to be converted, conversations must continue amongst diverse people and in an assortment of locations around the world. Those from the northern hemisphere must continue to interact with those in the southern hemisphere, but of course, the conversations must take place in a manner different from those which resulted from oppressive connections of the past. For example, global companions need to be genuinely affirmed in their viewpoints, and in addition, such viewpoints should be valued and applied. In addition, global companions need to freely engage in honest and

sincere dialogue, even if it means questioning North American priorities – without fear of punishment. As a result of such activity, global companions must continue to move past traditional labels of "giver" and "receiver", and as a result, those churches and agencies impacted by North American church decisions must be allowed open access and influence into decision-making processes. When such activity is able to take place, both conversations and connections are converted, leading to social systems and relationships which more faithfully reflect Jesus' devotion to both unity and diversity.

In summary, while this study offers numerous critiques of mission as accompaniment in light of global power disparity, one cannot ignore the significant amounts of progress which has taken place since its initial development and formal articulation within North American churches through *Global Mission in the 21ˢᵗ Century*. In addition, while much has been uttered about missionary mistakes of past generations, this research is conducted with utmost attempts at humility, for one realizes that generations in the future will certainly offer significant criticism of well intentioned research and missionary activity (such as my own) of the present day and age. Above all, this study does not in any way discard mission as accompaniment, but rather, it builds upon the important work of those who developed it to this point in time. Specifically, this study uses James C. Scott's notion of hidden transcripts as a lens to more critically examine the impact of power disparity upon truth-telling and dialogue amongst global companions within mission as accompaniment. While there is much work yet to be done, this study has shown the importance of taking power disparity seriously, and also provides tools for the articulation and application of global mission to move forward as companions seek to convert the connections which bind them together in the 21ˢᵗ century global village. Through it all, while this study shows that global mission is indeed difficult and complicated, the resounding message is that, through God's grace, mission as accompaniment for the conversion of connections is indeed possible.

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