THE COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES OF CHURCH OF CHRIST CAMPAIGNING MISSIONARIES: AN ETHNOGRAPHY AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

A Thesis

by

CHARLIE TAYLOR MCCORMICK

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of Texas A&M University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

August 1994

Major Subject: Anthropology
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ABSTRACT

The Communicative Strategies of Church of Christ Campaigning Missionaries: An Ethnography and Comparative Analysis. (August 1994)
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Church of Christ campaigning missionaries, those members of this Christian denomination who voluntarily participate in a mission trip for a limited period of time, often undergo rites of passage in their mission experience. This rite of passage is transformative and makes the campaigner return to the community with a new identity. The community, however, does not recognize the transformative nature of the mission experience so it pressures the campaigner into repressing the transformative experience and assuming once again the previous communal identity. The campaigner is sensitive to this pressure since the community provides the financial support and backing for the campaigner. The campaigner, however, also desires to affirm the new identity since it was obtained at a great cost. To negotiate this tension, campaigning missionaries strategically tell about their mission experience through personal experience narratives which satisfy communal demands and personal needs. This strategic negotiation is revealed using an ethnography of speaking approach and a comparative analysis of both the worship service speech event, where communal pressure is particularly great, and the interview context speech event, where the communal pressure exists to a lesser degree.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Researchers from numerous disciplines have supported the premise that communication is situationally and contextually oriented (Hymes 1964; Brown and Yule 1983; Bauman 1983; Bauman and Sherzer 1989), and that communication can only be interpreted and understood in regards to its situation or context. These researchers, in other words, view communication as a dynamic process rather than a static product. Thus, the form of communication can never be pre-determined since it develops amid a myriad of ever-changing forces. While researchers cannot state with the certainty of indisputable axioms how communication will function in a given context, they can note the regularities that accompany specific types of communication in particular contexts and thereby establish the minimum competency requirements for communication to be deemed appropriate by a context's participants. Researchers assume that after enough of these regularities have been recorded, more inclusive generalities can be posited concerning the universal processes which account for communicative activities within all contexts. This study assists in the ongoing and preliminary task of gathering data within specific contexts; specifically, it describes and analyzes the role of competent communication in community members' negotiation of the tension between their communal identity and their individual identities.

This study also must address briefly the issue of the existence and acceptance of rites of passage in modern American society. Specifically, it will examine the tension that is created when a community encourages its members to participate in a rite of passage without the community's recognition of the experience as a rite of passage. Since the rite of passage is a transformative experience, the initiate who undergoes the process inevitably returns from the experience a different person than he or she was before the departure. The community,

This thesis follows the Journal of American Folklore in regards to style and format.
however, not recognizing its own participation in and sanctioning of the rite of passage, refuses to allow the initiate to return to the community in a transformed state, so the initiate must choose either communal conformity, communal marginalization, or a negotiation between the demands of the community and the desire to express his or her transformed identity.

This study will focus its research on the Church of Christ religious community. This Christian community, an outgrowth of the Restoration movement (Hudson 1965: 277), was founded by Thomas Campbell (1763-1845) and his son Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) during the early nineteenth century in an effort "to roll back the corruptions of the centuries and restore the purity of primitive Christianity" by condemning hierarchical religions and encouraging believers to read the Bible and adopt that text as their only creed (Noll 1992: 151-2). This community serves well as a research subject since it remains a traditional community which places an emphasis on stability over time rather than innovation; hence, the community adopts a traditional patterning of its communicative events which can be made meaningful through an ethnography of speaking approach. This emphasis on continuity and stability also heightens the tension between the formation of new identities and the seeming necessity of maintaining communal identities. Of particular importance within this community, and to this study, is the manipulation of communicative competency by campaigning missionaries. Church of Christ men and women who--during their vacation time perhaps--function as ritual initiates when they undertake the rite of passage which is the mission experience itself, as they attempt to negotiate this tension. While it should be noted at the outset of this study that the mission experience will not always involve the campaigner's transformation into a new identity, it seems to occur in a large enough number of cases to warrant the generalization of the experience as a rite of passage throughout this study. Campaigning missionaries have a particular role (that is other than the role of the full-time, church-supported missionary) and function in the community which they maintain until
the time of their departure on the mission trip, commonly referred to as a campaign. They might be, for instance, businessmen and women, teachers, or artists, but they take their vacations in the mission field—through the financial and emotional support of the community—in hopes of "rescuing the perishing" and "saving the lost," with the unspoken assumption that they will resume their old roles when they return to the community.

Once the campaigning missionaries return home, they are expected to resume their communal identity even though the transforming experience of the mission trip—which included an introduction to different lifestyles, a visit with strange and mysterious people, and the realization that there are other ways to live and worship God—causes their individual identities to separate from the larger community's idea of who they were before the rite of passage. The resulting tension, which is created by both the demands of the community and the personal need to affirm their new identity, must be strategically negotiated through the telling of personal experience narratives which relate the mission experience in a manner that fulfills both the community's and the individual's needs if the campaigners hope to avoid the community's recognition of their transformation and its subsequent attempt at their marginalization due to the threat this transformation poses to the authority of the traditional structure and beliefs of the community. The strategies employed in negotiating this tension are a direct result of the human desire to maintain "face" (Goffman 1967). The maintenance of this face or desire for self-esteem and a lack of imposition is necessary if a speaker and audience hope to have even a modicum of polite and non-threatening communication. Face is reciprocally maintained in the communicative context of the Church of Christ according to particular principles of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1989) when the campaigning missionary tells the personal experience narrative appropriately (i.e. when the campaigner does not reveal that he or she has been transformed as a result of the mission experience to community members who might interpret this transformation as an attack on their belief system). If the campaigning missionary is
successful in telling the personal experience narrative (i.e. if face is maintained), communal identity will be maintained and the new identity will be covertly preserved. If the telling of the personal experience narrative is unsuccessful (i.e. if face is not maintained), the campaigning missionary risks either communal conformity and the complete repression of the new identity or the preservation of the new identity with an inevitable marginalization resulting from the larger community's lack of desire to restructure its belief system to accommodate the transformed individual.

That this study would concern itself with missionaries may seem unusual to some within anthropology and folklore since these disciplines have traditionally felt themselves at odds with missionaries (Van Der Geest 1990). Even traditional religion itself has looked at its missionaries with some suspicion, and it has stated (in obvious displeasure) that missionaries continually engage in monologues rather than dialogues (Van Butselaar 1985: 398), providing evidence that state-side religious organizations sometimes feel that their missionaries are deliberately maintaining a separateness from them. Ironically enough, traditional religion also has viewed missionaries from the other extreme, with great admiration, which can be recognized in the following titles of books dealing with the missionary experience: By Life or Death, Deeds of Daring, and God's Adventurers. Other scholars outside the religious arena note, again with displeasure, missionaries' personalization of all experiences and remark, as an example, that missionaries have transformed "the Boxer challenge to Western penetration of China into a narrative of Christian sacrifice, suffering, death, and resurrection" (Hevia 1992: 325). But missionaries and the communities from which they emerge should still be researched regardless of their seeming disassociation from the rest of their communities and our own displeasure at how they interpret history. One of the leading researchers of Mormon missionaries explains that the study of his target group can be rationalized by looking closely "at the circumstances under which missionaries generate folklore and especially at
the uses to which they put it," and that it is important since "we find missionaries attempting to maintain a sense of stability in an unstable world" (Wilson 1981: 7). Even the religious communities from which the missionaries have emerged are turning their attention to their foreign others, as described in this selection written by a Church of Christ member, because missionaries have been observed participating in a mass exodus from the mission field:

the individuals are often spiritually eroded, physically exhausted, emotionally devastated, and financially strained. Furthermore, the impact on the parents of the missionaries is almost indescribably complex. Relatives and friends are confused, not knowing how to respond or minister to their loved ones. The elders and missions committee and members of their sponsoring church find themselves in a comparably anguished state. (Austin 1988: 67)

Therefore, regardless of the past interest, or lack of interest, in missionaries, they are appropriate subjects for research in general and for this study in particular since the tension between the religious community and the campaigning missionary is well-established.

Additionally, this study of campaigning missionaries has implications and potential applications for marginalized people in general because it describes a situation in which a threatened and a potentially threatening people have negotiated the pressure of communal conformity without denying their real identity or that which makes them threatening. While the results of this study might not be exactly transferable to other candidates for marginalization, if enough data concerning this communicative competency can be gathered, then it may be possible to formulate generalities which would serve as a basis for aiding marginalized foreign journalists, international business people, and overseas educators to negotiate their own marginalizing situations from within and without. Perhaps then, instead of feeling helpless, marginalized individuals can feel empowered.
Reflexivity

The subjects for this study—both the Church of Christ community and its campaigning missionaries—were selected as subjects in large part because of the researcher's lifelong affiliation with the community and his participation on two separate occasions as a campaigning missionary. Rather than hindering the research that follows, this background undoubtedly will provide the researcher with a greater familiarity with the community's normal communicative routine than an outsider would have. Other researchers, of course, try to achieve this same familiarity by spending long amounts of time in a single geographical area or community (Lawless 1988: xix), but even then they can only assume that the system being studied is operating without anomalies. The researcher who has lived the majority of his or her life in the target community is privileged to some sense of certainty as to when communicative events and other performances are being altered by the presence of an outsider, although this technique is admittedly subject to its own shortcomings and faults. While this theoretical position should not be interpreted as an attack on every researcher who has conducted field research as an outsider (for this is but one theoretical position among many viable ones), it should focus attention on the fact that being an insider does not necessarily discredit one's study either.

An increasingly popular philosophy in the consideration of field research for both anthropology and folklore is the concept of reflexivity. This philosophy explicitly reinserts the "I" back into research projects (Okely and Callaway 1992), thereby giving a more accurate account of the research experience. The account, of course, admits to being less obviously objective, but it also acknowledges that every researcher carries baggage into the field and that baggage inevitably influences the researcher's perceptions of and conclusions concerning the experience. Reflexive information also cues the reader, not to disregard the interpretation, because it is obviously biased by personal interest, but rather to abandon any internal resistance against the validity of
the interpretation and instead follow it as the author would wish. The reader is invited to decide whether the author has found an effective way to make the folklore meaningful within the context of his own personal/professional reality; the reader is not asked to judge whether the author has proved that his interpretation is objectively and universally valid. (Stahl 1989: 31-2)

With this in mind, I must acknowledge for the reader's benefit my own experience with the questions and problems posed by this study. As noted above, I informally participated as a campaigning missionary for the Church of Christ community on two separate occasions. I refer to the experiences as informal because I did not serve as an official campaigner on either occasion. On the first trip I accompanied a group of campaigning missionaries to India where my role was to provide companionship to a young Indian man who had just spent a year in the United States studying at what is generally regarded as the major Church of Christ higher educational institution, Abilene Christian University. On my second trip to India, which I took alone, I thought I was going merely to visit the missionaries which my home congregation supported. In both of these cases, however, my non-participant status was disrupted, and occasionally I was required to act as a campaigning missionary. Upon returning from these two experiences, I noticed that I restricted certain things from my discussion of the mission work in India when speaking before the home congregation and that I could speak freely of my experiences when I was with other campaigning missionaries. I felt pressured in some ways into hiding certain aspects of the mission experience from those in the community whom I labeled pejoratively as "not understanding." Additionally, I felt a sense of not belonging in the community that I had not felt before I went to India. So I determined upon my return not to share all of the experiences I had with the Church of Christ community for fear that they would not understand why I took such great liberties in the application and presentation of our traditional religious beliefs. I felt great relief, however, in discussing the mission experience with other campaigning missionaries. These experiences,
occurring some five and six years ago, have led to my interest in the research that follows and should be kept in mind while the reader participates in the experience through my writing. When, throughout the text, further reflexive addendums warrant consideration, these will be marked by my use of the first-person point of view.

Methodology

The data which support the conclusions of this thesis, some fifteen tape-recorded sermons which were preached by campaigning missionaries and concerned their mission experience and ten tape-recorded interviews with campaigners about their mission work, was collected from June 1, 1993 to February 6, 1994. Personal experience narratives were chosen as the texts for analysis because of their repeated occurrence in the sermon and interview contexts and the frequent requests of campaigning missionaries to tell someone about the experience. Although I conducted each interview myself, I was present at only one of the sermons which was preached by a campaigning missionary and used in the data set for this thesis. It is common practice to tape-record every sermon in the Church of Christ worship service, so I borrowed or bought these tapes from a number of different churches throughout Texas attempting to collect a random sample. The interviews, however, were conducted with people whom I had a previous association or relationship with. The conclusions from this thesis, therefore, should not be interpreted as applying to every Church of Christ campaigning missionary for the sample size is too small to determine with any accuracy if that is the case, and--in truth--it is unlikely that every Church of Christ campaigning missionary is transformed by their mission experience. However, it does seem relevant to note that this study's entire data set did correspond to the conclusions herein. That there were no deviations from the conclusions herein within the interviews and the sermons may very well be a result of interviewing those whom I have been associated with, for no doubt people associate with those they have things in common with. I attempted, of
course, not to let my prior associations with or relationship to my informants bias the interview context to such an extent that the interview lost its usefulness as representative data for this project.

The thesis builds its argument primarily around two representative transcripts which can be found in their entirety in Appendix A and Appendix B and the two ethnographies of communication which describe the speech events in which these transcripts were performed. The Appendices are, respectively, a transcript of a sermon preached by a male campaigning missionary and an interview held with a female campaigning missionary. These performances seemed particularly representative of the rest of the data set collected for this study and of the points this thesis attempts to make, so they are quoted from at length within the ethnographies of chapters IV and V. These transcripts are supported by secondary transcripts from the other sermons and interviews in the data set which reinforce the pervasiveness of the representative transcripts and are quoted from, in addition to the representative transcripts, in the comparative analysis of the speech events in chapter VI. Following these excerpts are line numbers from the representative transcripts which refer the reader to further examples in the Appendices. Each quote taken from either the representative or secondary transcripts is identified by an end citation which lists the first name of the campaigning missionary as well as the location of the campaigner's mission experience. These sermon and interview excerpts have been edited to enhance their readability when it seemed appropriate. Additionally, these excerpts have been both indented and given quotation marks to indicate that they reflect natural dialogue.

It is the comparison of the these two speech events, the personal experience narrative told as a sermon during the Church of Christ worship service and the personal experience narrative related in informal interviews, which leads to the conclusions in this thesis, for a comparison of these speech events reveals that different communicative strategies are employed by campaigning missionaries in the transmission of their narratives in light of the
perceived seriousness of the narratives (e.g. how much they jeopardize the campaigner's communal identity) (see discussion Chapter III, pages 45-46). This comparison of these speech events and the speech acts they employ, then, shows how campaigning missionaries successfully negotiate the contextual tension between communal demands and personal need, thereby avoiding marginalization.

Synopsis of Chapters

This study is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter serves as a general overview of the study's intentions and of the influences which have affected this study. The second chapter provides a framework from which to view the mission experience as a rite of passage which transforms the participant and makes the campaigner suspect to the larger community because of this transformation. The third chapter is devoted to reviewing the theoretical approach, the ethnography of communication, to which this study traces its lineage. Additionally, the third chapter attempts to validate the use of an ethnography of communication approach in regard to the goals laid out for this study by showing how it has proved useful in studies with similar concerns and sets of data. The fourth chapter presents an ethnography of the campaigning missionary's personal experience narrative within the context of the Church of Christ worship service. The fifth chapter presents an ethnography of the campaigning missionary's personal experience narrative within the context of informal, conversational interviews. The sixth chapter comparatively analyzes these ethnographies in an examination of how they allow the campaigning missionary to successfully negotiate the tension between the campaigning missionary's communal identity and the campaigning missionary's need to affirm his or her new identity brought on by the transformative experience of the mission trip. The seventh chapter summarizes the conclusions reached in chapter six, discusses the significance of the study, and suggests future research. Together these chapters present a description of the campaigning missionaries' response to the tension
they encounter upon their return to the community and an analysis of how these same missionaries successfully negotiate this tension through the re-telling of the experience in both communal and non-communal contexts.
ENDNOTES

1. The term "campaigning missionary" has been adopted as a label for these Church of Christ members who voluntarily perform missionary work for limited periods by the campaigners themselves. One informant in this study's data set said that the campaigning missionary was one who worked outside of the United States, a condition which all of the informants for this study's data set fulfilled; hence, the adoption of the label. There are, of course, some interesting connotations of the label as it refers to a Christian crusader or a Christian soldier, and the term undoubtedly comments on the campaigners' view of the function they are performing. They imagine themselves, in other words, as spiritual warriors who must encounter and attack—in spiritual warfare—all enemies to their religion. The campaigner's have, then, a high evaluation of themselves and their work, although they base this evaluation on the anticipation of the tribulations they will have to encounter during their brief tenure as missionaries.

2. Brown and Levinson are generally regarded as having produced the definitive work on politeness principles (Johnstone et al. 1992), a theoretical model of conversation which attempts to predict how communicants will converse, although others have made contributions to the field as well (Fraser 1990). Central to Brown and Levinson's model is their interpretation of Goffman's concept of "face;" therefore, this thesis adopts their understanding of the concept which is roughly described as the acknowledgment that speakers try to maintain their audience's self-esteem and desire to be unimpeded at all cost so that the audience will reciprocally maintain the speaker's self-esteem and desire to be unimpeded. Although this thesis acknowledges that problems with Brown and Levinson's theoretical model do exist
(Kasper 1990), it uses their politeness principles, when applicable, to explain how the campaigning missionaries' conversational maneuvering is manifested. Brown and Levinson, it should be noted, primarily considered single turns of the conversational dialogue for their data. This thesis, as other studies have (Holtgraves 1992), considers longer stretches of discourse more relevant.

3. Only adult males may preach a sermon from the Church of Christ pulpit; therefore, there can be no evaluation of a female's sermon in the worship service context. Since, however, the male's communicative strategies in the interview context corresponded with the female's communicative strategies in the same context, this study will assume that there would have been a correspondence of communicative strategies in the worship service if the Church of Christ permitted females to speak from the pulpit.
CHAPTER II

RITES OF PASSAGE AND THE CHURCH OF CHRIST
CAMPAIGNING MISSIONARY EXPERIENCE

Barbara Myerhoff suggests in a 1982 essay that since our society (i.e. modern American society) does not have many significant constructed performances which serve as transformative rites of passage, it would do well to construct them for itself (Myerhoff 1982: 131). She is presuming, of course, that rites of passage must necessarily be recognized and identified as such for them to be successful in transforming men and women from one status to another. However, this presumption may not be accurate, for the less complex cultures to which we typically attribute rites of passage often do not recognize their rituals as products which are self-consciously constructed separate and apart from the rest of their day-to-day existence. They are instead simply part of their pattern of life, and yet they remain effective in transforming initiates from one status or identity to another. Similarly, our society does not generally recognize its own rites of passage as constructed performances since they too serve an integral and transformative part of our day-to-day life.¹

Perhaps another reason our society has failed to recognize its own involvement in rites of passage is that it typically regards them as being components of a primitive, non-western culture. Sir James Frazier in The Golden Bough and other nineteenth century scholars undoubtedly have fostered this characterization by describing rites of passage as "the central mystery of primitive society" (quoted in La Fontaine 1986: 20). Modern American society, therefore, may view rites of passage as something for which it is too sophisticated. Not only does our society have difficulty recognizing its rites of passage as constructed, ritualized, and necessary performances which transform the participants, it does not want to have a part in them since they are, perhaps, the mark of a less developed culture. However, our society has filled its cultural closet with the skeletons of other activities which it has
traditionally assigned to "primitive peoples" and refused to recognize. Albert Friedman notes, for instance, that we generally attribute a belief in myths to our primitive Others, but he goes on in his article to explain how modern American society tells and believes all sorts of myths itself (Friedman 1971). While many of these attitudes and beliefs are being collapsed and rethought, modern society continues in its denial of some of the traditional aspects of its culture--and it does so at its own peril.

Modern American society ignores its rites of passage at its own peril because, if in fact rites of passage are an integral part of our society, they must be recognized as such since the participant in the rite of passage can only be allowed to have the full experience of the ritual (i.e. the separation, transformation, and re-integration into society) when the rest of society recognizes the experience as a rite of passage which will be necessarily transformative. Understandably, most communities fear a transformation occurring to its members because, when the community fails to recognize an experience as transformative, they regard the change in their individual members as an attack against their established order and patterns. The community, then, functions as a macro-human body. Like the body in its desire for perceived efficiency and stability, the community develops and depends on a sense of normalcy. Once this normalcy has been established in the body, it becomes "so powerful that it typically prevents us from achieving improvements. Often the truth is that if we stopped standing the way we have learned to do over the years, we would be able to stand much more easily. But the constant illusion is that if I stop standing the way I have learned to do, I will not be able to stand at all" (Juhan 1987: 189). And the community, in its desire to preserve normalcy, perceives the transformed initiate as a threat and makes him or her either revert back to who he or she was prior to the rite of passage or become an outsider, a marginalized member of the community. Unfortunately, these actions may result in the disintegration of the community since rites of passage function as acts of renewal and rebirth. Without this rebirth, the community commits itself to growing old and passing away, never
adapting to change, never feeding from the bowl of innovation, becoming a permanent part of tradition.

Since this study deals with a modern phenomenon which, it proposes, is a rite of passage, it is necessary to elaborate on the components which comprise the traditional rite of passage. Once this has been accomplished and its components have been established, it becomes possible to examine the Church of Christ's campaigning missionary's experience and see if it meets the minimum requirements for comprising a rite of passage. Furthermore, an explication of traditional rites of passage will show that the Church of Christ campaigning missionary experience is missing a key element of the typical rite of passage sequence. This absence is responsible for creating a situation in which the campaigning missionary can potentially suffer from rather than benefit from.

**Traditional Structure of Rites of Passage**

Arnold Van Gennep establishes a tripartite structure for the rite of passage which, he proposes, is a characteristic of all rites of passage; this structure includes the phases of separation, transformation, and re-integration (Van Gennep 1960). He furthermore notes that these three stages, while marked by certain rituals, are not of uniform length or emphasis and they temporally vary in their importance within a single culture and geographically among all cultures (La Fontaine 1986: 25). Some have proposed that rites of passage concerned with initiation into secret societies and rites of passage dealing with the status of individuals should be considered differently (La Fontaine 1986: 28) because of their ultimate outcomes or their purpose. However, in the case of the campaigning missionary's experience, there appears to be both an initiation into a secret society—the cult of the campaigning missionary—and a change in the status of the missionary. While the latter rite of passage is generally performed individually and the former rite of passage is performed for a number of individuals (La Fontaine 1986: 30), this study will assume that individuals can undergo these rites of
passage either separately or as a group since both of these types of rite of passage are merged into the one experience of the campaigning missionary.

Monika Vizedom, the translator of Van Gennep's *The Rites of Passage*, takes a view similar to the one this study proposes by not dividing rites of passage up into separate functions (i.e. into initiation into cults and rites of puberty); rather she generalizes the ultimate end of both of these types of rites and states that their purpose is to "make a man" or "make a woman" so that the individual can be incorporated into the larger community (1976: 32). This incorporation, she continues, is a "born again" process (1976: 33) for it requires the initiate—the one undergoing the rite of passage—to leave behind who he or she was before and become someone new. The three steps involved in this process are described in greater length below.

*Separation*

The first phase in a rite of passage is the act of separation. This stage is often characterized by the stripping away of the state which the individual was in before the rite of passage (La Fontaine 1986: 25). In puberty rites, this may be accomplished by taking the young boy away from his mother and placing him into his father's environment. Regardless of the actual manifestation of the process, however, the initiate is taken from a particular role within the community and placed into no-role or a liminal state. This separation, notes Myerhoff, is paradoxical in that it announces the initiate's separateness from the community by stripping the individual from his or her place in the community, but it also reminds the initiate how firmly entrenched within the community he or she is since it is the community itself that creates the rite of passage and this stage of separation in the first place (Myerhoff 1982: 115). The individuals, therefore, although undergoing a separation, feel vividly their place within the community and in doing so, undoubtedly, anticipate their re-integration with the community.
Not only do the individuals feel a strong sense of belonging when the community initiates their separation and rite of passage, but the community itself experiences an awakening to the importance of the individuals to the community. Since the rite of passage will be transformative for the individuals undergoing it, there is the possibility that the entire community, because of its ties to the participating individuals, will be transformed as well. Myerhoff notes that this is especially well illustrated in the case of rites of transition for divine royalty wherein the rite is performed for the perpetuity of the kingdom of the whole (Myerhoff 1982: 112). So the rite of passage, ushered along by this first phase of separation, assumes a special importance for the individuals who will be undergoing it and the larger community as well.

Transformation

The separation phase is followed by a transformative phase which is represented by the initiates' placement into a state of transition between who they were and who they are. This state has been termed a liminal state (Turner 1979: 234) "meaning a threshold, where one is neither in nor out" (La Fontaine 1986: 25), and is characterized by danger and ambiguity by its use of techniques such as "being blindfolded or removed into the bush or forest away from normal life, or by having to undergo various unpleasant trials" (La Fontaine 1986: 25). This transformation creates a boundary between the initiates and the rest of the community by making the activities of this phase a secret, the "possession of which is the right of every member, and is denied to non-members" (La Fontaine 1986: 58). Ultimately, the heightening of this separation of the initiates from the rest of the community serves to break down the initiates' defenses and make them more susceptible to transformation.

This transformation of the initiates is ultimately internal, but it is echoed externally by ritual operations such as scarification or circumcision (Vizedom 1976: 50). These external changes help the initiates to understand the lasting transformative effects that this phase
ushers in. Other external acts of transformation include the memorizing of sacred texts or chants, the handling of special objects, and the extending of the initiate's capabilities through real or magical ordeals (Vizedom 1976: 51). These external changes not only help initiates to understand the nature of transformation, but it also makes the initiates more responsive to change by confusing all of their customary categories and their notions of the way the world really is (Turner 1979: 236), thereby encouraging them to accept new categories and new ordering mechanisms so that some sense can be made of the world once again.

The external transformation and the upsetting of the initiate's customary categories create a moment of great anxiety for the initiates, thereby making them highly teachable (Myerhoff 1982: 114) as they desperately attempt to re-order their world. While the society attempts, through this liminal phase, to mold its initiates into the forms it desires, the initiates are also

aroused to self-consciousness or brought to the edge of profound self-questioning by the play with forms.... Borders are crossed; identity symbols stripped away, familiar roles and customs suspended. These conditions make it likely that one may experience that sense of radical privacy, uniqueness, and freedom, the irreversible moment of reflexive awareness, amidst the efforts of the group to impose itself and its interpretation most irresistibly upon the person. (Myerhoff 1982: 113)

Hence, the initiates become free-thinkers, capable of imagining a world other than that which they had previously known. As Victor Turner says, "As members of society, most of us see only what we expect to see, and what we expect to see is what we are conditioned to see when we have learned the definitions and classifications of our culture" (Turner 1979: 235), but during transformation this previous conditioning is swept away with the rest of the initiates' reality and the initiates become a tabula rasa with capabilities of creativity and innovation (Myerhoff 1982: 117).
Although this transformative phase provides an opportunity for the initiates to be made anew in society's image, the initiates also pose a threat to the larger society since their consciousness is expanding into new territory, a territory which the community may be unfamiliar with and therefore would view as dangerous. Myerhoff describes this transformative phase as a "movement toward the borders of the uncharted and unpredictable" and she describes this area as being "charged with power and mystery" and the people that go there as being "sources of danger, a threat to our orderly conceptualizations and desire for form and predictability" (Myerhoff 1982: 117). In effect, the larger community must shun and fear the initiates since the possibility exists that they will pollute the community's understanding of reality with their innovation, especially those in the community who have not gone through the rite of passage themselves (Turner 1979: 26).

When the initiates are shunned by the rest of the community because of their potential threat to the established order of the community, they turn to each other for a sense of communitas. Turner defines communitas as a "state of oneness and total unity that neophytes living outside the norms and fixed categories of a social system share during liminal periods" (Myerhoff 1982: 117). Since their identity has been suspended from the rest of the community's identity, the initiates seek out others through whom they can create a bond and a communal identity. Communitas can be distinguished from community, therefore, by the recognition that those who have communitas are community-less and group together out of the desire to escape their feelings of isolation and powerlessness in an unstable world. The secrets of the rite of passage itself are very useful in creating these bonds since only those who have undergone the rite are privileged to its secrets (La Fontaine 1986: 186). These secrets, of course, undoubtedly foster the larger community's belief that the initiates pose a threat to its way of life.

While initiates are a threat to the larger community and although they tend to seek out communitas since they lack community, the rite of passage is tolerated by the community--
even encouraged by the community—since the initiates are "sources of renewal, possibility, innovation, and creativity" (Myerhoff 1982: 117). Their innovative views and creative minds have the potential to lead to new and better roads down which the community may travel. Furthermore, they often perform some act for the community which has a positive effect on its livelihood; for instance, an initiate "feeds the spirits, demonstrates that ancestral shades act through their potency or fertility, [or] dances the dance that ensures perpetuation of an animal species" (Vizedom 1976: 51). The rite of passage then, and particularly the transformative phase, is a time of great danger for the community which it allows to continue only because it, in turn, benefits from the rite.

Re-Integration

The final phase in a rite of passage is the re-integration phase wherein initiates are removed from their liminal status and made members of the larger community once more. This phase emphasizes the individual's entrance into a new status or state (La Fontaine 1986: 25), and typically this involves a gaining of status by the initiates (La Fontaine 1986: 16) so that they have more privileges, responsibilities, and freedoms than they had prior to their initiation. The higher status and extra privileges, however, carry with them the understanding that the subjects being re-integrated into the community will "behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards" (Turner 1979: 235). Typically feeling once more a close association with the community following the sense of isolation and separation that characterized the early parts of the rite of passage, the subjects willingly accept and follow the community's traditional ordering of reality. As Turner has stated, these subjects "return to secular society with more alert faculties perhaps and enhanced knowledge of how things work, but they have to become once more subject to custom and law" (Turner 1979: 241).
Still, however, regardless of the subject's willingness to accept the community's customs, the subjects internally keep the knowledge of the secret of the rite of passage "where what is mysterious, because it is not communicable, is the nature of the experience itself" (La Fontaine 1986: 186). This secret, mysterious quality of the participant heightens and reinforces his or her already improved status and makes those who have not undergone the rite of passage look at the re-integrated participant with some measure of fear, awe, and respect. Eventually, because of his or her higher status, this former initiate may be able to change or introduce innovation in the community's norms and ordering of reality because of the community's respect for the former initiate's transformative experience.

**The Campaigning Missionary Experience as a Rite of Passage**

This study proposes that occasionally the experience of a Church of Christ campaigning missionary is an unrecognized rite of passage, and it assumes this rite takes the typical structure of separation, transformation, and re-integration. That rites of passage as they have just been described are transferable to modern American society's fundamentalist religions is not too surprising if one can accept that rites of passage "have much in common with plays. They are artificial experiences, created by the people concerned and performed in a manner, time and place which the participants choose" (La Fontaine 1986: 181). In some respects, the experience of the campaigning missionary is not the same as those rites of passage mentioned above since the context in which it occurs is so different from the more traditional context. For instance, the modern rite of passage must be cloaked in language and symbolism that is meaningful to and accepted by the community involved with the rite. This change reflects an alteration not in the nature of the rite of passage but in the organization of society, for the ritual still retains its tripartite structure of separation, transformation, and re-integration (La Fontaine 1986: 11); and regardless of how these phases are manifested, they
are necessary if the community hopes to transform individuals from who they were into who
the community wants them to be and needs them to be.

While campaigning missionaries do not refer to their experiences as rites of passage
per se, the language they use to describe the experience presents a remarkable, if not
indisputable similarity to the traditional description of the rite of passage. The Church of
Christ describes, for instance, the mission experience as being divided into five parts:
recruitment, selection, training, on-site adjustment and productivity, and reentry (Austin
1988: 73). This is little more than the same three steps of the traditional rite of passage cast
in the language of the community in which it is being described. Recruitment and selection
refer to the separation of the campaigner from the community as the campaigner agrees to
participate in the mission experience. Training, on-site adjustment, and productivity refer to
the transformation of the campaigner from a typical member of the community to one who
goes to a foreign land to preach the gospel (i.e. the life and teachings of Jesus), to the
transforming difficulties the campaigner faces as the Church of Christ's traditional beliefs are
made relevant to the foreign community, and to the work of spreading the gospel. Re-entry
refers to the re-integration of the campaigner with the home community.

Other religious denominations describe their missionaries' experiences in terms that
describe a traditional rite of passage but which are cloaked in a more relevant idiom as well.
The Mormon mission experience, for example, is described like this:

People who must work closely together, who must depend on each other in a
common struggle against an alien world, must, if they are to succeed, develop
a camaraderie and a sense of community. Through the initiation, the new
missionary, the outsider, is incorporated into the system. In scriptural terms,
he puts off the old man, the greenie, and puts on the new man, the seasoned
elder. He now belongs. He is first abused in some way: through the abuse
he is humbled; as he recovers from the experience, usually through shared 
laughter, he becomes one with the group. (Wilson 1981: 10)

Therefore, it appears that other religious communities have members who participate in rites 
of passage by undertaking a mission experience also.

Separation

As in traditional rites of passage, the campaigning missionary first experiences a 
separation from the community which typically includes a stripping away of the initiate's--the 
missionary's--previous state. Since campaigning missionaries live out their lives in all sorts 
of occupations and professions, the mission experience becomes a stripping away when they 
leave these careers behind them and literally become, for the one or two weeks of their 
vacation, men and women of God. This separation is marked by a community-wide 
celebration of the missionaries' efforts. One Church of Christ preacher writes that his 
congregation participated in a "Missions Emphasis Week" in which special collections were 
received for the religious work being conducted in the mission field. Additionally, each 
member of the congregation was asked to fervently and repeatedly pray in support of the 
congregation's efforts to reach the monetary goals which it had determined would help its 
missionaries (Edwards 1988). A campaigning missionary interviewed for this study's data 
set remembers his separation being marked by the following events:

"The first time we went to Trinidad we met for five weeks every Thursday 
night and tried to prepare ourselves to go down there and teach, but we'd 
study about--two hours a night and then we had homework we did for five 
weeks that trying to prepare ourselves to go down there. We had prayer 
sessions about the work that we were going to be involved in. Before we left 
on Wednesday night, we had a devotional and it all was spent in prayer and
talking about going down there with members of the congregation" (Keith, Trinidad).

The stripping away of this old identity separates the initiates from the rest of the community by taking them out of their role within the community. The roles the initiates have occupied for so long have been molded into the community's structure so that they fit into the whole picture of the community and make it coherent. When these roles are vacated and other roles are assumed by the campaigners which do not fit into the established mold of the community, the people in the new roles necessarily feel as if they are outsiders because, in truth, they are now—regardless of their old role within the community. But even while the campaigning missionaries feel a separateness from the community because of the new role they have assumed, the initiates also realize how inexorably tied up with the community they are. From the initiates' point of view, campaigning missionaries realize their connection to the rest of the community during separation because they see how closely their identity is tied up with the community; for when they discard their communal identity, they experience isolation. Additionally, campaigning missionaries realize their close connection to the community because of how it regards them as they undertake their mission experience.

Most men and women live their lives rather comfortably within the Church of Christ religious community. They know, for instance, what is expected of them and how they are to behave. Campaigning missionaries, however, voluntarily step out of this expected behavior and in doing so disrupt the organization of the community. This disruption is sanctioned by the community because it recognizes that it has certain spiritual obligations and duties it must fulfill. One of these primary obligations was issued from Jesus, the community's presumed original organizer, and states that the community is to "Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you" (Matthew 28:19-20). This command is translated into a modern-day understanding that "like the church of the
first century, the church of today will preach the gospel to the whole world if it is to be faithful to the Master. It will do this because God has said to do it. It will evangelize because it listens to the voice of God. It will be mission minded because the gospel of Jesus is the only hope of the world, and there is no salvation [i.e. God's granting of eternal life to mortals] apart from its proclamation" (Norton 1988: 96). But since people are typically reluctant to give up their comfortable roles within a community, the community welcomes the attempts of one of its own to voluntarily fulfill this Great Commission (i.e. Christ's final statement to his disciples that his teachings should be taken to all parts of the world) for them. Of course, in an age of high priced plane tickets, hotels, and food, few individuals can afford to undertake a missionary trip. The community members, without having to give up their comfortable roles, give money to and support their missionary on his or her trip, and they thereby are able to take part in something their Lord has commanded without too much personal discomfort.

These necessary funds typically are secured by the campaigner through his or her solicitation of the Church of Christ community. Primarily this solicitation occurs within the campaigner's home congregation, although further solicitation can occur at neighboring congregations or congregations in which the campaigner previously held his or her membership. The collection of these funds may be accompanied by a congregational festival, like the one mentioned above which held an annual "Missions Emphasis Week," or it may take place through the campaigner's request for financial support during a special worship service or in face-to-face encounters. The money must be raised to pay for airplane travel to the foreign country and for food and boarding for two weeks (two weeks is the general length of the mission trip since it takes place during the campaigner's vacation time).

The campaigning missionary is generally supported by a Church of Christ congregation when his or her goal is to travel to a foreign country where a Church of Christ is already established. Campaigning missionaries may participate in excursions into the
foreign countryside to areas where Christianity has not been introduced, but the original founding of a Church of Christ in a foreign country is usually undertaken by a professional missionary since it requires a longer time commitment than the campaigning missionary has to offer. The campaigning missionary's goal, then, is to participate in special services or revivals in the foreign community, encourage the foreign brotherhood, and help the foreign congregation expand its membership by participating in outings to communities that have not heard about or responded to Christianity.

Transformation

After the separation phase comes the liminal phase, a phase which is clearly recognizable in the experience of campaigning missionaries. As with other traditional rites of passage, the liminal phase for campaigning missionaries is a transforming phase which places the initiates somewhere on the margins of the community and re-creates them. The campaigning missionaries remain members of the Church of Christ community while on their mission trips simply because of the fact that they are representing the rest of the community while the campaigners are in the foreign land, but they are also separate from the community and its religious beliefs because of the influence the experiences in the foreign land have on them both internally and externally. That Christianity changes when it encounters and interacts with foreign religious beliefs is well documented (Schneider and Lindenbaum 1987), and it is logically necessary since Christianity must be modified regardless of the context into which it is placed if it is to be accepted by a people with a worldview different from that worldview which informs American Christianity. Church of Christ missionaries have attempted to justify this modification of Christianity overseas by recognizing that "the struggle to be biblically responsible and culturally sensitive is a worthy effect since the ultimate outcome of the process involves the allegiance of human beings to God" (Slate 1988:
46). One missionary interviewed for this study's data set describes how this modification takes place in practice:

"They [the African natives] have some problem with double marriages but they have been pretty strong on that, kept their feet to the fire, and if a man's got more than one wife they don't make him put her out because she has no way of taking care of herself. But if he wants to be a Christian he has to be married to one person but he has to see about these other women that was in his---concubine or whatever you want to call it. The only way they have of making a living is prostitution and so we don't encourage that they go into prostitution, we encourage him to be married to one woman and support the others and see that they have food---and their food consists of about one meal a day so they're not living real high" (Beecher, Africa).

Christianity, however, is perceived by many non-campaigning members of every religious denomination to be unchangeable, and when it is changed it becomes something false or heretical. In fact, when someone's interpretation of Christianity is altered he or she assumes that it has lost its sacred quality since it becomes something other than that which Jesus instituted, and it therefore cannot help humankind transcend its mortal condition. Church of Christ campaigning missionaries realize through their mission experience the dilemma between needing to modify Christianity according to the foreign situation and not wanting to violate the beliefs or structure of the home congregation, and they suffer as a result from this dilemma numerous psychological stresses, particularly in the areas of self-concept, value change and choice, erroneous expectations, and the sense of loss (Austin 1988). Still, to have Christianity accepted by the local population, the missionaries must endure these stresses if they are to fulfill their goal of preaching Jesus' message. Throughout this liminal phase, this time which locates the missionary neither apart from the community because of his or her representation of the community nor within the community due to the
inevitable changes that the community's traditional beliefs and structure must undergo in order for the campaigner to make it acceptable to the local population, the missionary experiences ambiguity (manifested in the psychological stresses mentioned above) and is therefore susceptible to transformation through the campaigner's desperate attempt to re-stabilize his or her ordering of reality.

Internally, this transformation is recognized by the missionary's questioning of the way the home community has traditionally conducted itself and interpreted its holy book, the Bible. One Church of Christ missionary describes the transformation by saying that the "field situation may call to [the missionary's] attention various elements of Scripture which were no part of his thought in his homeland although having 'front page' value in his work situation" (Slate 1988: 44). The initiate cannot take for granted in the foreign land those beliefs that he or she always took for granted in the home community. Throughout the mission experience the campaigner must wrestle with difficulties such as: "What does an Arab Christian do when his church sets the worship period for Sunday morning [a workday for him]? Is that time period sacrosanct? Is it possible to make some adaptation to the local situation? What may be changed and what must remain constant, unchanged?" (Slate 1988: 46). The search for a resolution to these problems causes a transformation to occur within the campaigning missionary who sees for perhaps the first time that the world—and religion—can be seen in ways that are different from the way the initiate always had been taught.

Besides the new questions the missionary now asks, the initiate may see things that aid in the transformation of this internal structure as well. One campaigning missionary interviewed for this study's data set remembers the time he went to an authentic African meal where his hosts provided him with entertainment: "Most of your women over there don't wear tops, and that's something that's sort of a mystery to me. It's their culture---but these women were all running around in there in these shows. It'd be something over here you'd think was pretty risqué. But over there they didn't think a thing about it" (Beecher, Africa).
Traditionally, rituals have used deceptions and special effects to create impressions (La Fontaine 1986: 181) which foster new ways of thinking in the initiate. Likewise, the campaigning missionary's mind, already susceptible to the influences of the different and the unknown, uses perceptual special effects to experience reality in new ways. For instance, rather than recognizing a foreign woman's strange behavior as the result of a virus, disease, or physiological affliction, one campaigning missionary in this study's data set diagnosed it as the result of a demon possession.3 Researchers have long acknowledged that what people think they see or dream is not at all what they see or dream but the mind cloaking hidden desires and repressions into forms which will be symbolically significant to the perceiver (Fodor 1945). Therefore, while there is no recognized leader of the initiates who uses deception or special effects to transform the missionary's way of thinking, the initiate's mind itself, because of the questions and challenges that have already been presented to it, creates special-effect-like impressions of occurrences in the foreign land to further transform the initiate's internal structure into pathways which encourage the questions and challenges that have already been affecting the campaigner.

The transformation within the liminal phase is recognized externally in campaigning missionaries too. Almost immediately it is marked by the body's transformation when the missionaries are exposed to food which they are neither used to nor prepared for. Additionally, the stress of culture shock can result in insomnia and a loss of weight. There is a chance, even, that the missionary may encounter scarification from disease and violence. Reports indicate, for instance, that in 1990 Mormon missionaries were involved in at least 59 violent incidents and dozens more were being reported for 1991 (Latter Day Saints and Martyrs 1991: 50). This violence succeeds in externally transforming the missionary from the person he or she once was to the person he or she is going to be. Even during the initial construction of Christianity, missionaries were instructed to brace themselves for physical transformation. Paul says in Romans 12:1, "Therefore, I urge you, brothers, in view of
God's mercy to offer yourselves as living sacrifices," and today missionaries warn that "willingness to bear pain must be a part of our commitment to preach the gospel to our generation" (Norton 1988: 105-6).

In short, then, the transformation phase of the campaigning missionary's experience (when it functions as a rite of passage) internally undermines the authority of the Church of Christ's traditional beliefs and structure and this transformation is echoed and re-inforced externally by physical changes. No longer can the campaigning missionary accept all of those interpretations and explications of the Bible which the Church of Christ community presents to its membership as universal truth, because now the campaigner recognizes that the Bible is interpreted according to the rules and patterns of the home community as much as it is from an objective distance. The community's traditional beliefs, therefore, become suspect to the campaigner, and they are recognized as being situationally relevant rather than universally binding.4

In my own mission experience, for instance, I was transformed through the realization that the dividing lines between Christian denominations (i.e. Baptist, Methodist, Church of Christ, etc.) were artificial constructions and not a result of correct and incorrect interpretations of the Bible. In India, where my own campaigning experiences took place, there was a traditional division between the Christian denominations, but these divisions did not practice the exclusivity that I had been brought up to honor. In India, the Christian community was one community regardless of the denominational service one attended. This realization, this transformation, imbued me with a new belief that my home community would recognize as a challenge to its own established beliefs. Realizing this, I did not tell the home community of my experiences with any denomination other than the Church of Christ. But when I was with those that I had shared the mission experience with, I spoke freely and with pride of my interaction with different Christian denominations. This conversation helped to remind me that the experience, while potentially threatening to me because it was
threatening to the community which supported the work in India, was a worthwhile experience.

Re-Integration

Following the liminal phase in traditional rites of passage is the re-integration phase wherein initiates are welcomed back into the community with a new, and usually higher status. This study however, questions the extent to which this re-integration phase takes place among Church of Christ campaigning missionaries. It will suffice to point out here the feeble attempt the community makes at re-integrating their missionaries as transformed community members. The Church of Christ community, ironically, has noticed that this problem exists. Some psychologists in the community encourage the community to remember that "the sending (expatriation) and receiving (repatriation) of missionaries must be viewed by the local church and missionary as parts of an integrated whole" (Austin 1988: 69). Unlike many traditional rites of passage where initiates are invited to return to the community not so much in spite of their difference as because of their difference, the Church of Christ community invites its missionaries back without granting them a higher status, acknowledging their difference, or respecting their potential to renew the community through their innovation. Furthermore, it regards the campaigning missionary's obvious internal and external difference as suspect and the campaigner, then, as a candidate for marginalization. In traditional rites of passage, the initiate returns to the community wearing beads or bells or other curiosities to heighten and exaggerate the change between the initiate's old self and the new self and between the initiate and the rest of the community (La Fontaine 1986: 64), but the Church of Christ campaigning missionary, while decidedly different because of the internal and external transformations described above, must suppress or cloak this transformation if he or she hopes to be re-integrated.
The Church of Christ acknowledges that "the reentry process is probably the least understood aspect of the missionary cycle" (Austin 1988: 83). This lack of understanding can be attributed in large part to the community's inability to recognize or its denial of recognition that the campaigning experience often serves as a rite of passage for the campaigners who participate in it. In the community's defense, of course, one should remember that it agreed to support its campaigners on the assumption that these missionaries would encourage those to whom they preached to accept the religious beliefs of the home community. The community did not agree to support its campaigners so that they could be transformed into someone or some realization that might run counter to the religious beliefs of the home community. And so, the home community's recognition of the mystery and difference surrounding the campaigner upon his or her return is not used to heighten the campaigner's status but it is repressed by communal forces which seek stabilization and conformity. While the community surely thinks it is doing what is best for everyone involved, it may not be. In fact, in those cases where the missionary is unable to negotiate the tension between communal and individual demands, the campaigning missionary may remain in the liminal phase, being neither in the group nor out of the group. In short, the missionary is marginalized. To sum up the consequences of this marginalization, a Church of Christ psychologist says that

Reentry difficulties are normal. Psychological readjustment continues for six to twelve months. For a significant minority of reentrants, however, reentry can provoke critical problems or exacerbate already-existing difficulties. Some parents and children frequently experience different types of mental illness associated with their return. Severe depression is not uncommon. As returning children struggle with identity crises, some attempt suicide, others experiment with drugs, many compromise their sexual standards.... (Austin 1988: 83-4)
Myerhoff, then, was partially correct. Modern American society, at least the community represented here, has problems which stem from its lack of recognition of the role of rites of passage in the community. The problem is not that the experience lacks its transformative ability, but that the community fails to formally or informally re-integrate the transformed participants, the campaigning missionaries, into the community. It is, in fact, a recognition problem which causes the rite of passage to remain incomplete and creates tension between the community and campaigning missionaries that ultimately leads to either the campaigner's conformity, marginalization, or a negotiation between the two.
1. Some analysts of modern society believe that American communities no longer have any rites of passage "as the primitives once did" (Raphael 1988: xiv). Males, in particular, the argument continues, have problems entering manhood because of the lack of a clear initiation and transformation from childhood to adulthood in American society.

2. This secret society into which the campaigning missionaries are initiated should not be confused with their initiation into an elite society. The secret society, unlike the elite society, has little, if any, power except what it can manipulate because of the fear and mystery that surrounds it. This fear and mystery, however, also lead to the stigmatization of the secret society's members, for the group's secrecy allows "free rein to contemporary fantasies" (La Fontaine 1986: 40) about what the secret society is actually doing. Their actions and beliefs, cloaked as they are in secrecy, are usually understood by others in the community as presenting a challenge to the established order (La Fontaine 1986: 59). This often leads to outright attacks on the secret society which finds itself in a much more vulnerable position than would an elite society which the rest of the community aspires to rather than despises.

3. Demon possession is not generally recognized by members of the Church of Christ as a phenomenon which continues to occur today. The informant who reported this event happening during one of his mission trips to India remarked that although he immediately thought that the woman was possessed by a demon and he desired to lay hands on her and cast it out, he could not bring himself to do it.

4. The transformation of the campaigning missionary, as it undermines the authority of
the traditional beliefs of the Church of Christ community, is always more specific than this generalizing statement suggests. For instance, the campaigner may not call every traditional belief into question but he or she may no longer think that a contribution (i.e. the voluntary donation of funds which is a part of all American Church of Christ Sunday morning worship services) must be collected during the Sunday morning worship or that it must involve a monetary medium (as opposed to a contribution of, perhaps, foodstuffs). Furthermore, the campaigner may decide that church services do not have to be held on Sunday morning, Sunday night, and Wednesday evening for the foreign congregation to achieve salvation if other times fit the schedule of the foreign community better. Since each campaigning missionary's experience is different, his or her transformation will be realized in different ways and it will question different beliefs. The common thread that ties these transformations together is that some traditional belief or interpretation of the Church of Christ is questioned. And while this transformation does not suggest to the campaigning missionary that Church of Christ doctrine is completely irrelevant, it does suggest to the home congregation that its traditional belief system is being undermined. As one campaigner in this study's data set said, "I decided not to tell anyone [in the home congregation] that I spoke before the Lutherans on several occasions. I didn't know if they [the home congregation] would understand why I thought it was so necessary" (Barbara, India).
CHAPTER III
THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION APPROACH

In the last chapter it was proposed that the experience of Church of Christ campaigning missionaries often parallels traditional rites of passage, at least until the campaigning missionary attempts the re-integration phase of the rite. This re-integration, unlike the traditional rite of passage, is not allowed by the community--because of a lack of recognition of the experience as a transformative rite of passage--since the campaigning missionary has been transformed into a new identity which is different from the missionary's previous communal identity and which does not embrace with certainty the same religious beliefs as the community. The community, instead, re-integrates the campaigning missionary as the same person the campaigner was when he or she left for the experience without considering the transformative effect the experience has had on the campaigner's identity. This insistence by the community that the campaigner suppress his or her transformed identity creates a tension for the campaigner which must be negotiated. This negotiation must occur through the campaigning missionary's communication with other community members who may or may not be campaigning missionaries themselves. Almost inevitably, this communication results in the telling of a personal experience narrative by the campaigning missionary concerning his or her trip. This performance is framed by requests such as "How was your trip?" or "Tell us about your mission trip," and it occurs both in formal contexts such as the Church of Christ worship service and in informal contexts such as during informal discussions. This communication, a traditional performance (Stahl 1977: 10) situated in a particular context, is subject to regularity and a minimum competency requirement. It is this patterned competency and its manipulation which lends itself to the ethnography of communication approach.
This chapter will review the scholarship and history of the ethnography of communication approach so that its appropriateness for implementation in this study may be further understood. Particular attention will be focused on the more recent applications of the approach which have been employed by folklorists to folk religions with some effectiveness and which provide the intellectual underpinnings for this study. Additionally, this review will present information with which to more fully understand the ethnographies and the comparative analysis presented in the chapters that follow.

A Review of the Ethnography of Speaking/Communication Approach

Dell Hymes wrote in 1964 in a special issue of *American Anthropologist* that he would endeavor to place communicative acts back into the whole study of society through an approach which he coined the "ethnography of speaking." This approach, unlike other more linguistically oriented approaches to speaking, would emphasize communication rather than language, and therefore must take context into account if any attempt at interpretation was to be made. The approach was necessary, he proposed, because "of whole ethnographies focused on communicative behavior...there are none" (1964: 9). Furthermore, he suggested that the approach not be limited to linguistic researchers, but it should be undertaken by many different disciplines, anthropology in particular.

Regardless of who adopted an ethnography of speaking approach, however, Hymes asserted that the following conditions must be met: continuity should be sought between the particular concerns of the researcher and the more general concerns of providing an ethnographic database; the specifics of communicative means and ends should be kept mutually in view; the communicative event should be seen as an integral part of the community in which it occurs; and communication should be seen as a process which is situated in use. Additionally, Hymes stressed the importance of emphasizing speech over the linguistic code; of recognizing that speech is structured by way of its function; of noting the
diversity of language rather than the similarity of language; of emphasizing the appropriateness of messages rather than their arbitrariness; and in noting the specifics of the context in which the communication occurs. In short, continued Hymes, the philosophical state leading to this approach should be one of the "emphasis and primacy of speech over code; function over structure; context over message; the ethnographically appropriate over the ethnologically arbitrary; but the interrelations always crucial, so that one can not only generalize the particularities, but also particularize the generalities" (1964: 11).

The article continued, outlining in greater depth the methods by which the approach should be employed. He proposed, for instance, that the unit of study should be the speech or communicative event which is always situated within a particular setting or context. And in conducting an ethnography of this setting or context, the ethnographer of communication must give an account of the participants, the available channels used for communicating (i.e. writing, speaking, singing, etc.), the codes shared by the participants, the setting in which the communication takes place, the topics involved in the communication, and the character of the event itself.

Hymes proposed, therefore, in one of his first articles on the ethnography of communication, that communication can be understood only within its context, and this context can be understood only by conducting a thorough ethnographic description of it. The approach, breaking as it did with the traditional research of linguistics, got off to a slow start leaving Hymes to muse that all he had done was sketch "an outline of a future in which, one can hope, ethnographic studies of communication will be commonplace, and an ethnographic perspective on the engagement of language in human life will be the standard from which more specialized studies depart" (1964: 28).

Some six years passed between the publication of that journal article and the first full-length book concerning the ethnography of communication approach. This book, entitled Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication and edited by both John
Gumperz and Hymes, included a collection of assorted ethnographies with commentary throughout by the editors. It becomes evident in reading through this collection that the ethnography of communication had begun to narrow its focus in on more particular topics and guidelines than Hymes proposed in the earlier article mentioned above. The editors now claimed, for instance, that the theoretical goal of their approach centers upon the notion of describing communicative competence, a concept which implies that speakers must know and respect particular norms and standards in order to communicate effectively in certain situations (Gumperz and Hymes 1972: vii). Students of the approach, they continued, would "deal with speakers as members of communities...and seek to explain their use of language to achieve self-identification and to conduct their activities" (vii). The ethnographer will look at, in other words, the appropriateness of a speaker's communication and, additionally, how that appropriateness—or lack of appropriateness—affects the speaker's role or identity within the community.

Gumperz, in his introduction to the collection, commented on this refined goal that had been proposed for the ethnographer of communication. He stated, in regards to the emphasis on communicative appropriateness within a particular context, that

Communication is not governed by fixed social rules; it is a two-step process in which the speaker first takes in stimuli from the outside environment, evaluating and selecting from among them in the light of his own cultural background, personal history, and what he knows about his interlocutors. He then decides on the norms that apply to the situation at hand. These norms determine the speaker's selection from among the communicative options available for encoding his intent. (1972: 15)

Hence, communication was still seen as a processual, dynamic force that conformed and reformed according to internally and externally motivated demands rather than as a static entity. The internal demands came from the speaker's identity or the speaker's perceived
identity while the externally motivated demands came from the speech community itself. Gumperz defined this speech community by saying that "to the extent that speakers share knowledge of the communicative constraints and options governing a significant number of social situations, they can be said to be members of the same speech community" (1972: 16). Given, then, these goals of the ethnography of communication approach, Gumperz identified and defined the most basic unit of analysis which the approach would deal with. This unit, known as the speech event, "focuses on the exchange between speakers, i.e. how a speaker by his choice of topic and his choice of linguistic variables adapts to other participants or to his environment and how others in turn react to him" (Gumperz and Hymes 1972: 16-7), and the term would be "restricted to activities, or aspects of activities, that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech" (Hymes 1972: 56).

Hymes, in his own article in the collection, continued to clarify the approach's philosophy. He did not want readers thinking, for instance, that he was proposing hard and fast rules for determining the appropriateness of language in every setting; instead, he noted, the "rules of speaking are the ways in which speakers associate particular modes of speaking, topic or message forms, with particular settings and activities" (1972: 36). Hymes warned that the would-be ethnographer of communication can only explain the meaning of language in human life by realizing that how something is said is part of what is said, but he admitted that this can only be done by developing adequate modes of description and classification (41). Hymes developed a description and classification system he terms the "components of speech" which the ethnographer must give account of in order to meet the goals of the ethnography of communication (1972: 58-65).

These components have been formatted into the mnemonic acronym SPEAKING, and they refer to the settings, participants, ends, act sequences, keys, instrumentalities, norms, and genres (Hymes 1972: 65) of the speech event. Generally speaking, the mnemonic concentrates on the "message form" of the speech event regardless of the content.
Hymes, however, admitted that "message content" must be considered as well, particularly in regards to the topic of the communicative event. More specifically, however, this code includes under **Setting** the concept of the "Setting," which refers to the times and place of a speech event and the concept of the "Scene," which refers to the cultural definition of the occasion in which the speech event takes place. The ethnographer also must make note, under the **Participants**, of the "Speaker," the "Addressee," the "Addressor," the "Audience," and the "Addressee." Hymes said that the ethnographer also should describe under **Ends** the "Purposes--Outcomes" which are the conventionally recognized and expected outcomes of the speech event, as opposed to the "Purposes--Goals" which describe each participant's individual purpose for playing a part in the speech event. Under **Act Sequence** Hymes included the message form and the message content. Hymes attributed to **Key** the tone in which the speech event takes place, that is whether it is presented either mockingly, seriously, painstakingly, or the like. "Channels" must also be described which explain how the speech event takes place, either through writing, speaking, or another medium and this is grouped together with "Forms of Speech" under **Instrumentalities**. These "Forms of Speech" refer to the dialect involved and the register in which the communication is delivered. The "Norms of Interaction," which describe the regularities or rules governing the verbal and kinesic behaviors attached to the speaking event are grouped with the "Norms of Interpretation," which interpret--typically by the participants themselves--the norms of interaction under the rubric **Norms**. Finally, the ethnographer of communication must describe the **Genres** employed in the speech event. These genres refer to the speech acts which comprise the speech event and include such categories as myths, poems, lectures, and editorials. These speech acts are characterized by a conscious awareness among the participants that they are engaging in a special kind of behavior (Grimshaw 1989: 422).

Gumperz and Hymes, in their 1972 collection, were able to articulate the specifics of the ethnographic approach. First, they refined the rather generalized and broad goals that had
early been proposed for the ethnography of speaking approach. Second, they showed, by their choice of contributors to the volume, the wide range of situations in which an ethnography of communication approach can be useful. And finally, they outlined in detail the method by which the ethnographer of communication performs a competent description of the speech event in question. Gumperz and Hymes laid the groundwork in this book for their approach to be transferable and understandably necessary when dealing with cultural communication. As such, it has been appropriated by a number of different disciplines and taken to new levels of sophistication in the process.

These new levels can be traced to Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer in their 1974 collection entitled *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. This collection was published as a second edition in 1989, and it included a review of the changes the field had undergone since the first edition was published (e.g. references to a number of new publications that had used the ethnography of communication approach), a new introduction, and an updated bibliography. Bauman and Sherzer, as editors of these editions, continued to affirm the descriptive nature of the ethnographic approach, the importance of uncovering the mutual competence shared by the speech community, the goal of identifying the means of speaking available to participants given a particular context, and the necessity of revealing the forces involved in the process of creating the speech event, (1989: 6-7) as did Gumperz and Hymes. Bauman and Sherzer additionally noted, unlike Gumperz and Hymes, that the ethnographer of communication must attempt to identify and analyze the dynamics and interrelationships of these elements which go to make up the performance (1989: 7). This notion of performance, a concept that had been gaining popularity in the discipline of Folklore in large part due to Bauman’s 1977 work entitled *Verbal Art as Performance*, is described as

the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence. This competence rests on the knowledge and
ability to speak in socially appropriate ways. Performance involves on the part of the performer an assumption of accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content. From the point of view of the audience, the act of expression on the part of the performer is thus marked as subject to evaluation for the way it is done, for the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer's display of competence. (11)

Particularly, the editors continued, their collection considered performance as a "speaking praxis," which is the "situated use of language in the conduct and constitution of social life" (1989: xviii). Performance was viewed, therefore, as a creative and emergent accomplishment which the participants of the speech event engaged in to maintain and, perhaps, create anew their social life. Additionally, performance was considered in the ethnography of communication as the poetics of performance (1989: xix). As an art form, then, the speech event is subject to evaluation and the performer assumes accountability for its production.

The infusion of the concept of performance into the ethnography of communication approach was a further effort on the part of Bauman and Sherzer to make ever more explicit the processes that the ethnography of speaking must examine. That Bauman and Sherzer could focus on forces such as performance, which are involved in communication and which are particularly suited to being studied by the ethnography of communication approach, indicates that the approach had matured past its early stage of a focus on the essentials of its techniques.

The influence of the concept of performance was realized in the rest of the articles in this collection as well. Karl Reismann, for instance, suggested that some of the explicit formal models that had been previously devised (by, for instance, Hymes) to describe speech events may not be as useful as they were once considered when one recognizes that every
speech event is a performance (Reismann 1989: 111). The reason for this can be found in the fact that performances are necessarily creative. Undoubtedly, performances are still subject to evaluation so the performer continues to follow general guidelines, but between completely formulaic language and completely innovative language it becomes necessary to use less explicit models in describing a speech event. This should not imply, however, that formalizing statements did not continue to be made. Now, however, formalizing statements were expected to lack some measure of transferability since the performer could choose from a number of different variants which may be judged appropriate by himself and the audience. But as one ethnographer of communication said in describing why he continued to create formalizing statements in light of this innovative quality of performances, "[I]t's simply fun to look for patterns and to try to capture them in formal statements" (Grimshaw 1989: 424).

Finally, another scholar who has influenced the present study through her utilization of the ethnography of speaking approach is Elaine Lawless. Lawless conducted considerable research with women in the Pentecostal religion to study the communicative strategies in their worship service. Her research is particularly applicable to the present study, in ways that the other works are not, because it too examines the communicative strategies of members of a folk religion. Lawless not only sets a precedent for this thesis by her example of a useful application of the ethnography of speaking approach, but she also validates the study of folk religions. This validation is important since the study of folk religions generally has stirred little interest in folklorists (Messenger 1972; Lawless 1982: 1). Lawless contends, however, that folk religions can be usefully studied by folklorists if they focus on the critical question that must be answered when attempting to present a religious group as a folk group: "[W]hat in this religion is traditional—that is, what is being passed down from generation to generation, or from group member to member, in an informal, largely oral, manner?" (Lawless 1988: 4). She concludes that her target community, the Pentecostals, are a folk group because they self-consciously construct an identity for themselves which makes them
distinct from others (1982: 115). Furthermore, they construct this identity in primarily an oral and informal style. Since it is oral, of course, this construction of identity—which is a cultural performance—will be formulaic, stylized, patterned, and ritualistic (Lawless 1988: 4). Hence, it can be fruitfully studied through the ethnography of speaking approach.

Having validated that her target community is a folk community, Lawless proceeds to describe in a number of articles and books the role of the woman's voice in the Pentecostal religious service. She focuses her research on a single church since, as a folk church, each organization sets its own rules (Lawless 1980). She gathers her descriptive data by using an ethnography of speaking approach on a religious worship service which, she states, will succeed in "firmly implanting performances in the context in which they naturally occur and charting the codes used and manipulated by performers and judged by audiences in specific examples of 'display behavior' [to] reveal the concerns of the speaker, the breadth of shared experience of the group, and the sociocultural matrix of the verbal, proxemic, kinesic, and semiotic behaviors" (Lawless 1988: 59). Lawless therefore employs the ethnography of speaking approach not just as a descriptive tool to describe the competency of the verbal performance, but as a means for delving into the cultural makeup of the community itself. She focuses, in other words, as much on the why of communication as on the how.

Lawless, make no mistake, is not minimizing the goals of the ethnography of speaking approach which attempt to describe the competency of performers in any given speech event in regards to their speech community; rather, she has expanded the goal of the approach and adapted it to her own needs by showing how it can be employed effectively in accounting for women's roles in Pentecostal religious services and in their efforts to minimize the tension this creates with the males who generally subordinate them. This tension is particularly evident in women's testifying—the speech act most interesting to Lawless—which emphasizes the peculiar status of women and encourages the perpetuation of this status by outlining behaviors which provide the opportunity "for creative speaking and a
temporary lapse of [their] normal impotency" thereby allowing these women to exercise a power all their own (Lawless 1983: 441).

Lawless concludes her book *God's Peculiar People: Women's Voices & Folk Traditions in a Pentecostal Church* by stating that her research has provided evidence for several contentions, including: that religious communities should be studied individually; that one must recognize that performances occur within the sociocultural matrix; that the study of verbal art in performance can only be undertaken with verbatim transcripts; and that basing one's research on the premises of the community's folk beliefs does not help in understanding the community itself (Lawless 1988: 112). What Lawless does not say is that she has put a great deal of emphasis on the causal elements which explain the data gathered in the ethnography of speaking approach, and she furthermore interprets and transforms the performance of testifying into an ethnography of speaking in light of these causal elements. The present study, building on Lawless's work and her adaptation of the ethnography of speaking approach, continues this tradition of constructing the ethnography of the verbal performance in light of causal factors. This study also attempts, however, to explain the strategies involved in the manipulation and skillful negotiation of the performance's competency to achieve certain ends by discussing the mechanisms which react to these causal factors.

This study accounts for the strategies which inform the manipulation of communicative competency in the Church of Christ by the theoretical model of "politeness principles." This model, which assumes that non-threatening conversation will prevail between conversants when possible, predicts that communicative strategies will be used throughout conversation in support of the human desire to be unimpeded and approved of (i.e. conversants typically maintain each other's face in polite communication) (Brown and Levinson 1987: 58), desires which only can be satisfied reciprocally (i.e. conversants can only maintain each other's face and not their own). The human desire to maintain face,
Brown and Levinson continue, influences communication, for speakers will manipulate the components of speech events in response to a perceived threat to their audience’s face so that the threat can be minimized or overcome, thereby preserving their audience’s face and making their conversation appear non-threatening and appropriate. Conversants are continually and strategically adjusting their intrinsically face-threatening communication (Brown and Levinson 1987: 65) by using strategies which attempt to minimize the perceived threat of a face-threatening act. This perceived threat is calculated by the speaker through his or her determination of the social distance between the conversants, the relative power of the conversants, and the absolute ranking of impositions in the culture (i.e. the culturally-bound determination of how great a speaker’s request is to his or her audience in regards to other possible requests that the speaker might make) (Brown and Levinson 1987: 74). The greater the social distance, the relative power, and the impositions prove to be the more face-threatening the communication is. The strategies themselves, numbered by Brown and Levinson so that the higher numbered strategies are used for the more serious face-threatening acts, are listed as 5) Don’t do the face-threatening act; 4) Do the face-threatening act off record; 3) Do the face-threatening act on record using negative politeness (which attempts to minimize the imposition of the request); 2) Do the face-threatening act on record using positive politeness (which attempts to affirm the solidarity between speaker and audience); and 1) Do the face-threatening act baldly (1987: 69). This concept of face could have been employed usefully by Lawless to explain why women in the Pentecostal religious service strip their presence of its most threatening aspects and use communicative strategies that de-emphasize the threat to the men’s face. They often preach, for instance, with children on their hips and the foci of their sermons can be recognized “as a maternal concern” (Lawless 1987). These women, therefore, do not violate the men’s face but neither do they allow themselves to lose their own face by suppressing their voice. While Lawless does not attempt to attribute this strategy to any particular mechanism (e.g. the maintenance of face)
but merely to a contextually inherent causal factor (i.e. the Pentecostal worship service has traditionally been conducted by men), the present study will attempt to explicitly show how this mechanism reacts to causal factors and determines a communicator's manipulation of communicative competency.

This review of the literature which the present study draws on has shown why the ethnography of speaking approach will be used for this thesis. This chapter also has traced the influence of strategic mechanisms such as the concept of face which must be maintained by conversants and which strategically directs, according to politeness principles and in light of causal factors, the type of conversation that will take place (in particular, it directs the way the campaigning missionary's personal experience narrative will be told). The manifestation of this mechanism will be accounted for in greater detail in the comparative analysis section below. In sum, the ethnography of speaking provides a technique for gathering and classifying the necessary descriptive data concerning performances from the speech event of the pulpit sermon and the informal interview of the campaigning missionary within the Church of Christ, and it also highlights the causal elements which influence the performance. An analysis of this data reveals how these causal elements themselves can be strategically negotiated depending on the context through a mechanism which attempts to minimize the face-threatening aspects of conversants' communication in regards to their perceived social distance, relative power, and the cultural ranking of the imposition. It is this mix of forces, both causal and strategic maneuverings, which causes the personal experience narrative of campaigning missionaries in the Church of Christ to be told as they are.
CHAPTER IV

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE
NARRATIVE AS TOLD FROM THE PULPIT IN A CHURCH OF
CHRIST WORSHIP SERVICE

The Church of Christ pulpit serves as a stage for many different types of speech
events such as worship services, award ceremonies, weddings, and funerals. While these
performances allow numerous variations of their appropriate speech components depending
on the day, time of year, event, and other factors, one can identify with some certainty the
components that will comprise the speech event of the campaigning missionary's sermon
delivered during a worship service. In "breaking this event down into its varied components
and forcing attention to fine differentiations of message form, content, channel and key"
(Lawless 1980: 14), data can be collected by which a comparison can be made with the
campaigning missionary's personal experience narrative told outside the pulpit in
conversational contexts to observe how the narrative is strategically manipulated in light of
the situation in which it is performed so that it keeps the performer from being marginalized
by the larger community. This comparison can be achieved since the pulpit context, as does
the informal interview context, permits performers to communicate in certain ways, and it
demands a particular level of competency and appropriateness of the performer and the
performance, not only to facilitate interpretation but to keep the audience from censuring the
speech act as well (Keenan 1989: 127).

This ethnography describes in detail only one complete sermon preached by a Church
of Christ campaigning missionary. Since every Church of Christ community exercises some
freedom in the manner in which it conducts its service and constitutes itself—the community
was founded, after all, on the premise that a hierarchical religious structure made a mockery
of true Christianity so people should just read and interpret the Bible themselves (see
Introduction)—it would be misleading to propose that this example is the only sermon that
could be delivered by the campaigning missionary. Yet any deviation from this sermon's basic format, which must occur because of the community's interaction with the forces of creativity and tradition (Bronner 1992: 3), will come about only within predictable bounds. Therefore, campaigning missionaries observe a shared sense of appropriate communication regardless of the pulpit or the congregation in which they speak, and their sermons reflect the observance of these general rules. Lawless, in her ethnography of a Pentecostal religious service, also dealt with a religious organization that lacked a central authority, and she chose to conduct her ethnography of speaking around a single, representative worship service as well (1988: 58-59).

The pulpit sermon chosen for this ethnography and presented in its entirety in Appendix A was selected because its content seemed to be the most representative of the fifteen sermons collected as part of this study's data set, and it included most of the salient speech components which influenced and were reflected by the performance. The context in which this sermon took place functions as an adequate representative community for this ethnography as well since it depicts the general contextual situation of many Churches of Christ. The ethnography of speaking approach requires that the community, in this ethnography the representative community, must be described in "terms of [its] mutually complementary knowledge and ability (competence of its members for the production and interpretation of socially appropriate speech)" (Lawless 1988: 76; Bauman and Sherzer 1989). This informal description follows below.

The East Side Church of Christ, the church in which the representative sermon was performed, is a Christian congregation of some 250 members which meets Sunday mornings, Sunday nights, and Wednesday evenings in the town of Snyder, Texas. This small (population 12,500), rural community in West Texas sits in a valley just off of the Caprock formation mid-way between Abilene, Lubbock, and Midland. The city was an oil-boom town for some twenty years (drilling primarily in the Canyon Reef Field), but
production has slowed in recent years causing an exodus of oil jobbers and roughnecks looking for more profitable fields or more certain industries. Today the town is a conservative and predominately white (although the Hispanic community is the fastest growing ethnic group) community which, as an example of its conservative nature, continues to retain its "dry" status by not allowing alcohol to be sold in the city limits. The churches in the town, be they Baptist, Methodist, or Presbyterian, reflect this conservative attitude as well, including East Side which is one of three Churches of Christ in town. This conservatism at East Side is undoubtedly fostered by the close relations of its membership, many of whom are either blood-related to each other or grew up together as friends and acquaintances. Few of the congregation's members are transplanted from outside of the Snyder community, and even fewer have joined the denomination after being raised in a family with a different denominational background. Membership at East Side Church of Christ includes all age groups, an almost even number of men and women, but no minorities. The service has been and continues to be conducted solely by the men in the congregation since women are prohibited from speaking in the pulpit during the church service proper, although the women play an important role, however indirectly, in church leadership. The East Side Church of Christ is a financially stable institution, even profitable, and has its position firmly carved into Snyder's cultural landscape.

The local preacher at East Side was educated at the largest Church of Christ institution of higher learning, Abilene Christian University, which is located some 90 miles west of Snyder. His hiring by the elders at East Side proved to be a homecoming since he had grown up in Snyder, completing his education through high school there. As the symbolic leader of the congregation, he has upset some of the church members because of his interpretations of the Bible which have been labeled by the other white, Church of Christ congregation in Snyder as "liberal." This labeling eventually caused a rather upsetting departure of almost 25 East Side families to the 37th Street Church of Christ, the church
which began the labeling in the first place. The flight of these families reflects the tension
which the denomination feels as a whole as it endeavors to change with the times and keep
intact its traditions, and the East Side church reacted to the departure of its members by an
increased conservatism in its beliefs and structure. The speaker in the representative
transcript, Tony, is especially sensitive to these problems and their resulting conservatism
since he and his family attended East Side during some of its most volatile years. This
community, then, provides an appropriate context from which to describe a situation in
which a performer, the campaigning missionary, keenly realizes and must negotiate
communal demands for conformity and his own need for the affirmation of his
transformation.

A special emphasis will be placed on the personal experience narrative portions of the
speech event in this study. This emphasis results from the emic interpretation of what is
primary in both the formal and the informal presentation contexts. In other words, the
participants themselves consider both of these performances, regardless of the context, to
function as a re-telling of their mission experience. In both contexts, the campaigning
missionaries structure their communication around the request: "Tell us/me about your
mission experience." The participants do not account for the differences in the performances
of their personal experience narratives which this study notes in its comparative analysis, but
this may be because the strategic manipulation of competency is largely an unconscious
process which happens just below the level of realization.

The campaigning missionary in the representative sermon, Tony Mauldin, currently
works as the men's basketball coach at Abilene Christian University, and in Snyder he
coached the men's basketball teams at the local junior college as well. He never held a formal
position of leadership in the church during his tenure in Snyder, but he frequently
participated in the activities of the religious community itself (e.g. potluck dinners, visitation
programs, and youth trips). The transcribed text in Appendix A records a sermon which
Tony was given permission to preach to the community by the Elders of the East Side congregation. His purpose in doing this was to raise money for a second missionary trip to Africa. Like most missionaries, he was appealing to those congregations which he had formerly been a member of to financially support his overseas work. He had driven to Snyder from Abilene on the Sunday that this sermon took place and he drove back home after the worship services were over.

The speech event focused on below, the campaigning missionary's pulpit sermon, occurs within the larger speech situation of the Church of Christ worship service. The worship service begins at East Side on Sunday morning after Sunday School (i.e. lecture classes, generally divided into age groups, which meet every Sunday morning to discuss special topics of interest to the religious community or to explicate passages in the Bible) is concluded. People casually take their seats (generally in the same places from week to week) until the worship service is officially called to order by a song and the preacher's welcome. The community then reads aloud and in unison a verse from the Bible which is printed on the top of their worship programs. There are some two or three songs sung by the community, followed by a prayer, and then everyone in the congregation who is a Christian (i.e. who has been baptized or fully immersed into water upon their public announcement that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and who, upon rising from the baptismal waters, symbolically has been born again having had all their past sins "washed away") partakes of communion (i.e. the symbolic ritual of consuming Christ's flesh and blood through the eating of unleavened bread or crackers and the drinking of grape-juice or wine). This is followed by another song and then the sermon itself. Although some congregations vary this pattern, it remains the generally accepted format for conducting the worship service.

Campaigning missionaries are not required to say anything in particular about their trip; in fact, it is often stated in the introduction to the sermon (usually given by the preacher) that they will merely be telling the community about their experience. There is, however, an
appropriate pattern which these campaigning missionaries follow when speaking from the
pulpit. It is not a strict adherence to a prescribed formula since few if any of these
campaigning missionaries have been taught how to speak from the pulpit. Rather, they have
picked up on the appropriate style and pattern for the sermon from watching and listening to
other campaigning missionaries speak from the pulpit.

The components of the speech event which make up the campaigning missionary's
sermon can be described using Dell Hymes' SPEAKING heuristic which include the setting,
participants, ends, act sequences, keys, instrumentalities, norms, and genres (Hymes 1972:
65), and were described in greater detail in the last chapter. These components will be used
to develop the descriptive data for the forthcoming comparative analysis concerning the
strategies employed in the campaigning missionary's pulpit sermon and in the campaigning
missionary's informal interviews.

Setting

The campaigning missionary's pulpit sermon is spatially positioned in front of the
auditorium before the entire congregation. It can be performed during the services on either
Sunday morning, Sunday night, or Wednesday evening and, regardless of the service in
which it is presented, it should last no more than thirty minutes. The representative sermon
for this ethnography was delivered on Sunday morning as a lecture, but it would not be
considered inappropriate for a campaigning missionary to turn off the lights of the auditorium
and show slides of the mission trip in addition to his narrative. In the representative sermon,
for instance, the speaker notes that he has brought photographs of his campaign experience
which he has left at the back of the auditorium for people to look at when the service is over
(see lines 224-226 and 382-383 in Appendix A). The temporal placement of the campaigning
missionary's sermon occurs in the approximate middle of the speech situation which is the
worship service. Therefore, the sermon is centered at the focal point of this communal gathering.

The scene of this speech event is often described as the reason for going to church. The sermon is the point, supposedly, at which lives are to be changed, meaning is to be made clear, and souls are to be won. It is supposed to be, in other words, the most important part of the worship service. The community recognizes the sermon as one in which it is to be quiet while the man in the pulpit imparts to it a greater understanding of spiritual or religious matters.

Participants

The speaker in this speech event is always the campaigning missionary himself. The audience is composed of the entire religious community which chose to attend the worship service at that meeting, and it includes both previous campaigning missionaries and non-campaigning missionaries (i.e. regular members). The majority of members are people who have never directly participated in a mission trip.

The addresser is someone more than just a normal member of the congregation for he has gone to a foreign land to convert the pagans. He is not, however, necessarily viewed with any greater respect than a normal member since his task—the spreading of the gospel, according to Church of Christ interpretation, to non-believers—was, presumably, one which any member could accomplish. The following passage, written by a Church of Christ member, gives an idea of the appreciation the community feels towards the campaigning missionary and his work, and it also hints that the community recognizes that the experience is one which they could all undertake:

The words of Jesus in Acts 1:8 show that his people must, indeed, be concerned locally and regionally; but they must also reach out to the ends of the earth. Christ's Great Commission is not optional. Christians never have
the right to question whether or not they should do foreign evangelism because that question is forever answered by Christ's command. The questions Christians should ask are, How can we evangelize all the nations? Where can we do it? How soon can we get started? Spiritual isolationism, whether provoked by the Vietnam War, ethnocentrism, or deliberate spiritual blindness and deafness is an abomination to God. (Norton 1988: 101)

This example shows that the missionary's work is appreciated because he has helped the entire community--the community which funded his mission trip--to fulfill a requirement set forth by God, but it is also expected.

The addressees of the campaigning missionary's sermon are primarily the supporters or potential supporters of his mission work. Although the entire congregation will hear the sermon, the campaigning missionary must convince the proverbial breadwinners of the community, be they men or women, that his work is a religiously sound and necessary work which should be supported in the future. Whether or not his sermon appeals to those without financial means or power within the organization is of less consequence.

Ends

The expected outcome of the speech event for the audience is that it will fill the worship service's requirement for a sermon and it will inform the community of how its money was spent or will be spent in doing the Lord's work in the foreign land. Furthermore, the speaker is expected to report on what areas of the mission work could use more money:

"One of the things that I wanted to share with you was simply the great need there [in Africa]" (Tony, Africa),
on other avenues that could be cultivated to more effectively preach the gospel, and on how many people were baptized. Finally, the sermon is expected to be uplifting for the
community. This expectation is revealed in a secondary transcript by the summary comments of the regular preacher who offered some concluding remarks after a number of young and old men had talked to their home congregation (the Church of Christ in Belton, Texas) about their summer mission trip to Mexico. His comments reveal that, even though these campaigners primarily talked about what they did all day during the mission trip (even mentioning at one point that a man "gave about a fifteen or twenty minute lesson and [the speaker himself] thought it was kinda boring 'cause [the speaker] couldn't understand it" (Jeff, Mexico)), the audience heard what it had expected to hear:

"And certainly some light has gone to Aquilas and to La Pesque, and we rejoice that the light of Christ has been preached and is being preached there and people have seen that light and their lives have been changed as they have responded to Jesus. It's thrilling to know how important this is to them, as these people have returned and told of what has happened to them. And as they have shared their stories with us it seems to me they have brought back some light for us as well" (Joe, local preacher at Belton, Texas).

The goal of the sermon from the campaigning missionary's point of view is to convince the community members with the appropriate financial means that he should continue to be funded on future mission trips or the work in which he participated should continue to be funded whether or not he goes back. The campaigner achieves this goal by making the community feel strongly connected with the mission work. As a campaigning missionary in one of the secondary sources of this study's data set said, "After every trip within the church we'd visit with the congregation about the work that went on...and I think reports that we've brought back make the people feel more a part of the work over there" (Beecher, Africa). The goal of the sermon for the audience is to have explicitly expressed its own divinely-required participation in the mission trip which took place through its financial contributions. Since the entire community did not or could not directly participate in the
mission trip, it too wants its share of the campaign's success acknowledged so that it will know that it has attempted to fulfill Christ's Great Commission as best it could.

Act Sequences

The sequencing of the campaigning missionary's sermon delivered in this context does not seem to follow any sort of regularity. Although the speech event contains patterned speech acts, they do not appear to occur in any particular order. The reason for this is likely to be found in the fact that most campaigning missionaries are not professional speakers. They have undoubtedly observed a number of other sermons from the pulpit but they have delivered very few of them themselves. Their amateur status, then, does not commit them to a highly routinized speech act sequencing, and although the form of the speech event is recognized as a sermon, it is formatted in a non-binding progression.

The content of the campaigning missionary's sermon delivered in this context is much more predictable however. The personal experience narrative and the various other speech acts which are interspersed around this narrative repeatedly comment, for instance, on the importance of the community in the campaigning missionary's life and his work in the mission field. This is illustrated in this excerpt from the representative sermon in Appendix A:

"So good to see all of you. I'm telling you our heart is really part of Snyder....and more than anything else it's just a blessing for us to come back and share what's on our heart" (Tony, Africa).

The campaigning missionary, as can be seen in this excerpt, also attempts to endear the foreign people he worked with to the community so that the home community will feel some connection to the foreigners:

"I'm sure of you have heard about some of the things going on in Nairobi. They've have the Somalian refugees and all, but these people, this
congregation, this Eastly Church of Christ in Nairobi that we worked with...is a very growing congregation. They cannot find enough people to do all the work. The thing that, I guess, I want to talk to you about today is that more than anything else the people in Kenya touched our hearts" (Tony, Africa).

The campaigning missionaries also relate in detail the religious activities involved with the experience, once again to affirm the community's role in the mission experience. For instance, although the representative sermon states that the largest part of the mission trip was taken up in teaching a basketball camp, the experience of testifying in the Mathari Valley, which took place in one afternoon, comprises a sizable portion (almost 10%) of the section of the sermon dealing with the time spent in Africa. Finally, the sermon often ends with the campaigning missionary's final statement of his close relationship to the community by requesting from it additional or future support as seen in this selection from the representative sermon:

"Well, to make a long story short, Janice and I weren't sure if we were going to be able to do it [go on a future mission trip] and they said we really need you to do this and a couple of congregations said we'd like to support you in doing this so that's kind of what triggered it. We'd said we'd like to talk to some people about helping us get funds. All we're really doing now is trying to—if people that want to help get us back over there. We are really raising money for our airfare and our food for about fifteen days is all we're trying to do" (Tony, Africa).

This content of this sermon will be formalized into Speech Acts in the section below entitled Genres.
Key

The campaigning missionary's sermon is generally delivered in a very heartfelt or sincere tone. It is not unusual for the missionary to break into tears during parts of his talk, nor is it unusual for him to mention how hard it is for him to discuss the experience:

"I guess I get a little more emotional in my old age, but you know, it's like my parents know they're at the last part of their life...and they want their children to share in their roots and history...they want to take us back. It really touched me. It was really tough. I really had some emotions through that" (Tony, Africa).

Additionally, however, it is not considered inappropriate for the campaigning missionary to make jokes as long as they are recognized as such by his audience:

"You know, I am a pretty big guy and I wasn't ever really frightened...but one of the [Africans] said, 'You know, most of the Kenyans think that all white men are good fighters, and so they're probably not going to bother you plus you're a very big man, but if they do come after you there will be many of them and they will have weapons.' Well, that didn't do a whole lot to make me feel better. [Laughter from audience]" (Tony, Africa).

Instrumentalities

The primary channel for the campaigning missionary's sermon is speaking. Occasionally, however, as can be seen in the representative sermon, the campaigning missionary will bring slides or photographs of his experience to show to the congregation either during or after the sermon:

"But as much as anything take some time to go back and look at some old photos. We did get to go out and see some of the country" (Tony, Africa).
The presentation of the sermon is given in a register that grounds the campaigning missionary into the community. It is full of colloquial phrases like "ya'll've" meaning "you have all" and "you know" and "I just." It can also be recognized in phrases like:

"I'm trying to tell you honest. That's really in my heart... Now I'm just sharing my heart now" (Tony, Africa).

This register succeeds in minimizing the community's perceived distance between the campaigning missionary and itself. The usual preacher of the congregation, of course, typically heightens this distance and his separation by talking in a register that is much more sophisticated than that of his congregation and is no doubt influenced by the hyper-proper style of the King James version of the Bible. But since the campaigning missionary is intent on establishing common ground between himself and the community, he uses a more informal register for the presentation of his sermon.

**Norms**

The campaigning missionary preaches his sermon from the front of the auditorium, behind a pulpit, looking out over the rest of the congregation as they sit there together, where he himself usually sits. The audience remains silent throughout the missionary's sermon, and if a baby cries or child acts up, he or she is taken out of the auditorium as quickly and inconspicuously as possible. Distractions which draw attention away from the sermon are kept at a minimum. There is no call and response, for instance, expected from the audience as can be found in many African-American churches. Moreover, the audience is not expected to have any spiritual experiences during the sermon (or during any part of the worship service) such as the entrance into an ecstatic state, a meditative trance, or the revelation of a "spiritual gift" such as speaking in tongues. These experiences are more prevalent in churches with a "charismatic" bent and are not typically found in the conservative Protestant churches such as the Church of Christ.
This behavior during the sermon, which dictates that the audience practice a uniform indistinctiveness, is echoed by the congregation's Sunday dress as well. The women of the community typically wear nice dresses (i.e. an outfit that they consider to be more costly or more beautiful than what they typically wear) and the men typically wear suits. Here again, drawing attention to oneself is considered bad taste so most of the apparel is made of neutral colors and fashioned around conservative styles. There are no special pieces of apparel required for the church service (e.g. a covering for the head), and anything resembling a special costume is looked upon as unnecessary. Ironically enough, this norm includes an obvious lack of people wearing the cross, which is a traditional and widely acknowledged symbol of Christianity, as a necklace or as a pin on their clothes.

This uniform indistinctiveness is further reflected in the song service of the Church of Christ worship service. One of the identifying characteristics of the Church of Christ worship service is its severe emphasis that no music other than the human voice be present during the worship service. Therefore, the Church of Christ sings all of its songs acapella (i.e. with voices only). This idea has extended to a prohibition of the use of acapella choirs in the church service, although a few Churches of Christ have begun allowing choirs to sing by themselves during select portions of the service.

The adherence to these norms is interpreted by the community as good form, and it is a sign of respect for the speaker and a behavioral commitment by the audience to listen to what he has to say. For the speaker, this behavioral pattern which requires him to deliver the sermon in front of the congregation is interpreted as creating the situation of an evaluative performance since the campaigning missionary can read on the faces of the congregation whether it appreciates and is attentive to his sermon or not. The audience communicates its agreement by nodding heads, and it signals disagreement by shaking heads, scowling, or coughing. Finally, this positioning of the missionary in front of the congregation reinforces
his feeling of separateness from the rest of the community and makes his efforts to ground
himself within that community all the more earnest.

The norm that is, perhaps, the single defining difference between the Church of
Christ and other Protestant groups is the Church of Christ's weekly observance and
partaking of communion. This communion is not only offered each Sunday morning (and
again on Sunday night for anyone who was absent from the morning worship service) but
everyone who has been baptized is required to participate in the weekly ritual if they hope to
receive salvation. The Church of Christ claims a biblical basis for this belief and its weekly
practice in Acts 2:42, "They devoted themselves to the apostles teaching and to the
fellowship, to the breaking of bread and to prayer," and Acts 20:7, "On the first day of the
week we came together to break bread."

Genres

A number of speech acts can be identified in the campaigning missionary's sermon.
While the amateur speaker status of the campaigner allows him to place these acts in any
order throughout the talk, the personal experience narrative generally functions as the
highlight of the performance with the other acts assuming a tangential or supporting role.

The main section of the speech event is the Personal Experience Narrative
which itself includes many predictable types of speech acts within its performance. It
describes, in a manner which is appropriate to the community, the events of the mission trip.
In particular it highlights the campaigner's initial Resistance to the opportunity for
participation in the experience:

"But we got to talking and, to be honest with you, I did not want these people
[the missionaries asking him to participate in the campaign] to come in and sit
down because I was too busy" (Tony, Africa),
and his eventual Agreement to participate:

"You know it was really amazing, it started out as one of those things that you popped off about and it became a reality. I couldn't believe that I was actually going to Africa to teach some kids from Kenya basketball. And to do a Bible study with them" (Tony, Africa).

During this Personal Experience Narrative, the campaigning missionary generally includes statements of Praise for the Foreign Congregation:

"They're [the Africans] very inquisitive. They want to know about the Word [the Bible]. They want to know about the gospel. They want to know about God's truth... And I think that when you go down into their homes you see why. When things are not good for you here on this world and you don't have a lot of worldly wealth—when you find the gospel it means something to you. These people are excited about the hope that they now have. They really, for the first time in their lives, have hope" (Tony, Africa) and

"I think that one of the things that made the biggest impression to me was—we were walking down [in the Mathari Valley] and we'd got some handbills to hand out to the parents [of the children that had participated in the basketball camp]. And we've got over a hundred of those and the people on the street see something being handed out and they rush over to get this from you. You know here in the states when someone sees something being handed out—number one, no one rushes over to get a hand out, but if they see that it is religious material they throw it down. And these were inviting them to a worship service and telling them something about the church there at Eastly. But these people prized that [handbill]. They would take it and read it
and read it and go put it up on their walls. They were very receptive to the gospel" (Tony, Africa);

a review of some of the Difficulties encountered on the trip:

"So Janice and I flew into Zurich---because of a mix-up in some times we ended up missing a place and had to spend a couple of extra days in Zurich---and I know you're thinking, 'Yeah, tough, tough, tough.' But you don't know what inflation is until you've been in Zurich... Janice loves diet cokes and they were $2.50 out of the machine...the whole time I'm worried to death because I don't know how we're going to pay for these extra days" (Tony, Africa),

"Bill Stevens decides he wants to take all these teachers and all the coaches down to one of the local restaurants. Well, the local restaurant is call the Tres Fontana and if you've ever seen these movies where you see meat, you know, with flys around it and stuff like that, that's what we're talking about here folks. I mean right across the road is a camel butchery, and they have some nice restaurants in Nairobi but not in the poor section of Nairobi, and this was a big treat for the natives. I had to make a decision, 'Am I going to eat here or am I going to say I'm not going to eat?' I thought I'd set a good example and not look like the ugly American guy that refuses to eat, so I eat. And that night I wish that I hadn't of eaten in that place, it was a bad scene...you know, it was that kind of situation" (Tony, Africa), and

"Now, I'm not saying it was always pleasant, you know, you had your open sewers between these huts you had to step over" (Tony, Africa);
the Differences between the home congregation and the local congregation:

"We came back and we realized that a lot of things that we have are not necessities, they're extravagant, extravagant things. When you ask them to draw a feast, it was real interesting, Darlene had a young man from their congregation to draw a picture of a feast and he had one bowl in front of everybody that was heaped with a porridge stuff that they called 'yugali.' It was just heaped. That was his idea. One single bowl...just heaped with 'yugali'" (Tony, Africa):

a Review of Lord's Work (i.e. the campaigner's efforts to spread the teachings of Christ and to baptize those who decide to believe and accept these teachings):

"We'd start off with a devotional in the mornings, we'd take a break for lunch, we'd come back from lunch and have about a forty-five minute Bible study. As most of you know, it's supposed to be between thirty and forty minutes, but it'd always be forty-five minutes with me" (Tony, Africa) and

"We conclude [the mission trip] by going down and visiting [the homes of the children who participated in the basketball camp]. We were given the Mathari Valley. I don't know how much you know about Kenya and in particular Nairobi, but Mathari Valley is the poorest section of Nairobi where the average age is thirteen...but we went and talked to the parents and had a great experience" (Tony, Africa);

and the Lesson Learned from the experience:

"And I looked over at Janice and [the African worship service] had the same effect on both of us. We were both crying tears. You know, for the first time in my life I really experienced that God truly is a God of all people. That it's not just here in the United States, not just here in Texas, but He's the answer
for every person in this world. And under the clouds and stars of every nation. And these people were singing with really, truly joy in their heart" (Tony, Africa) and

"One of the things that I found out is that truly God is a God of all people. And that he has a work for us to do. I think that now I see---I'd prayed two or three times in my life when things were kind of stagnant for God to send me something to really let me know what He wanted me to do. And I think He has. This [the mission work in Africa] just keeps coming up, keeps working out" (Tony, Africa).

This personal experience narrative is generally framed by Communal Praise statements for the work the community has been doing in general or in regards to the mission effort in particular:

"John's talking here in chapter 13 verse 34 and 35--I know you've read this scripture: 'A new commandment I give you; that you love one another even as I have loved you that you also love one another. But by this all men will know that you are my disciples if you have love for one another.' You know that is what Christianity is really all about... And I say that because I experienced that here in Snyder, Texas at the East Side congregation---the love...and that's what makes people want to come and be a part of something when they see each other taking care of one another and see people loving one another" (Tony, Africa) and

"It's great to be back. We love you guys, I know your love takes care of a lot of people...[the campaign experience] is a wonderful experience but more than anything else I love you [the East Side congregation]. I love the four
years we had here at East Side and the wonderful love that you've given to us" (Tony, Africa).

There is usually a Personal Anecdote, often humorous, the frames the personal experience narrative as well and whose topic is the importance of communal relations:

"But before I get into that [the personal experience narrative concerning the mission experience] I just want to tell you something that's happened to me this weekend that makes me kind of think of this congregation. We really do love you—and relationships is what it's all about... My mom asked me some while back to go down to her class reunion...I had not been back there with her, and she wanted all the children to go. I committed to go after a basketball camp, and...it was something I really didn't want to do. But this was really important to my mom...and as we got there, I don't know, there was just something that came over me as she starts telling about as she was a little girl and she use to go out by these old oak trees and she started pointing them out to us, and we start walking down to where the old home place use to be. And now my mom, you got to understand is 68 years old, my dad's 72, and she's like a kid. She's almost running. And my dad's huffing and puffing. And she's all excited about trying to find her old home place. She hasn't seen this place in 55 years...and then I began to realize, I think, that the reason this was so important to her, she wanted us to share part of her heritage...where she had come from.... And if you haven't ever done that you need to do that...and, you know, we need to share in relationships. We get so busy, I know if you're like me, you get so busy and get caught up in your world and your own immediate family you forget about your roots. You forget about people" (Tony, Africa).
The campaigning missionary also often includes **Personal Praise** statements which highlight his own work and importance in the mission experience:

"And [one of the boys the campaigner had coached] says, 'We never really thought that a coach from the United States would come and work with us poor boys from Eastley. I never could believe it when they told us that a coach would come over and work with us.' He said, 'Now we know that there really is a God. A God that is a God of all people. A God that sent us this man from the United States to work with us, to be my coach, the first coach I've ever had. To teach us the Bible, to teach us about basketball'" (Tony, Africa) and

"The missionaries that we worked with over there...they said that we really, probably had more effect on these young men, our teenagers, than anybody that's been over in a long time" (Tony, Africa).

There is always a **Bible Reading** which is related somehow to the mission experience:

"But John said it best in recording Jesus's words there in John 13. Jesus says, 'A new commandment I give you that you love one another even as I have loved you that you also love one another. By this all men will know that you are my disciples if you have love for one another...and when you think about your folks think about relationships---what Christianity is all about is built on relationships---and us showing those relationships to other people whether it's here in Snyder, Texas or in Africa" (Tony, Africa).

Additionally, the campaigning missionary might include a **Reprimand** to those who did not support the work of missionaries which would, of course, generally exclude most of the home community since they have already shown their support of the campaigning missionary:
"One of the most heart-rending things is to see, you know, the need and people receptive to the gospel and no one to talk to them. I don't know about you, but probably the thing that I think we do the most of is we don't do anything. We just kinda get in a rut on our lives and we just kinda live our lives and we stay here in very comfortable surroundings and we're very apathetic and we just come and do and come and do" (Tony, Africa).

Finally, the campaigning missionary typically closes his sermon with a Request for Future Support:

"We would love to have you help with this work; if you can't that's okay too, I understand. If you want to make out checks I'm sure James will tell you about that but you can make it out to Southern Hills Church of Christ and then they'll take care of it but be sure and note what it's for, but I assume you're gonna talk about that" (Tony, Africa) and

"It's a great work if you want to get involved in a wonderful work it's something you really could feel that you're really productive in" (Tony, Africa),

and an Invitation for everyone in the congregation who has needs to present before the community to come forward:

"I know, that we customarily sing a song, and we're gonna have this opportunity if you have any need—-and James may want to say something later on—but we'll have an invitation song if you have any needs we'll ask you to come forward as we stand and sing" (Tony, Africa).
The speech event of the campaigning missionary's sermon is made up of numerous components which interact to create a situation in which the campaigner praises the community for its support, shares with the community the success of its efforts, and endears himself and his work to the community. The appropriateness of this sermon is determined by the audience's (i.e. the community's) evaluation of the performance. Initially, the audience's evaluation is transmitted by its body language and its faces, which the campaigning missionary must continually watch as he performs his sermon. Later, the audience's evaluation of the performance occurs when it decides whether or not to support the missionary's future efforts or the work in which he participated. If the sermon was not appropriate, if the speech event did not perform competently according to the audience's interpretation, if the performance seemed threatening to the community because of the attack on its traditional beliefs or structure, then the missionary could be marginalized from the community, for he would be perceived as dangerous. The audience, of course, is aware of and sensitive to any attack on the authority of its traditional beliefs since these beliefs are perceived as guaranteeing the community of its salvation. The speaker, therefore, must be careful not to perform inappropriately by attacking the authority of the community's beliefs regardless of his transformative experience if he does not want the funding of his mission work to cease. Assuming the campaigner does threaten the authority of the community's traditional beliefs by recalling in the sermon context how this religious belief or that belief was irrelevant or invalid in the foreign community, the speaker would be viewed as an outsider to the community (i.e. one who does not have the same religious beliefs as the religious community) and all support for the campaigner would end. Furthermore, the campaigner would have an isolation imposed on him by the community members because of this perceived attack. Over time the campaigner might be able to once again work his way back into his old communal role, but he could do so only by forsaking the transformation of
the mission trip and renouncing his attacks on the authority of the religious beliefs of the Church of Christ community.
CHAPTER V
AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE
NARRATIVE AS TOLD IN INFORMAL INTERVIEWS

The informal interview context, like the Church of Christ pulpit, can be home to any number of different speech events such as reporting information or conversation. This context, then, provides examples of performers who communicate competently and those who do not. Unlike the Church of Christ pulpit, however, the interview context, as a speech situation, does not typically follow a set format since the interviewer partially guides the conversation. This apparent difficulty can be overcome by attempting to elicit natural speech in a contrived setting (Grimshaw 1989: 421). This natural speech is obtained in several different ways: by framing the interview context as a request for the personal experience narrative, which breaks down the imposed structure of a question/answer format and allows the informant to assume a posture of more natural speech; and by reminding the interviewee that the interviewer was himself a campaigning missionary so that a natural dialogue has a better chance of developing through the participants' encouragement of each other.

A comparison of the two speech events, the sermon and the informal interview, can reveal how competency and appropriateness requirements are manipulated from one context to another. If, for instance, there are no substantive differences between each context's performance, then it can be assumed that the campaigning missionary does not strategically manipulate his or her personal experience narrative in regards to causal factors such as the fear of marginalization, but if there are observable differences in the performances, then a comparative analysis can be undertaken in explication of how the campaigner manipulates the personal experience narrative in regards to the context in which it is performed.

As with the Church of Christ pulpit sermon, this study includes in Appendix B only one complete transcript of an informal interview. There were, of course, differences that
characterized every interview situation, but the representative interview seems to contain an adequate selection of the appropriate communicative possibilities and strategies that are available to Church of Christ campaigning missionaries. Additionally, the representative interview proved to be more succinct than some of the other interviews (which lasted, sometimes, for hours on end) so it therefore facilitates readability without sacrificing its completeness or its representativeness.

The representative interview occurs on a Saturday morning in Abilene, Texas. Abilene is a West Texas town of 115,000 which sees itself as agriculturally-oriented but which, in fact, has its economy sustained by the three local Christian universities (i.e. Methodist, Baptist, and Church of Christ) and other large industries (e.g. Texas Instruments). The interview was originally scheduled to take place with two female campaigning missionaries who were roommates, but one woman's father became ill so she was unable to be present. The two women who were to be interviewed were friends of the researcher's wife, and although they had all attended the same undergraduate institution together, Abilene Christian University, the informants had been little more than acquaintances of the researcher. These women had participated in a campaign with a man named Stanley Shipp who runs a year-round missionary training program in St. Louis and invites student interns to participate in summer mission experiences as well. The program is popular on the ACU (Abilene Christian University) campus and generally attracts three or four summer interns a year. The researcher and his wife were both familiar with this mission program and they knew of others who had participated in it in previous years.

Setting

The representative interview, as did every interview situation, takes place at the campaigners' home. It occurs on a Saturday morning over muffins and water around the kitchen table of a two-bedroom apartment in a neighborhood composed primarily of ACU
college students. The serving of water, like the unadorned apartment, reflects the informant's decision to concentrate less on material things and more on spiritual things. Although the researcher is dressed in slacks and a jacket, the informant is dressed in a sweatsuit. The researcher's wife is also dressed casually. The researcher takes notes on a piece of paper during the interview and tape-records the interview in its entirety.

The scene of this speech event is informed by the fact that the campaigning missionary thinks the researcher is writing a book about Church of Christ campaigning missionaries which would be available to the entire Church of Christ denomination. The researcher attempts to make clear, however, that he is merely interested in hearing about her campaign experience. Finally, the informant understands that the point of the interview is that the researcher is interested in her experience and he wants to know more about it. Additionally, she understands that the researcher might use her interview in his thesis.

Participants

The status of speaker in this speech event shifts from the researcher to his wife to the informant throughout the interview. Usually, however, the informant is the primary speaker especially when she begins to relate the personal experience narrative portion of her interview. In other interviews, when both a man and a woman were interviewed as campaigning missionaries, the man usually was the predominant speaker throughout the speech event. The audience shifted in these interviews from the researcher to his wife to the informant as well. Primarily, of course, the audience is made up of the researcher and his wife since they are typically asking the questions and waiting for the response.

All of the participants in the representative interview, Traci (the campaigning informant), Charlie (the researcher), and Cayce (the researcher's wife), are college graduates (they received their degrees from the same university) and under twenty-five. Most of the informants in the secondary interviews, it should be noted, were older than this and many of
them had not graduated from college. Traci received her bachelor's degree in Education while the researcher and his wife received their degrees in English. Traci lives and works in Abilene, where she uses her degree to teach kindergarten at a local elementary school. In college, she had been a member of the same social club as the researcher's wife, as had her roommate who was unavoidably absent. The informant, the researcher's wife informed him prior to the interview, had stopped dating her boyfriend of several years just a few days before the interview took place. She is not only sensitive to this issue, but she also has heavy on her mind the need to gather funds for a second campaigning mission trip she hopes to take to Siberia next summer.

The addressee is recognized as an equal to the addressee since both have participated in campaigning missionary experiences. This passage, from one of the secondary interviews collected for this study's data set, provides evidence of this recognition in the highlighted section:

"We'd preach there three to four hours and then they'd cook goat all this time, and their goat had everything in it the entrails and everything in there. Oh, Frankie and I had a hard time with that. Joy did a better job eating that than we did but they're offended as you know in that portion of the country unless you partake of their food. I had a terrible struggle eating all of that stuff but Joy, I guess from curiosity or something, she ate it better than Frankie or I did" (Beecher, Africa).

Unlike most addressees which the campaigning missionary is asked to tell his or her personal experience narrative to, the addressee in this context, the researcher, does not pose as a potential financial supporter of the campaigner's mission work; therefore, the campaigner should not have to worry as much about concealing the transforming experiences which could be interpreted as undermining the authority of traditional Church of Christ beliefs. The addressee does, however, pose an indirect threat to the campaigner since, if the
researcher reports the campaigning missionary's experience in an unfavorable light to the larger community, he has the power to ruin the reputation of the campaigning missionary. Therefore, the campaigner must be cautious in this context not to reveal too much of the transformative experience and jeopardize the possibility of future funding by the Church of Christ community which might feel threatened by the knowledge of his or her transformation.

Ends

The expected outcome of this interview for the audience is that it will provide data by which an ethnography of speaking can be constructed and a subsequent comparative analysis of this speech event can take place. In truth, the audience in this speech event expects to have most if not all of his questions answered concerning the campaigning missionary's experience and how this campaigner negotiated the tension created between the communal pressure to conform and the personal need to affirm her transformation when the campaigner returned to the community.

The goal of the interview from the campaigning missionary's point of view is to provide assistance for another member of the community, even as she herself has been helped financially by others in the community when she undertook the mission experience. Additionally, she uses this forum to testify about God's presence in her life, perhaps in an effort to encourage her audience to engage in more mission trips or with the more general goal of encouraging her audience to reaffirm its allegiance to the religious community. Finally, she uses the interview as a time to affirm her transformation, however guardedly, with someone who has shared a similar experience. This end, then, provides a feeling of camaraderie for both the speaker and the audience.
Act Sequences

The sequencing of the campaigning missionary's personal experience narrative delivered in this context follows a certain regularity. Inevitably, it seems, the missionaries relate their personal experience narrative in a chronological format. This procedural type of re-telling is interspersed, in no particular form or fashion, with personal anecdotes, allusions, and testimonials. The form of this speech event is recognized as an interview.

The content of the campaigning missionary's sermon delivered in this context is predictable although the informant was free to talk on any subject that he or she wished. The personal experience narrative relates the day-by-day happenings of the experience with little or no comment on the nature of the experience except for allusions placed throughout the account that typically takes the form: "It was amazing!" The personal anecdotes focus on humorous situations that the campaigning missionary encountered during her experience and were usually enjoyed more by the campaigning missionary herself than they were by her audience. Finally, the campaigner gives testimonials in the interview which focus on God's perceived involvement in the campaigner's mission experience and her life in general. This content will be formalized in the Genres section below.

Key

The campaigning missionary's interview is delivered in a variety of tones. It is not unusual for the missionary to break into tears during parts of the talk, particularly during the testimonials, nor is it unusual for there to be a mention of how hard it is to talk about the experience:

"We had a dis-orientation where we went to Trout Lodge [outside of St. Louis] and we had three days of just talking about what we had learned and we affirmed each other---we spent a whole day just affirming each other. Like, I see this in you and I've seen you grow in this way and this way. I
challenge you to continue growing and that was real emotional 'cause you get so close to those people—I mean we had shared our stories at the beginning of the summer, you know, our stories about how we came to know God and some of us had never shared that with anyone before so it was just really emotional" (Traci, France and St. Louis).

Additionally, however, the campaigning missionary will joke and break into laughter particularly when indulging in one of the personal anecdotes as shown in the following excerpt:

"I mean we heard all of these incredible testimonies over and over about how God works through hardship and suffering like [she laughs] 'Shadowlands' [a play about C.S. Lewis that was being performed on the ACU campus]"
(Traci, France and St. Louis).

Instrumentalities

The primary channel for the campaigning missionary's interview is speaking. Occasionally, however, the campaigning missionary has photographs, scrapbooks, or mementos at the interview context to show to the researcher. The register in which the interview takes place reflects the informal nature of the context, as does the vernacular dialect, as shown in this excerpt:

"And, the Harding chorus was there and they sang a lot of, um, uh, just, old style, kinda church songs—hymns! But they were all in English and the people [in France] were just like on the edge of their seats listening 'cause they had probably never heard anything like it and a lot of people were reached through that—and they had the thing where you could go sign up, ya'll've probably heard of it, where you just go and start meeting with people" (Traci, France and St. Louis).
Furthermore, this passage reflects the typically informal register of the entire community, the use of which serves to break down inhibitions between speaker and audience and affirms their joint affiliation with a single community.

**Norms**

The campaigning missionary is interviewed in the context of her own home. It is therefore appropriate for the campaigner to get up and get a drink of water, or see who is at the door, or pull muffins from the oven. In a similar fashion, it is not considered bad form for the researcher to partake of drinks or snacks during the interview, nor is it improper for him to excuse himself to the toilet. Additionally, the researcher may take notes and tape-record the interview; in fact, he is expected to. For the campaigning missionary, this behavior is interpreted as creating an informal atmosphere. The presence of more than one campaigning missionary at the interview helps foster this "safe" feeling especially through the sense of camaraderie it provides, but since the researcher records and takes notes throughout the interview the campaigner also recognizes that this interview is also important and that her performance is subject to evaluation.

**Genres**

A variety of speech acts can be included in the interview context with the campaigning missionary, although they typically fall into four general categories. Since none of the campaigners that were interviewed for this study's data set are professional speakers by trade, it is not surprising that they randomly order these speech acts throughout the conversation. Although the speech acts do not follow a strict formulaic sequencing, they generally tend to support the impetus for the interview, the personal experience narrative.

The **Personal Experience Narrative**, which serves as the core of the interview, is usually the first speech act performed and is framed by requests such as "Tell me about
your trip." It tends to be very processual in nature, describing the day-to-day activities of the campaigners, when and where the missionary experience took place, how long it lasted, and what the daily routine was:

"The first part of our summer we were in France. And we worked with a team of missionaries who were already over there...and they were doing a campaign that week and doing seminars at night and so the first part, the first week we were there we just went around--it was in Marseilles--and we went around and we just passed out flyers to the people and we just talked to the people as best as we could you know" (Traci, France and St. Louis) and

"In the afternoons we could team up with a year long intern and we would go on some things with them---like we went to a home for the battered women called the Mary Rider home and we had Bible studies there, or we went to children's hospitals, or we went to visit people in the church that were hurting, or we went to the university and had Bible studies with the international students and we'd talk to them" (Traci, France and St. Louis).

Interspersed periodically within this interview would be three other regular components. They included **Anecdotes**, which often focused on humorous aspects of the experience:

"They [the missionary intern program at St. Louis] started sending me letters about how much it was gonna cost...so I wrote letters to my church and them to anyone I think of that I had any relationship with [she laughs] at all. And I was blessed---people sent even five or ten dollars and it all added up...

Tiffany [her roommate and another campaigning missionary] didn't have all the money and when we got back to St. Louis [from France] she got all her
money in one day. And she was like, okay God, I think you want me to be here. [she laughs]" (Traci, France and St. Louis);

Testimonials, which relate the presence of God in the life of the campaigning missionary:

"What I learned though will be with me forever because, I mean, it's got me through so much you know lately—especially at the end of the summer, I mean it really got us, Tiffany and I both, I mean not St. Louis but just what we learned there you know how God reveals himself to us and just the way He's continuing to do that and adding on to what we learned then" (Traci, France and St. Louis);

and Allusions, which indirectly refer to the transformative nature of the campaign experience by hinting that something happened during the campaign that caused the missionary to be transformed:

"Part of you is saying, 'Well, I'm just going to forget all that I learned because it's too hard to change your whole life'" (Traci, France and St. Louis),

"I was comfortable with Nathan [her boyfriend] and when I came back it was hard because I would start taking about things I learned and that he didn't really understand---sometimes he thought, 'Gosh, you're so weird'" (Traci, France and St. Louis), and

"It [her return to her home community] was a lot of changing basically" (Traci, France and St. Louis).
The speech event which is the campaigning missionary's interview is made up of speech acts which are meant to inform the audience (i.e. the researcher and his wife) by way of answering the researcher's question. The appropriateness and competency of this interview is determined by the audience's evaluation of the performance. Initially, the campaigner interprets the evaluative mechanism as the researcher's note-taking by assuming that if the researcher is writing something down what was said is either wrong or right. Additionally, the researcher's body language, being watched by the campaigner, provides a mechanism for evaluation (although, it should be noted, the researcher intentionally tried to appear interested, excited, and pleased by everything the campaigner had to say). Later, the audience's evaluation of the performance occurs when a final draft of the thesis is written and the interview either receives mention in it or it is left out. Paradoxically, the campaigner both wants the interview to have been useful and important enough to be represented in the thesis and fears that publication of the interview could lead to a communal backlash against the campaigner if his or her experience is presented by the researcher in an unfavorable light. Therefore, since the final audience is ultimately unknown to the campaigner, the question of appropriateness becomes decidedly complex. If, for instance, the audience will only be the researcher, who was himself a campaigning missionary, then the campaigner could speak about the transformative nature of the experience much more freely and exactly than she could if the final audience involved a larger selection of the Church of Christ community. Since, then, the campaigner is sensitive to these complexities (she assumed, after all, that I was writing a book to be published), she speaks about the transformation more openly and differently than did the campaigner in the previous ethnography but still veiled so that the interview would appear non-threatening to the Church of Christ community. The difference in the re-counting of their experience suggests, furthermore, that the personal experience narrative is strategically manipulated by the campaigner depending on the context in which it
occurs. These strategic manipulations will be revealed and described in the following comparative analysis.
CHAPTER VI
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES OF CHURCH OF CHRIST CAMPAIGNING MISSIONARIES

Folk groups are distinguished by their involvement with tradition. This identifying characteristic, however, is comprehended by folklorists in a number of different ways: as the folk group's lore or its cultural canon, for instance. More important to this study, though, a folk group's involvement with tradition can also be viewed as a process wherein a paradigmatical pattern, which exists in the minds of the folklore performers to order reality, is transmitted informally from one generation to the next (Ben-Amos 1984). That this pattern is paradigmatic implies that it tends toward stability and regeneration rather than innovation (Kuhn 1970). This is not to say that innovation and change have no place within tradition, for in fact just the opposite is true since these forces are responsible for providing the stimulus which perpetuates the tradition. But paradigms not only provide an ordered sense of reality for the current generation, they also commit the next generation to their ordered reality by presenting it as the only or the "correct" ordering of reality. This presentation makes the paradigm very resistant, though not immune, to innovation. An involvement with tradition, then, makes folk communities reluctant to change or reluctant to welcome freely the forces of innovation into their midst. Simply stated, folk communities tend to perceive that they do the same things over and over again from one generation to the next because their traditions provide the necessary schema for interacting with their world in a meaningful way. These traditions not only establish a sense of familiarity to the forces encountered in the folk group's day-to-day existence, but they also continually reaffirm the group's self-consciously constructed identity which is presented and differentiated from other groups through the observance and application of these traditions.
This involvement with tradition is not necessarily detrimental. However, the ways in which this involvement becomes manifested occasionally has unfortunate consequences. For instance, folk groups typically discourage the forces of change and unpredictable behavior by marginalizing individuals who deviate from the group's norms, thereby placing the perceived offender on the borders of an association with their community. This marginalization, as a separation, is characterized by feelings of anomie, feelings of normlessness and powerlessness in meeting the cultural goals of a society (Maneker 1979: 13). The cultural goal of the folk community, of course, is focused on maintaining the paradigmatic pattern which identifies who the group is to itself and to others by differentiating it from others in its organization of reality. When this goal is not met, when an individual attempts to reconstruct the paradigmatic pattern of identity and reality, the community feels that it is necessary for its own preservation to respond to this innovation with marginalization and its corresponding feeling of powerlessness. It is important to note, however, that marginalization results only when the community labels the individual's innovative act as dangerous to or different from the paradigmatic pattern (Maneker 1979: 19). In other words, the behaviors of individuals are not inherently marginalizing; it is the community's perception which determines what behaviors will be marginalized. Bauman notes that

Perhaps there is a key here to the persistently documented tendency for performers to be both admired and feared—admired for their artistic skill and power and for the enhancement of experience they provide, feared because of the potential they represent for subverting and transforming the status quo. Here too may lie a reason for the equally persistent association between performers and marginality or deviance, for in the special emergent quality of performance the capacity for change may be highlighted and made manifest to the community. If change is conceived of in opposition to the conventionality of the community at large, then it is only appropriate that the agents of that
change be placed away from the center of that conventionality, on the margins of society. (Bauman 1977: 45)

The Church of Christ, as a religious folk community, is grounded in tradition and therefore is reluctant to change and to accept innovation. As such, it is particularly aware of perceived innovation in its religious structure and beliefs. It keenly guards against a potential undermining of its religious structure and beliefs for these form the core around which the community builds its sense of identity and orders its world. Although the traditional religious structure and beliefs of the community function as its paradigmatical patterning, these traditions also serve as the presumed pathway to salvation and to the transcendence of the mortal condition. Therefore, the religious structure and beliefs of the community are guarded from change because they are the community's solution to "And so, from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe/ And then, from hour to hour, we rot and rot" (Shakespeare 1980). Any perceived threat to its religious structure and beliefs will result in a marginalization which places the perpetrator on the edge of the community, an act which succeeds in stripping the innovator of his or her power and renders him or her impotent.

Individuals who were at one time non-marginalized members of a community and later find themselves marginalized or candidates for marginalization do not relish their new status. Identity, after all, is constructed in large part through socialization—one's interaction with his or her community (Maneker 1979: 30), and when this interaction is disrupted, identity becomes blurred. This blurring of identity is resolved, in its most extreme cases, through suicide (Maneker 1979: 13). The marginalized state, therefore, is avoided at all cost by the non-marginalized community member. Even in the case of a very internal and personal religious experience, individuals will be concerned with the opinions of others in their religious community concerning their experience, for they realize that they could be marginalized if the community perceives their experience as a threat to its paradigmatic pattern (Landsmen 1989: 141). At times, however, marginality is unavoidable, so every culture,
community, and folk group has its marginalized members. When it does appear to be avoidable, individuals can choose either conformity to the paradigmatic pattern of the larger community or attempt to negotiate a path between innovation and conformity by manipulating the community's codes of appropriateness and normalcy.

Church of Christ campaigning missionaries manipulate these codes of appropriateness in response to communal pressure for them to resume their old identity and the paradigmatic pattern it respected even though they have a new identity which has been informed by the transformative nature of the mission experience and is suspicious of some aspect of the community's traditional beliefs. This code of appropriateness must be manipulated because the missionaries do not want to present their experience or their transformation as a threat to the community. One might question why the campaigners, if they fear marginality, do not simply deny the transformative experience of the rite of passage and maintain the established beliefs with which they were brought up. Some campaigners, of course, do just that, but—as cognitive dissonance theory states—"the degree to which individuals have suffered for an experience is directly related to the value they place on that experience.... The higher the price paid, the more likely are subjects to insist that it was worthwhile" (Myerhoff 1982: 121). Since the campaigners do not desire marginalization nor the denial of their transformation, they employ strategies in their communication about the mission experience which minimizes the face-threatening aspect of their discourse; that is, the campaigning missionaries try to minimize the community's perception that they are challenging the seemingly indisputable authority of its established religious structure and beliefs. That campaigning missionaries must manipulate the situation verbally rather than behaviorally is not surprising since their transformed identity is most easily revealed in the verbal response to statements such as, "Tell me about your trip."

Campaigning missionaries strategically manipulate the situations in which they talk about their transformative experience to minimize the perceived attack on the community's
face or the attack on its self-esteem—which the community would recognize as the campaigner's proposal that the community has imposed an incorrect order on the world—and the imposition on it—which the community would recognize as the proposal that it discard its familiar schema and adopt a new and strange one. For instance, one campaigning missionary from this study's data set did not say to the congregation which supported his mission trip, "I continued the religious teaching with the Lombardis [Indian gypsies] which was begun by Catholic missionaries," although, in fact, he did just that, but he said instead, "In my work with the Lombardis, I continued the process of preaching the gospel to them" (Don, India). Campaigners concentrate on verbally minimizing these threats to the other community members' face because they want their own face to be maintained (i.e. they do not want to be imposed upon and have their self-esteem shattered by being marginalized). Speakers must concentrate on their audience's face if they want their own face to be maintained since face wants can only be reciprocally satisfied by others. An example of the campaigner's attentiveness to the audience's face can be seen in the following excerpt from this study's data set:

"The first thing that I would like to do is to express thanks, thanks to you as a congregation for your prayers... I do appreciate the support and interest of the staff and of the mission committee and of the elders not only for their permission but for their encouragement for this ministry" (Richard, former Yugoslavia).

In this example, of course, the campaigner supports the community's self-esteem by explicitly acknowledging its needed support, and in doing so he also minimizes the imposition on its time and its checkbook. If he was successful, which he was, the audience will give him its full attention during the worship service and later will provide him with additional financial support.
Brown and Levinson (1987) have developed an equation that determines which of several strategies will be used by a speaker to minimize the face-threatening potential of his or her communication. This equation, as presented earlier in chapter III, factors in several contextual or situational variables in which the communication is performed and the perceived seriousness of the face-threatening act. As demonstrated above, the campaigning missionary who challenges the community's established religious beliefs or attempts to modify these beliefs is committing a very serious face-threatening act when this action occurs in the context of the Church of Christ worship service since this act is perceived as inhibiting the community's efforts to transcend their mortal condition. This type of face-threatening act would be considered much more of an imposition than, say, asking someone to fix a sick family a warm meal, and it therefore must be handled more delicately. It is considered additionally face threatening when one considers the contextual variables in which the communication is delivered. Primary among these variables is the fact that during the worship service the campaigner must tell his personal experience narrative before the entire congregation. Therefore, the power relationship between the speaker and the audience is unequally weighted because the community appears as a large, unified body which has sole authority over whether to continue the support of the campaigner's work or not. Additionally, the vast social distance between speaker and audience creates a situation in which the face-threatening act, the telling of the mission experience, is potentially greater than it would be if a non-campaigning member was speaking from the pulpit. This social distance is created by the campaigner's participation in a work that is considered to be a requirement of all Christians (because of Christ's command) and is therefore recognized as a worthy pursuit, but it is undertaken in actuality by few. Based on these variables, which determine that the face-threatening act (i.e. the campaigner's personal experience narrative) is potentially very serious, the speaker will choose, according to Brown and Levinson's model, a communicative strategy that will aid in minimizing the seriousness of the face-threatening act.
Remember that the greater the seriousness of the act the higher-numbered communicative strategy chosen. Since a calculation of Brown and Levinson's relevant variables suggests that the seriousness of this act is extremely high, the speaker would choose the highest numbered communicative strategy. This strategy would be to simply not do the act (Strategy #5); that is, the campaigner would not perform the personal experience narrative in such a way as to reveal the experience's transformative nature that led the campaigner to be suspicious of some aspect of the community's religious beliefs or structure.

This is exactly what happens when the Church of Christ campaigning missionary tells his personal experience narrative in a sermon from the pulpit; he does not commit the face-threatening act, he does not attempt to undermine the community's certainty regarding the soundness of its traditional religious beliefs or his own acceptance of and allegiance to these beliefs. He never mentions in the course of his sermon how he personally has been transformed by the mission experience into someone who no longer accepts without question some of the tenets of the denomination. Instead, he endears himself and his work to the congregation, and in doing so he affirms that his identity within the community is as secure as it was before he left and he thereby escapes marginalization. He achieves these ends through a number of specific means. For instance, he endears himself to the community by praising it for its financial and spiritual support which led to the success of his mission effort:

"Some of you in this congregation have been involved with me [and his mission work] for a long time for which I am deeply grateful—I cannot begin to express to you the change that's made in my personal life and how much impact that you've had on people on the other side of the world...you were the ones who sacrificially gave—sometimes [the foreign congregation] asked for large sums of money and you gave large sums of money. And I again want to reiterate how thankful they are and I am for your having done that."

(Don, India).
See lines 74-78 and 372-375 in Appendix A for further examples. This endearment is also achieved by telling personal anecdotes that highlight and emphasize the campaigner's intimate relationship with the community:

"I'm shocked [about the remodeling that has gone on in the church auditorium], this is quite a change. I know that my wife and I are changing too. As you can see I've got glasses these days---that's what happens to you when you get old. You have to start wearing glasses. One morning I wake up and I can't read and I think its the light. I change the light and I still can't read and I have to go get glasses. But this is a really welcome change. I love this auditorium. Ya'll have done a great job. So good to see all of you. I'm telling you our heart is really part of Snyder" (Tony, Africa).

He is further endeared to the community by praising the part he played in the mission experience which fulfills the community's role in Christ's commission:

"And they said that we [the campaigning missionary and his wife] really had more effect on these young men, our teenagers [African], then anybody that's been over [to Africa] in a long time. They said [the African teenagers] expect a preacher to talk about Christ but when they see a sports figure doing it it really makes an impact" (Tony, Africa).

See lines 266-273 in Appendix A for further examples. More indirectly, but with no less effectiveness, the campaigner endears himself to his audience by presenting himself as one who, like the rest of the community, shrinks at the thought of participating in a mission experience. This is evidenced by the campaigner's recollection of his initial resistance towards the opportunity to participate in the mission experience:

"And like some of you, you don't have time for someone and they [the missionaries asking him to participate] come in and one of the things that you learn in priority management is that you stand by the door to talk to someone.
You don't let them come in the office and sit down, because once they sit
down it takes a blast of dynamite to get them out of there. Well, I made a
mistake. I let them come in and sit down in my office" (Tony, Africa).

He is even more endeared to the community, then, when he eventually agrees to go:

"When Alan told me it was going to take seven days vacation to go to Aquilas
this year I said, 'Golly, seven days---you know, vacation time is a premium,'
but we worked through that and I'm not sure if my attitude was right when
we left. I had been on vacation the week before I left and then I went back to
work for three days and it seemed that all I did those three days was put out
fires at work. I'm sure some of you can relate to that, and the stress was built
up a little bit" (Rodney, Mexico).

See lines 116-127 in Appendix A for further examples. The campaigners account of the
difficulties he encountered throughout the experience wins his experience the hearts of the
community since, after all, he endured these troubles for the community as its representative:

"I got to drive going down there [to the mission site in Mexico]. It's six
hundred and seventy miles one way, the last two hours of the trip you travel
about twenty miles and it's all on mountain road, dirt road, one lane road.
Some places were just barely wide enough to get the van through. And I
don't know if any of you have ever driven in Mexico but it's a real trip. The
law of the road in Mexico is the biggest vehicle wins. So there were three
vans with trailers and a pick-up in our caravan. We all had CBs so on these
mountain curves the front truck would pass a slow truck going up and then
he'd radio to us and say, 'On blind faith you guys come on,' so we'd all start
out around a blind curve passing trucks" (Rodney, Mexico).

See lines 153-169, 182-198, 201-217, 292-293, and 303-307 in Appendix A for further
examples. The campaigners review of his participation in the Lord's work endear him to the
community as well because this is interpreted by the community as an affirmation that the campaigner shared the community's traditional religious beliefs with the foreign others:

"I was studying [with the African teenagers] from the book of Daniel, and the interesting thing is that many of the kids would bring their Bibles. They would sit there for forty-five minutes and listen really attentive. And then after one of the first times, I know this caught our attention, one of the young men had a King James version [of the Bible] and he came up and he started asking why some of the words in his Bible was different from mine. And I sat down, and that was typical—they'd ask question. They're very inquisitive. They want to know about the Word. They want to know about the gospel. They want to know about God's truth. Probably the most receptive hearts I've spoken to" (Tony, Africa).

See lines 342-347 in Appendix A for further examples. The community is also reassured that the campaigner still associates himself with it and thinks as it does by his correlation of the mission experience to the community's sacred book, the Bible:

"And I thought about how that [the mission experience] related in my life and how important it was to do God's will and it reminded me of what Solomon says in Ecclesiastes, that the whole duty of man is to fear God and keep his commandments" (Rodney, Mexico).

Likewise, the campaigner's presentation of the lesson learned from the mission experience does not necessarily endear him to the community but the community does interpret it as an affirmation that the speaker feels close enough to the audience that he wants it to share in his revelations and insights:

"One of the things that really struck me as I took this trip over there is to see the people in these countries and to see how they responded to the truth of God's word and to realize that whether it's that country or whether it's the
United States of America or wherever it is it's the same God, it's the same
gospel, it's the same Jesus, God's son, and it's the same question" (Richard,
former Yugoslavia).

See lines 169-174, 317-319, and 360-364 in Appendix A for further examples. In essence,
then, these examples show that the campaigner effectively re-establishes his previous
association to and identity within the community in the worship service context by
minimizing his face-threatening act, thereby securing the possibility for future support.

Since identity is an "oppositional process" which creates self through the
identification of other (Dundes 1984), the campaigner must also establish the Other which he
can differentiate himself and the community from. He does this, and in doing so further
grounds himself within the community, by oppositionally setting up the differences between
himself—as a member of the community—and the Others to whom he preached:

"One of the things I learned from them [the foreign congregation] is the word
'siesta.' It seems like they have nothing to do all day, all they have to do is
make sure their crops are all right. They might just sit around and have fun
with each other. They'll talk or maybe sleep" (Jeff, Mexico).

See lines 188-195, 289-290, and 319-325 in Appendix A for further examples. This
establishes a difference between the campaigner and the community as one unified group and
the foreign community as a second group. The campaigner, however, does not want the
differences between the home community and the foreign community to become too great,
however, or the home community might recognize their difference as a threat and stop all
funding for the religious work. So, as seen in the following examples, the campaigner
allows the foreign community to be seen as Other but he also tries to praise them for their
efforts in subscribing to the religious beliefs of the home community:

"One of the things that I was impressed with is the dedication they [the
foreign community] have to church and to God. A lot of the people would
walk for three maybe four hours just to get to church. And on Wednesday, instead of having church in the evening they'd have it at two o'clock in the afternoon because they had to make time for people to walk and get there and get back home before it got dark" (Jeff, Mexico) and

"One of the things that struck me as I came back from over there having viewed the lives of the members of the church, many of them fairly recently converted, was how serious they were about their commitment to Christ and their Christian life even in the face of great difficulty, even in not having things we would consider essential" (Richard, former Yugoslavia).

The campaigner repeatedly stresses his association with the Church of Christ community in this context so that his audience will interpret his sermon as non-threatening and therefore appropriate to the context and worthy of its attention and sympathy (Stahl 1977: 12). The success which the missionary achieves through his use of this strategy is revealed by the fact that he is able to reprimand the community for not being more involved (i.e. for not contributing more money) without being punished for this attack against it:

"Probably the thing that we do the most of is we don't do anything. We just get in a rut in our lives and we stay here in very comfortable surrounding and we're apathetic and we just want to come and do and come and do" (Tony, Africa).

He is able to perform this act, and not have it interpreted as a serious face-threatening act, because he has already shown that he is part of the "we" which he refers to, a member of the community, and he thereby softens the implications of the threat. Furthermore, the campaigner's earlier statements of praise for the congregation's work might suggest to it that it is not part of the "we" he refers to that does nothing.
This performance, then, of the personal experience narrative is a folkloric performance since it is more concerned with transmitting and representing traditional attitudes than engaging in innovative acts (Stahl 1977: 17) which would put the performer at odds against his community and provide evidence for it to view him as Other and as a candidate for marginalization. Wilson, likewise, has found in his study of Mormon missionaries that the oral performances of his target community functions in a similar way. He states that Mormon missionaries use folklore "to cope with the pressures resulting from submitting to the way of life and to the sometimes nagging rules prescribed by mission authorities" (1981: 12). Lawless encounters the same type of situation in her study of women in the Pentecostal church. She notes that certain individuals of her target group "who wish to become ministers must rescript their lives to fit the acceptable 'women preacher' life script" (1991: 61). In all of these situations, the performers are continually aware of the power which their performances threaten and which therefore threaten them, and they use traditional norms and narratives to help shield themselves from this power's backlash by translating their experience, or their lives, into acceptable or appropriate presentations.

This account of the campaigner's performance seems to provide evidence that the performers deal in deceptions and falsifications, and to some extent that is true, but they engage in these manipulations of the truth no more than anyone else does when attempting to tell a story or relate an experience. The African-American oral sermon, for instance, which is presented as a spontaneous sermon, has been shown to be formulaic (Rosenberg 1970), but it is cast in its disguise of spontaneity because that is considered appropriate and perhaps more meaningful. Again, in the verbal traditions of African-American women, narratives are manipulated in light of the situation in which they are being told (Abrahams 1975). Elsewhere it has been reported that the ethnography of Africa was originally conducted by missionaries who interpreted their experience through the Romantic literary tradition. Their audience was the church, and their appeal focused on the imagination. Their intention, of
course, was to attract an audience for a new place, new peoples, and new problems. An outsider might interpret their rendering of reality as false and inappropriate, but they undoubtedly would not (Thornton 1983). Stahl notes, in explanation, that "the personal narrative always involves some manipulation of the truth of the experience. Such manipulation involves a degree of falsification, but generally only so much as to produce appropriate story material" (1989: 18). Stahl assumes, therefore, that performers manipulate the recollection of experience to translate it into a tellable form. But equally important as this desire to produce a good story is the fact that "the present shapes the view of the past" (Lockwood 1977: 98). In particular, in the context of the Church of Christ campaigning missionary's sermon, this refers to the audience's representation as an imposing force to the speaker from their position in the pews out before him which help to shape the manipulated and acceptable version of the campaigner's personal experience. Additionally, the campaigner would have no second thoughts about manipulating his narrative into an appropriate story for the situation since storytelling itself has long been a rhetorical strategy of preachers (Lischer 1984). Preachers have used storytelling—the deliberate falsification and presentation of experience—to appear less authoritative and less manipulative to their audiences. This emphasis in the campaigner's situation towards softening his authoritative voice, especially through his use of a vernacular dialect and informal register, ultimately serves to ground the campaigner's identity within that of the larger community's even more. Ironically, though, this manipulation of the truth ultimately "results in a thickening of the veil between the pulpit and the pew" (Lischer 1984: 29-30) which accounts, in some measure, for the perpetuation of the tension which campaigning missionaries feel upon their return home from the mission experience. Lawless, commenting on a similar situation with women in the Pentecostal church, says that

on the one hand, rescripting one's life to fit the expectations of the group and

'authenticate' the call from God to preach is certainly a calculated narrative
strategy that ought to be applauded, for it certainly works to gain access to the pulpit. On the other hand, we must acknowledge the discomforting effect of having to structure one's life narrative to fit an acceptable pattern (and in the process abandon the reality of what actually happened). (1991: 72)

Since Church of Christ missionaries never relate the transformative nature of their mission experiences to the community because of their well-founded fear of the consequences which would follow their admittance that they are suspicious of the community's traditional beliefs, they encourage the community's ongoing lack of recognition of the campaigning mission experience as a rite of passage and perpetuate this non-recognition by never challenging it. Each generation of campaigners succeeds, then, probably unintentionally, in consigning future campaigning missionaries to the same tension between communal demands and personal need that they had to negotiate.

Regardless of how others view the campaigner's manipulation of the re-telling of his experience, a performer will continue to act appropriately when the situation demands it if his or her goal is to not be marginalized. Campaigning missionaries, likewise, act appropriately in the context of the Church of Christ worship service by not presenting as one of their main topics the nature or the result of their transformative experience. This is not to suggest that they never hint at their new identity within the course of their sermon, for they do. They discuss this transformation, however, so that it is not obvious to their audience and therefore not face-threatening. The representative sermon in Appendix A, for instance, refers to the campaigner's transformation at least four times, but it does so in ways that relegate the statements to a bottom or lower position in the hierarchy of propositions which the audience will be most likely to remember (Brown and Yule 1983: 107). In lines 1-3 of Appendix A, for example, the campaigner states that he and his wife have changed. The next few lines suggest to the audience that this change is similar to the physical renovations it has performed to its church building, and the campaigner seems to verify this interpretation by calling
attention to the fact that he now wears glasses. This change does not correspond to the topic of "Renovations," however, if one considers the subsequent references to the change the campaigner has undergone. Lines 317-325 suggest that the campaigner's change has been more than just something superficial like his decision to start to wear glasses. These lines intimate that the campaigner came to some sort of new understanding in the course of his experience, although once again he disguises this statement about his transformation under the topic of "The Foreign Community Has a Great Need." The third reference to his transformation, in lines 355-368, will be remembered by his audience as supporting the propositional topic of this section of the sermon, "We All Must Get Involved in Mission Work." A close analysis, however, seems to indicate that this statement, re-inforced by the other references, suggests that the campaigner has undergone a fundamental change over the course of his trip from who he was before he left for the trip. Finally, in lines 380-389, the campaigner makes his boldest statement yet about his transformation. It is bold because it does not seem to support the current topic, "Africa Can Be Dangerous." He discusses from lines 383-387 the wild animals he saw and took pictures of including the lions that could eat you up and the elephants that could trample you. Then, suddenly, he remarks that the trip was a "wonderful experience." Obviously the campaigner is not referring in this statement to the opportunity for a rather gruesome death by a wild beast. The "wonderful experience" must refer to something else that happened to the campaigner that, coupled with the other references just noted, can only be understood as a reference to his transformation and realization that alternate paradigmatic patterns for ordering the world are as equally viable as the Church of Christ's pattern. The campaigner does not let this statement stand as a new propositional topic, however, for his employment of the qualifier "but" and his exaggerated statement "more than anything else" provides his audience with a hierarchically higher ranking proposition to take home: "I love you." And once again the campaigning missionary has affirmed his association with the community and he thereby endears himself to it.
What the campaigner is referring to in these four references can only be addressed generally since every campaigner's experience causes him or her to question different aspects of the traditional beliefs of the Church of Christ community. So generally speaking, one can assume that the campaigner is alluding to specific references in which he was led to doubt the seemingly indisputable authority of his religious community's paradigmatical patterning. One can assume this because the campaigner admits he has changed from who he was before. And before he was a regular Church of Christ member. One can assume more specifically, however, that by either refusing to speak about the transformative experience of the campaign or by diminishing its importance by referring to it under a different topic, the sermon loses most of its face-threatening aspects. This is evidenced by the lower-numbered communicative strategy (Strategy #2) which the campaigner repeatedly employs in the presentation of his narrative. Brown and Levinson (1987) call this communicative strategy "positive politeness," and they note that it attempts to create or affirm the solidarity among speaker and audience. And, in fact, it has been shown that this is exactly what the campaigning missionary does.

Evidence has been provided, then, that campaigning missionaries, upon the return to their community, feel a tension resulting from the community's pressure for a conformity to the old communal identities which respected the traditional paradigmatic patterning and their own desire to affirm their new, transformed identity which makes them suspect of some aspect of the Church of Christ's paradigmatic patterning. The community exerts this pressure since it does not recognize that the mission experience functions as a rite of passage and is therefore transformative. The campaigner must relate the mission experience before the community since it is interested in knowing the part it has played in Christ's command and so that he can use the occasion to solicit additional support for future mission efforts. Because of the community's vastly greater power over the individual campaigner, the missionary employs strategies in his telling of the experience so that his performance will be
considered appropriate by the community. These strategies involve not engaging in the massively serious face-threatening act of telling about the transformative nature of the experience and in emphasizing the campaigner's intimate relationship with the community through the endearing of himself and his work to the community. Although this presentation of the experience perpetuates the community's misunderstanding about the transformative nature of the mission experience, it allows the campaigner to escape possible marginalization from the community and it preserves the possibility of future support.

While my analysis has led to the validation and elaboration of a phenomenon I had previously encountered in the Church of Christ worship service, I was admittedly disheartened and shocked when I did not encounter in my early fieldwork interviews campaigning missionaries speaking openly to each other in informal contexts about the transformative nature of their experience. I was shocked because I remembered--at least I thought I remembered--having done that in my own experience. I remembered, for example, laughing with my fellow campaigners when we got home about the Hindu dances the congregation in India performed for us one night. No doubt, we joked, the home community would have classified us as heretics had they known (for dancing remains an activity which is frowned upon if not prohibited by many Church of Christ congregations). My wife, who accompanied me during most of the interviews, remarked that she did not hear the campaigning missionaries saying what was really transformative about their experience either; although, she added as an after-thought, she thought could hear them alluding to what must have been the transformative nature of their experience. A close analysis of the interview transcripts revealed just that. And in the course of carefully reading the transcripts of other missionaries' accounts of their experiences I discovered that my memory was not wrong, it was just confused, for the interviewees in my data set coded their conversations about their transformations into forms which could only be recognized by someone who shared the same intimacy with the experience as they did.
The campaigning missionary, in the Church of Christ worship service context mentioned above, uses communicative strategies to minimize the face-threatening act (e.g. he does not discuss the transformative nature of the mission experience) and to affirm his affiliation with the community (i.e. Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategy) so that he will not be marginalized nor will he jeopardize the support of his mission work. It was a mistake on my part to assume that in the informal interview context the campaigning missionary would not also use strategies to protect him or herself from potential marginalization by the community because of his or her negative representation in my thesis. I assumed these strategies would be absent, of course, because I thought that is what I had remembered taking place. There are a number of factors which undoubtedly influenced the campaigner's use of communicative strategies. As just noted, one of the strongest influences was the possibility that the campaigner's conversation could appear before the community one day through the presentational possibilities of this thesis. Additionally, the presence of my wife at the interview, as a non-campaigning member of the community, was no doubt regarded by the campaigner as a potential threat since she had not gone through the rite of passage herself and therefore was not a member of the secret society. The employment of communicative strategies would therefore appear necessary to the campaigner. Finally, and most importantly, I have changed. My earlier remembrances of campaigners sitting around and talking about their transformation were only perceived as being open because of my intimate association with the mission work and experience. Even then, I feel sure now, we spoke to each other using communicative strategies. We must have done so because each of us were not only campaigners but we were also representatives of the Church of Christ community and as campaigners we knew that the community posed a threat to us because of the threat we posed to it as people who were suspect of some aspect of the community's traditional beliefs. Then, of course, I could listen past the strategies to what my fellow campaigner's, including myself, were really saying. Now, however, as the years have
passed and I have repeatedly repressed the transformative experiences I had because of my continual attempts to ground myself in the Church of Christ community and endear myself to it so that support of the mission effort in India would continue, I have become more susceptible to the strategies that today's campaigners are using. In short, I have strategically used conformity to the community's traditional norms to such an extent that I have become far removed from the transformative nature of even my own mission experience. In fact, until I started working intently with this project I had lost most of my specific recollections of my transformation. The campaigning missionary in the representative interview, ironically enough, is scared of the same thing happening to her, the admittance of which helped me to realize why I had forgotten or repressed so much and was therefore slow to understand her allusions to the transformative nature of her experience:

"If you don't share what you've learned then you're going to lose it. You know, if you don't continue and just add on to what you know you're gonna lose it like anything. So that really scares me" (Traci, France and St. Louis).

Recognizing the threat of those factors mentioned above, then, the campaigning missionaries in this study's data set discussed their experience with me using a communicative strategy that--since the maintenance of face is reciprocal--would not seem face-threatening to me, trusting that I, in turn, would maintain their face when the thesis was written. Unlike the worship service context discussed above, however, the seriousness of their face-threatening act (i.e. their personal experience narrative which recounts the transformative experience of the campaign experience that might undermine the authority of the traditional beliefs of the Church of Christ) was not perceived as being unbearably great. Since the interview was conducted between the campaigning missionary, the researcher, and the researcher's wife, the campaigner did not feel as great a power difference between his or herself and the audience as the campaigner did in the worship service context when the entire community presented itself to the campaigner as a united front. My wife and I were a much
weaker audience than the larger religious congregation. Secondly, having been a campaigning missionary myself the social distance between the speaker and the audience was shortened. At odds against these factors, and increasing Brown and Levinson's calculation from the equation which determines the seriousness of the face-threatening act, was the fact that the campaigner's personal experience narrative was being put in a thesis that presumably could be read by the community, and this was still a massive imposition on the campaigner since this action could highlight the differences between the campaigning missionary and the Church of Christ community by making explicit the campaigner's transformation. Since the final calculation of the seriousness of the face-threatening act is potentially great, but not quite as great as it was in the worship service context, a high-numbered communicative strategy (Strategy #4) was be employed for the performance of the personal experience narrative. Brown and Levinson have labeled this strategy "doing the face-threatening act off record." It is characterized by the speaker's presentation of only a hint "as to what a speaker wants or means to communicate, without doing so directly, so that the meaning is to some degree negotiable" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 69).

Stahl has observed that this communicative strategy is, to some extent, characteristic of all personal experience narratives whether told by a campaigning missionary or not. The reason people do this, she maintains, is that "[w]hen a person tells a personal narrative, he or she invites someone to know him, to know her, intimately, personally. Such a person is very vulnerable; he may be repulsed or misunderstood. Like physically intimate encounters, such verbal encounters carry the risk of rejection along with the promise of pleasure" (1989: x). It is a communicative strategy which protects the performer, while at the same time allowing the performer to invite the audience to share in his or her reality. This invitation takes place, and the strategy is manifested, through the use of allusions, for allusions do not commit the performer to going on record with transformative details of the personal experience narrative; instead, allusions permit the performer to refer to the transformation
indirectly and therefore be protected. The fact that the campaigning missionary has been transformed and this transformation cost the campaigner much makes the campaigner's affirmation of the transformation necessary.

This performance is strategically safe since it does not explicitly present a challenge to the community's authority; however, it also allows the performer to reveal his or her identity by enabling audience members who have undergone a similar experience to discover this identity through their comprehension of the allusion. The meaning of the allusion, Stahl explains, "is 'housed' in the listeners' usually unspoken interpretations of the text" (1989: 6). The listener who has not undergone the rite of passage cannot interpret the allusions as referring to the transformation of the campaigner; the listener who has participated in a mission experience which served as a rite of passage, however, understands the transformative nature of the experience although he or she may not understand specifically to those events the allusions refer to. My wife, for instance, heard allusions such as these (highlighted) in the interview context:

"My first mission trip was to Wisconsin. And I got quite awakened"  
(Beecher, Africa);

"Part of you is saying, well I'm just going to forget all that I learned because it's too hard to change your whole life" (Traci, France and St. Louis);

"I think that if you can work in these campaigns, and of course you've been in campaigns and you know what it'll do for you whenever you really get involved, and it makes you more conscious when you're back home" (Beecher, Africa).
"And it's not really a glamorous job [the mission experience]. You walk a whole, whole lot, it's really, really hot, and--It's just something that I look back on with very good thoughts" (Joy, Trinidad).

Since she has not participated in a mission trip, however, she could not understand that these allusions referred to experiences which challenged the authority of traditional Church of Christ beliefs and therefore had to be covertly affirmed. A case can be made for this interpretation of these allusions by recognizing that in the first three examples specific reference is made to the campaigner's new understanding of the way the world is ordered (the old understanding, of course, was conditioned by the campaigner's association with the Church of Christ). They also imply that this new understanding somehow invalidates or runs counter to the old understanding. The fourth example supports this interpretation as well because of its ambiguous topic. The campaigner states that the experience is something that she "looks back on with very good thoughts." This statement cannot correspond to her propositional topic represented by her prior statements "The Campaign is Not Fun," so it must comment on some other aspect of the campaign besides the day to day, in and out, hot and tiring campaign experience. Analyzed in the context of the other allusions, it does not seem illogical to presume that this allusion also refers to the campaigner's transformation which causes the campaigner to recognize that there are other viable paradigmatic patterns of reality other than the one the Church of Christ espouses. An even stronger argument for this interpretation, of course, is my own intimacy with the mission experience. Undoubtedly, an outsider could propose another logically consistent interpretation of this allusion, but the informed and intimate interpreter has as good, if not a better chance of revealing the speaker's intended meaning.

Although the general argument for this interpretation is sound, the specifics of the campaigner's allusion will evade the audience however informed it is. Stahl describes the personal experience narrative as a text with a "sticky surface" that has "invisible fibers of
meaning attached to it," but only those fibers which the performer and audience share will be recognized (1989: xi). All listeners will participate to some degree in the narrative's allusion (e.g. the researcher's wife, for instance, initially thought they referred to the activity of sharing the community's beliefs), but real intimacy and understanding will occur only between those who share a number of different fibers (i.e. between others who have been campaigning missionaries). By allowing listeners to participate in this way and demanding that the unspoken allusions be grasped at, Stahl says in sum, a performer ensures "some correspondence in meaning, some real transmission of the reality" which the performer feels (1989: xi) even if the audience does not specifically know the situation which caused the transformation. And, in effect, the campaigning missionary succeeds in affirming his or her transformation to those who can understand.

Other researchers have encountered this same phenomenon in their own work. Lawless, for example, in some of her most recent research concerning women in American religion, concludes that

> each woman has adapted a rhetorical strategy for presenting herself to the listener. There is something the speaker wishes the listener to think, learn, and understand about her through her story....this move towards the center stage is a precarious and tentative one. The female speaker who has been asked to tell her story is uneasy about accepting the power and authority of the textualized "I." Her words serve as "a defense and illustration, at once a treatise on overcoming received notions of femininity and a poetics calling for another, freer text." (1993: 203)

Wilson, likewise, writes that in his work with Mormon missionaries, missionaries often told him that they used language as a kind of "silent rebellion" against the structure of authority (1981: 11). In both of these examples, people who felt themselves at risk of being marginalized affirmed their individual identities by not explicitly saying what they were, but
by referring to it in ways that others who had shared the same experience could recognize and understand.

This communicative strategy of doing the face-threatening event off-record, a strategy which ironically enough de-centers the narratives about the campaigner's de-centering, this strategy of telling personal experience narratives which rely on allusions in their transmission, not only allows campaigning missionaries to affirm their transformation in ways that will shield them from a communal backlash, but it also permits them to enjoy a communitas (i.e. a relatively powerless community created by outsiders in response to their feelings of isolation and powerlessness) with others who have shared a similar experience and can therefore correctly interpret their allusions. The campaigners require this feeling of togetherness because of the liminality they feel from the tension between neither belonging to the community nor being free from its authority. One campaigner from this study's data set described her liminality and her need for communitas in this way:

"Tiffany [her roommate who is also a campaigning missionary] is the biggest blessing. Gosh--I don't know what we would have done because we went through all that together. And we had to remind each other--I mean, for a while there it was like daily every day just to get up, you know, and to live" (Traci, France and St. Louis).

In this example, the campaigner keenly feels the communal pressure for conformity. Her decision not to conform but to affirm her transformation (which is evidenced by the break-up with her boyfriend who no longer understood her [see lines 260-282 in Appendix B]) resulted in a subsequent feeling of isolation and powerlessness. This feeling was eased by the communitas she created with her roommate, but it did not completely relieve the community's pressure for conformity.

Lawless observes this same need for communitas in her work with women in the Pentecostal church. She says that her target group carefully constructs their personal
experience narratives "to contrast an outsider's view with an insider's view. The telling of conversion stories, especially, serves to define boundaries from an inside point of view" (1988: 45). Here, the Pentecostal women perform their narratives so that it will be clear who is "in" and who is "out," and those who are "in," though pressured by the authority of those who do not share in the communitas, can together feel somewhat less helpless and alone. Wilson notes that Mormon missionaries also use a special language to secure feelings of communitas: "When we asked missionaries why they used this language...the most common response was that it creates a feeling of self-identification with other missionaries. It contributes, in other words, to that sense of community the initiation pranks help to establish. Once a greenie learns it he no longer is a greenie, an outsider. He is now a missionary. He belongs. He speaks the language" (1981: 11). Mormon missionaries in Japan have created still a different language, called senkyoshigo, which--its practitioners claim--has "come to set apart as a distinct social and cultural group not only its present and past missionary-users but also those Japanese church members who understand it" (Snout 1988: 143). Likewise, Church of Christ campaigning missionaries can, through the use of allusions, restrict some people from correctly understanding the performance and thereby establish with other campaigning missionaries a sense of communitas through their ability to understand the performance because of their shared experience. As Stahl says, "One clear incentive for telling and listening to personal narratives is the desire to experience the socially acceptable form of intimacy" (1989: 43). For liminal figures, this socially acceptable form of intimacy is communitas.

Not only does the shared ability to comprehend the campaigning missionaries' allusions mark the boundaries between those who have undergone the transformative experience and those who have not in communally acceptable ways, this communicative strategy--since it is successful and therefore appropriate--is then perpetuated through its performance by other campaigning missionaries who recognize its success. The knowledge
of how to speak in this way, like the Pentecostal woman's knowledge of how to speak in her appropriate ways, "is attained in a traditional manner, passed from group member to group member, both in the church and in the community" (Lawless 1988: 53). The performance of the personal experience narrative, using allusions as it does, guides subsequent performances of campaigning missionaries' personal experience narratives in informal contexts; in short, each performance serves as a guide to the next, showing other campaigners how to relate and interpret their experiences. The narrative informally teaches through its success, just as the pulpit sermon does, what must be suppressed, what must be distorted, and what can be told. The form of the campaigning missionary's personal experience narrative is dictated as much by the desire to make the narrative fit the traditional form (Wilson 1981: 5) as it is to conform to accepted standards of conduct (Wilson 1981: 14).

The Church of Christ campaigning missionary, then, employs communicative strategies for negotiating the communal pressure to assume his or her old identity which respected the Church of Christ's traditional beliefs and structure and the personal desire to affirm the transformation which the rite of passage--the mission trip itself--imbued the campaigner with. These strategies, furthermore, correspond to Brown and Levinson's equation for calculating how a speaker will determine the seriousness of the face-threatening act and how this speaker will choose communicative strategies which reflect the understanding of this calculation of the act's seriousness and minimize it. In the worship service context, wherein the calculation of the seriousness of discussing the transformative aspects of the mission trip is incredibly high, the campaigner chooses the communicative strategy of not doing the face-threatening act. Additionally, he uses a communicative strategy of positive politeness to ground himself in the community and endear himself to it, thereby preserving the possibility of the community supporting his mission efforts in the future. In the informal interview context, wherein the calculation of the seriousness of discussing the transformative aspects of the mission trip is not actually that high but potentially could be
very high (depending on how the campaigner is represented in the thesis), the campaigner chooses the communicative strategy of doing the face-threatening act off record by using allusions. This allows those who have shared in a similar experience to understand what the allusion actually refers to, thereby allowing these individuals to form a reassuring communitas with each other, but neither does it exclude from the conversation other community members who have not been campaigners. And by involving myself in the mission experience once more, by dredging up all of my own past experiences in the mission field which were transformative in nature and potentially threatening to the community, I have once again understood the allusions which these campaigning missionaries use; and I know why I had remembered my early, informal discussions with other campaigning missionaries to be such cathartic and important occasions.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS

Although this study was not supposed to double as a mystery it would appear it has, for while I was able to validate very readily a phenomenon I had observed and experienced in the Church of Christ worship service concerning campaigning missionaries' sermons, I was unable to confirm, at least initially, my memories regarding what went on in the informal discussions of campaigning missionaries. Sadly, they did not seem to discuss in their informal settings the transformative nature of the rite of passage as much as I thought they had. Eventually, however, after a closer analysis of the transcripts, I realized that the communicative strategies of campaigning missionaries had not changed, for campaigners were still affirming their transformation outside of the worship service context through allusions, but I had. That I initially could not recognize the meaning of their allusion attests to the amount of pressure exerted by the community in encouraging campaigners to conform to its norms and traditions, and it re-inforces the premise that this pressure must be negotiated if a campaigner hopes to retain the transformed identity gained during the mission experience.

This use of the campaigner's allusions and his or her other communicative strategies became clear when, among other things, I finally began to understand the nature of the personal experience narrative. Stahl describes its nature in the following excerpt:

In researching the personal narrative, we have moved not only to items that are limited in circulation but also to items that serve primarily to express and maintain the stability of an individual's personality rather than an entire culture. The overall function of the personal narrative is to allow for the discovery of the teller's identity...and to maintain the stability of that identity for both teller and listener. (1989: 21)
In fact, the Church of Christ campaigning missionary does just this. From the pulpit, the campaigning missionary preserves his communal identity by using a communicative strategy which does not make any reference to the transformative nature of the mission experience. He also uses a communicative strategy which endears himself and his work to the community by praising his own accomplishments in bringing people to the Lord, by praising the foreign congregation's efforts to accept the community's religious beliefs, and by praising the home community's efforts in fulfilling Christ's commission through financial support. He employs these strategies because the worship service is a context in which the seriousness of the face-threatening act, the affirmation of the campaigner's transformation, is too great. The identity of the campaigner which is finally revealed to the audience in this context, then, is firmly grounded within the community itself. But in informal contexts, the campaigning missionary uses allusions to reveal another, transformed identity to audience members who have undergone a similar mission experience. The campaigner uses this communicative strategy because the context does not make the seriousness of the face-threatening act as great as it is in the pulpit. The personal experience narrative, then, is manipulated appropriately and strategically by the campaigning missionary when it employs the communicative strategies that allow for the successful negotiation of the tension between the communal pressure on the campaigner to affirm his or her old identity which upholds the traditional religious beliefs and structure of the community and the campaigner's personal desire to affirm his or her transformation which is suspicious of the authority of the Church of Christ's traditional religious beliefs and structure.

There is, it should be noted, a precedence for the campaigner's use of communicative strategies which present the campaigner as a different person to different people. One of the Christian community's earliest and arguably most famous missionary is the apostle Paul. Interestingly enough, he writes in his first letter to the church at Corinth that
Though I am free and belong to no man, I make myself a slave to everyone to win as many as possible. To the Jews I became like a Jew, to win the Jews. To those under the law I became like one under the law (though I myself am not under the law), so as to win those under the law. To those not having the law I became like one not having the law (though I am not free from God's law but am under Christ's law), so as to win those not having the law. To the weak I became weak, to win the weak. I have become all things to all men so that by all possible means I might save some... Do you not know that in a race all the runners run, but only one gets the prize? Run in such a way as to get the prize. (1 Corinthians 9: 19-24)

This study, in attempting to understand these communicative strategies of campaigning missionaries, also has proposed that the campaigning mission experience is a rite of passage. While the community sanctions participation in the mission experience because the "spreading of the gospel to all nations" is a requirement that the community perceives it must meet for salvation, it does not recognize that this experience is a rite of passage and therefore transformative. The community, after all, does not wish for the campaign participants to change, but that they alter the religious beliefs of the people to whom they preach in the foreign land. This lack of recognition is responsible for the tension the campaigning missionary feels upon the return to the community and the resulting communicative strategies that arise in response to this tension.

There are, of course, many avenues which future research interested in this same topic might travel down. It would be interesting, for instance, to make a close analytical comparison of a single campaigning missionary's personal experience narrative as told in the worship service and in the informal interview. This study did not pursue this course since it was concerned with establishing the more general notions of how a certain group within the target community employed communicative strategies. A second path for future research
which this study did not consider is a comparison of the Church of Christ campaigning missionary's personal experience narrative to the personal experience narratives of other voluntary and non-professional missionaries in the other Protestant religions. Lastly, future research might want to compare the personal experience narratives of Church of Christ campaigning missionaries which focus on the mission experience to other types of personal experience narratives by the same people (e.g. their most embarrassing moment) and attempt to quantitatively and qualitatively analyze the types of communicative strategies employed, and particularly the use of allusions to determine if a narrative concerning the mission experience employs them more due to its greater threat to the religious community.

As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, there may be some transferability of the conclusions made concerning the communicative strategies of Church of Christ campaigning missionaries to other people who similarly find themselves in a potentially marginalizing situation; for as Wilson writes concerning his research on Mormon missionaries:

In all this there is nothing unique to Mormon missionaries. The problems faced by missionaries are not just missionary problems; they are human problems.... Other people besides missionaries, then, must develop a sense of community, must deal with pressures imposed by the systems they live under, must encourage proper behavior, and must come at last to believe they can subdue the world. What missionaries share with others is not so much common stories or practices but rather common reasons for performing them--common means of achieving these ends. (1981: 21-22)

Others, be they international corporate employees, overseas educators, or international journalists, will encounter upon their return home--assuming that their experience was a rite of passage--that the community from which they departed will expect the return of the same person that it sent away. This, however, will not occur because of the transformative nature
of the rite of passage unless these participants repress their transformative experiences and once again accept without question the structure or beliefs or philosophy of their home community. And so, these people, like the Church of Christ campaigning missionaries, when asked to share the experiences of their trip, must acknowledge that the community may not recognize their experience as a rite of passage, and so they must try to ground themselves within the community by telling their narrative in a way that affirms their association with the community so that they will not by marginalized. They can still affirm their new identity in appropriate contexts, however, by referentially and covertly alluding to the transformative nature of the experience so that those who have shared a similar experience can understand and provide a sense of communitas—a feeling that the performer is not alone in the masquerade before the community.

There is certainly some transferability of the conclusions in this study to the communicative strategies of the Pentecostal women and the Mormon missionary experience as a rite of passage. It has been shown, for instance, that both Pentecostal women and Church of Christ campaigning missionaries must use strategies to communicate in situations in which they are candidates for marginalization due to their perceived threat to the established beliefs of the religious community. While this should not suggest that their strategies are identical, it does suggest that religious communities provide an appropriate context for studying the communicative ways in which people express themselves as individuals and as members of a community, and, by extension, it suggests that a religious community's membership is constantly negotiating and re-negotiating boundaries of appropriateness rather than following in blind devotion to theological dogma. This study's transferability to the Mormon missionary experience is in the realization that both religions have processes or rites of passage that are built into them which, because of their transformative nature, necessarily change the status of the individual who participates in them. Both religions feel the tension of this change in its membership. The Church of Christ
responds to this change by trying to control it (i.e. by exerting communal pressure on the campaigner to conform to and accept the paradigmatic pattern of the community) and the Mormon community, while knowing a change will occur to the participants, has difficulty re-integrating its missionaries back into the community in actuality (William Wilson, personal communication) as well. This tension, no doubt, arises from the religions' understanding that by allowing transformed individuals to return to their membership they are preserving the possibility that one day, perhaps after many individual members have undergone the rite of passage mission experience, their transformed identities could bring about fundamental changes in the religions' paradigmatic patterning. Still, these religions recognize that if they are to fulfill their religious duty they must allow their membership to participate in the mission experience. This suggests that traditional religious communities may not be as static as popular belief likes to portray it or as it itself likes to think it is.

This study also has made a contribution to the ongoing task of gathering data for the ethnography of speaking approach since it has attempted to meet all of Hymes' original conditions which were presented in Chapter III. For instance, this study has sought a continuity between its goals (i.e. the description and elaboration of Church of Christ campaigning missionaries' communicative strategies) and the general concerns of the ethnographic database (see Chapters IV and V). This study also has focused on the specifics of the communicative participants' ends (i.e. to avoid marginalization while affirming a new identity) and the means by which they achieved these ends (i.e. manipulating their personal experience narratives). Furthermore, this study has looked at the two speech events of Church of Christ campaigning missionaries as having an integral part in the community in which they occur (e.g. since they are a response to communal pressure). And finally, this study has viewed the speech event as being situationally oriented (i.e. the context determined which strategy was employed in the effort to minimize the face-threatening act).
This study has chronicled the success of a target group who were candidates for marginalization and who, with resources available to all communicators, found a way to strategically negotiate a course through the treacherous waters of communal pressure and individual need. In the end, they satisfied, for the most part, both themselves and their community. This thesis, in sum, has examined what folklorists always study: "human accomplishment. It arises from the creative vernacular response of humans on their most gregarious occasions. It is a way of responding to forces that would otherwise make us into a race of only spectators" (Abrahams 1993: 5). And readers are reminded, once again, that they need not be subject to those forces which demand their conformity. They can, like Church of Christ campaigning missionaries or any other creative participant in life, take the affirmation of their individuality into their own hands and, however covertly, be themselves.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A includes a complete transcript of one Church of Christ campaigning missionary's pulpit sermon delivered during a congregational worship service. Following this transcript is a second transcript in Appendix B which records an informal interview conducted with a Church of Christ campaigning missionary. These transcripts are intended to be representative and should not be interpreted as the proto-sermon or interview. Variations can and do occur within these performances depending on contextual factors and the personality of the performer. These transcripts are useful, however, in identifying the general communicative strategies that Church of Christ campaigning missionaries use when they return from their mission trips and tell their community about the experience. The reader of these transcripts will notice that there are grammar and pronunciation mistakes within both transcripts. These have been left in to reflect the actual nature of the communicative event, for if this thesis is to provide not only an accurate account of the communicative strategies of Church of Christ campaigning missionaries but data for the ethnography of speaking approach then the transcripts must report communication as it occurred.
APPENDIX A

This sermon was transcribed from a Sunday morning worship service at the East Side Church of Christ in Snyder, Texas. The sermon was preached by a campaigning missionary, Tony Mauldin, who had recently returned from a mission trip to Africa.

I'm shocked, when I walked in the building; uh, this is quite a change. I know that, uh, we're changing too. As you can see I've got glasses these days--that's what happens to you when you get old. You have to start wearing glasses.

One morning I wake up and I can't read and I think its the light, I change the light and I still can't read and I have to go get down and get glasses. But this is a really welcome change. I love this auditorium. Ya'll have done a great job. So good to see all of you.

I'm telling you our heart is really part of Snyder. Uh, I was talking to the Wessons and the Martins came over, they stopped by ACU [Abilene Christian University] to buy the boys some caps. And I wanted to, you know, just share with you some things; we got involved with the work in Africa, and particularly in Nairobi, Kenya. It's kind of strange how that happened. But, uh, before I get into that I want to just kind of tell you something that's happened to me this weekend, uh, makes me kind of think of this congregation. We really do love you. Uh, and relationships is what it's all about.

If you've got your Bibles let me invite you to turn to John chapter 13. You know, there's always things in your life that people come up and they ask you to do something and you commit to do it. Uh, my mom asked me some while back--Saturday, June 5th we're going down to my class reunion--and she was, uh, raised up in Burnett County down the other-side of Lampasas in a little ole community called Bethel. And I don't know if anybody knows where that is. But, uh, Bethel is
a little, small community and like a lot of communities there is not a school there
anymore. It's just a little bit of a community, but they still have a reunion. And I had
not been back there with her, and she wanted all the children to go. Uh, I committed
to go and we had basketball camp, and in fact some of your children were at my
camp, and I worked, you know, and we finished up on Friday, and I have to get up
at 5:30 to leave the next morning to get to Brownwood to leave with them. And I'm
thinking, "Why in the world did I commit to do this?" I'm trying to tell you honest.
That's really in my heart. I think, "I got to get up at 5:30 and I'm worn out" and it
was something I really didn't want to do. But this was really important to my mom.
Uh, a couple of my brothers and sisters weren't able to come so only one of my
sisters and myself got to go with her. And this was really important.

So we get with her and my dad and we drive down there. And she's going
back to see the old home place where she grew up. And she hasn't been back to this
place were she grew up in 55 years. And as we got there, I don't know, there was
just something that came over me as she starts telling about as she was a little girl and
she use to go out by these old oak trees and she started pointing them out to us, and
we start walking down to where the old home place use to be. And now my mom,
you got to understand is 68 years old, my dad's 72, and she's like a kid. She's
almost running. And my dad's huffing and puffing. And she's all excited about
trying to find her old home place. She hasn't seen this place in 55 years. We went
through that and she went down and she told me the creek and all; and I could tell this
was really heavy on my mom's heart. And then I began to realize, I think, that the
reason this was so important to her, she wanted us to share part of her heritage--
where she had come from. She wanted us to share what she had been through as a
little girl. She wanted to show me where she was raised and all. Then we went to
the cemetery and we looked at, you know, my grandmother Kirksey, her
grandmother Kirksey, it was actually my great-grandmother Kirksey and all the tombstones, and we walked around and saw the heritage. It was the first time I had been to this place, and this cemetery is out in the middle of this pasture, and it just has a fence around it, but it's out in the middle of nowhere. And then after we went back to her reunion and saw her folks, and then we went on to my dad's and went on to another cemetery. And if you haven't ever done that you need to do that. You need to set out sometimes in the cemetery and just walk and see the people and see your family history. And most of these were my great-great-grandparents or my great-grandparents for sure. But I guess the thing that I got from all of that, and I came home--and I want to be honest with you--I guess I get a little more emotional in my old age, but I said, you know, it's just like my parents know they're at the last part of their life and they want to be sure the children see were they came from, and they want us to go share in their roots and their history. And I said, you know, I don't know, it's almost like my mom is preparing for her death and the same thing with my dad. They want to take us back. It really touched me. It was really tough. Uh, I really had some emotions through that. But the good thing is, I got to see some things, I got to feel some things that my mom felt as a little girl growing up. I got to see and for the first time in my life get some things straight about who great-grandmother Kirksey was, and the Robins, and the Mauldins, and all this and, you know, we need to share in relationships.

We get so busy, I know if you're like me, you get so busy and get caught up in your world and your own immediate family you forget about your roots. You forget about people. John's talking here in chapter 13 verse 34 and 35 says something and I know you've read this scripture: "A new commandment I give you; that you love one another even as I have loved you that you also love one another. But by this all men will know that you are my disciples if you have love for one
another." You know that is what Christianity is really all about. That's how people
want to be a part of Christ's church is when they see us loving one another. And I
say that because I experienced that here in Snyder, Texas at East Side congregation--
the love. And when I come back in to see some of you and that's a part of us and our
history and that's what makes people want to come and be a part of something when
they see each other taking care of one another and see people loving one another.

So how does that have anything to do with the work in Kenya? Well, back
about November of last year I was real busy in my office, and it was one of those
days. And my office is just off the concourse of the Moody coliseum and so we got a
lot of people dropping in. You know, they drop in to see the coaches or someone.
And I was busy one day and these people drop in and they announce who they are; it
was Darlene and Charles Coastin and they are missionaries over in Africa or getting
ready to go over there, and they want to talk to me about something. And they had a
photo with them, and I guess they knew that this would get a basketball coach's
attention, I'm sure now some of you on the front can see this but some of you on the
back can't; it's a young man playing basketball and he's barefooted, he's got no
shoes on. And of course they knew what they were doing they showed that to me
and they said these are some kids we've been working with and we have an asphalt
court there at the congregation there that we work with but most of these kids play
basketball but they don't have shoes. And we wanted to appeal to you and see if you
had any old shoes that you could help us send over there. So, college is a little
different than high school, in college you let them keep their shoes and you don't do
that in high school so we don't actually keep a bank of shoes but we did have a lot of
guys that, like some of your children, have three or four pairs of old tennis shoes.
So through an effort I got up probably 100 tennis shoes we shipped over there.
But we got to talking and, uh, I really to be honest with you did not want these people to come in and sit down because I was too busy. Now I'm just sharing my heart now. And like some of you, you know, you don't have time for some one and they come in and one of the things that you learn in priority management is that, you know, you stand by the door to talk to someone. You don't let them come in the office and sit down, because once they sit down it takes, you know, a blast of dynamite to get them out of there. Well I made a mistake; I let 'em come in and sit down in my office. And, uh, we get to talking and we get to talking about the work they're involved in and through that, I had done a camp over in Canary Islands and we got to talking about that and they said, "Well, would you be interested in doing a camp over in Africa?" And I said, "Well sure." You know; not thinking it would ever happen. And, uh, they said, "Well, what will it take to get you over there?"

And I said, "Well if you can pay my expenses." And then I thought, I'd made a big mistake when I went to Canary Islands, I didn't take my wife. And I said, "Well, my expenses and my wife's expenses." And because I knew, you know, I heard about that all the time that I got back about, you know, she didn't get to go. So, they said, "Well, we'll see."

They left and were gone a couple of weeks. I really forgot about it—not thinking about how I had popped off how I would go to Africa, and in a couple of weeks they came back and they said the Stevens Foundation—uh, one of the elders in Redwood City, California has had a computer company there and through that they've formed a, uh, Stevens Foundation. And they do works just like this. And Bill Stevens is really involved in the work over there and I'll talk more about that in a minute. But they said the Stevens Foundation is going to pay all of your expenses but you'll probably have to come up with some money for your wife. And, uh, I thought, "Well, I don't know that we can do that." So, uh, we talked about that
said well, we'll see. And then through some conversations they called back and said, "We're gonna pay all of your expenses both yours and your wife's expenses over there." And then the reality hit of us going to Africa.

One of the funny things--I said, "Well, what are we talking about? What kind of facilities?" And they told me: "We've got one indoor, uh or not indoor, outdoor court that's enclosed by fence" and they were telling me about this and they said, I said, "Well, how many kids are we talking about?" And they said, "Well you can have as many as you want to coach." And I said, "What do you mean?" And they said, "Well, they'll just keep coming". They said, "In VBS [Vacation Bible School] we have 700, 800, to a thousand kids come." They said, "It starts out with 200 and everyday it increases and by the end of the week maybe a thousand and we have it cut off." And they said, "You may start with, you know, 80 or 90 but the end of the week, if you don't stop it, you'll have three hundred kids coming to your basketball camp." And so, I said, "Well, we'd probably have to limit it." And I said, "How many coaches can I have helping me from over there?" And they said, "Well, how many do you need?" And I said, "Well, if we're going to have 200 kids I need 20 coaches." And they said, "We can get that that's no problem." I was kind of taken back and I said, "Really?" I said, "Well, you know that's great." I said, "We can have a couple day's training and I'll work with them some, tell em the kind of the way I do things." I said, "How much basketball do they know?" And they said, "Only what you teach them." And so I had three days to train these guys to coach basketball and that's literally, they knew no basketball.

That, uh, you know it was really amazing--it started out as one of those things that you popped off and as it became a reality I couldn't believe that I was actually going to Africa to teach some kids from Kenya basketball. And to do a Bible study with them. The format basically was this--we arrived in, uh, there's no direct flights
to Africa. You can get airfare almost anywhere in Europe but then, uh, there's only
Zurich, Switzerland, Frankfurt, Germany and London, England basically that have
flights down into to Nairobi, the part of Kenya we're going to. So Janice and I, as it
all worked out, uh, flew in to Zurich; because of a mix-up in some times we ended
missing a plane and had to spend a couple of extra days in Zurich--and I know you're
thinking, "Ah, tough, tough, tough." Uh, but, uh, you know we don't know what
inflation is until you've been in Zurich, Switzerland. Uh, you know, Janice loves
diet cokes and they were like $2.50 out of the machine. And so you can kind of get
an idea of what inflation is. The whole time I'm worried to death because I don't
know how we're going to pay for these extra days because a motel room, just a
average motel, is like $200 a night. We found a cheaper one downtown so we could
save money and it was $140; no air conditioning, so you just--the minimum wage in
Zurich is like $18 an hour. So that kind of gives you idea where we are. We went an
ate a pizza and some salad for $40 I think.

So anyway we made it through that, got on down to Nairobi, arrived and first
Sunday that we were there--we arrived Saturday night--Sunday morning we were
there Janice and I are sitting in the auditorium class, the service is in Swahili which is
the language that most people speak, there's different dialects of the different tribes,
but they started singing a song, the tune was very familiar but it was in Swahili. And
I sat there, and I looked over at Janice and it had the same affect on both of us. We
were both crying in tears. You know, for the first time in my life I really experienced
that God truly is a God of all people. That it's not just here in the United States, not
just here in Texas, but He's the answer for every person under this world. And
under the clouds and stars of every nation. And these people were singing with
really, truly joy in their heart. I'm sure some of you have heard about some of the
things going on in Nairobi--they've had the Somalian refugees and all; but these
people, this congregation, this Eastly Church of Christ, there in Nairobi that we work
with; and Eastly has got their own school, trade school. And they've got their own
outdoor courts and all, but it's a very growing congregation. They cannot find
enough people to do all the work.

The thing that, I guess that, I want to talk to you now today about is that more
than anything else the people in Kenya touched our hearts. We did a camp, it was an
experience, uh, to say--some of you that know Janice, you know that she sat up in
the stands and she tried to coach but she's never coached, she never played
basketball, she probably doesn't enjoy me telling you that but to tell you how bad it
was, she was one of my best coaches over in Kenya. I got, uh, I got anybody and
anybody that could walk and understand English I got them out there that was
willing. I didn't end up with twenty guys, I ended up with about ten or twelve. First
day, they announced it, they had not put any, kind uh--uh, over in Africa its kind of
like Mexico if you ever go down there you know you talk about Mexico time--they
don't get in a hurry, that's kind of the same way in Kenya. Sunday they advertised
that the camp was gonna be starting on Monday, cause there wasn't much
preparation. Eighty some-odd kids show up and of course word gets out. Next day
we had a hundred and twenty. And I only had ten coaches and I said I cannot take
anymore. One of the saddest things that happened, Wednesday morning forty more
kids show up. And I just cannot--we just don't have room for them and have to turn
them away. But we end up having a hundred and twenty pretty consistently
throughout the week.

Ah, I'd had three days to train my coaches; well that turned out to be a day
and a half. Ah, on top of that, uh, a derogatory word for a white man over there is
"maz..." is "mazunga." Which is kind of, uh, like "whitey." And, uh, we called it
Mazunga's Revenge. I ended up with the stomach problem right during the middle of
camp. We, uh, Bill, we were doing the VBS at the same time; I had the 15 through 16 year old boys and girls in camp but they were having the little kids in VBS and so, and during our training time, Bill Stevens, decides he wants to take all these teachers and all the coaches down to one of the local restaurants. Well the local restaurant is called the Tres Fontana and if you've ever seen these movies were you see meat, you know, with flies around it and stuff like that, that's what we're talking about here folks, you know. I mean right across the road is a camel butchery and, uh, they have some nice restaurants in Nairobi but not in the poor section of Nairobi, and, the, this was a big treat for the natives, for the people working there and uh, I had to make a decision: Am I gonna eat here and, uh, or am I gonna say, well I'm not gonna eat? Now I thought, well, you know, I'm gonna set a good example, I'm not gonna look like the ugly American guy that refuses to eat so I eat. And, uh, that night I wish that I hadn't of eaten in that place, but it was it was a bad scene. You know, it was you know one guy left a little bit and the guy comes in but there's no doors on this place, he comes in out of the street and rakes the food in a bag and takes off with it. You know, it's that kind of situation.

But it is, one thing that, you know, you fall in love is with the people. Very industrious people. Ah, we worked all week long. Ah, I did we'd start off at devotional in the mornin's, we'd take a break for lunch, we'd come back from lunch and have about a forty-five minute Bible study. Ah, as most of you know me, it's supposed to be between thirty and forty minutes it'd always be forty-five minutes with me. And, uh, there are some pictures at the back. We've brought some stuff back to that back table that you can go look at some photos. Uh, but I was studying from the book of Daniel, and the interesting thing is that many of the kids would bring their Bibles. They would sit there for forty-five minutes and listen really attentive. And then after one of the first times, I know this caught Janice and mine's
attention both, one of the young men had a King James Version I think and he came up and he started asking why some of the words in his Bible was different from mine. And I sat down, and that was typical, they'd ask questions. They're very inquisitive. They want to know about the Word. They want to know about the gospel. They want to know about God's truth. Ah, probably the most receptive hearts I've ever spoken to. And I think that when you go down into the homes and all you see why. When things are not good for you here on this world and you don't have a lot of worldly wealth, when you find the gospel it means something to you. These people are excited about the hope that they now have. They really, for the first time in their lives, many of them have hope.

But I did this Bible study. Saturday morning we concluded our camp with an awards program and, uh, we had computer certificates to hand out. But one of the young men that I kind of took under my wing, uh his name is Alecia, but it's spelled like the biblical Elisha, but he pronounced it Alecia over there. Alecia was about eighteen or nineteen years old, he had two teams of boys basketball that was under him. About twenty five boys in each group. A younger group and then, uh, a teenage group fifteen to sixteen year old boys. And a very disciplined, but he was working with them and he came up to me told me Ise his first coach ever. And I said, well how do you know enough to coach these boys? And he said, well that he had a book, an old book that he had had from Bob Pettit, some of you know Bob Pettit, that's back in the fifties, I could not believe that. And he said, then somebody stole that so he didn't even have that book but he was doing the best he could and but he's working those kids, he was real excited, he was one of my coaches, and, uh, Saturday morning he wanted me to come up early Janice and I to come up early we were concluding our camp and sure enough we get up there and he's got all of these
boys, about fifty young men, sitting on the court in, uh, real proper order and he's got chairs for us sitting up front.

So he brings us in there and sets us down and I don't know what's going to go on and, uh, he had two representatives of each of these teams talk to us. One young man gets up and he's about twelve years old and he tells us how much it meant to him and how much he thanks the Lord for bringing us to him to teach him. And another young man, this fifteen year old, gets up and says something similar and then the coach says, uh, Alecia, uh, Elisha, they way you'd pronounce it, says to us, he says, you know, he says, now I've got to say it the way he--they talk very--most of them speak English, very British English though. Janice had a hard time 'cause she teaches, she also coached, and she talked this Texan you know. And they had a hard time with her. And, uh, she laughed at me 'cause I started talking in very proper English so they could understand me. And he says, you know said [with accent], "We never really thought that a coach from the United States would come and work with us poor boys from Eastly. I never could believe it when they told us that a coach would come over and work with us. Said, now we know that there really is a God. A God that is a God of all people. God that sent us this man from the United States to work with this, to be my coach, the first coach I've ever had. To teach us the Bible, to teach us about basketball" [accent ends]. Well I'm tellin' you about halfway through I'm just all teared up.

But I think the thing that impressed me is that it really did mean something in their lives. Ah, we gave out those certificates, one young man got sick sent his parents up to get his certificate because he wanted to make sure he got his. It's just amazing. We concluded it by going down and visiting their homes. Ah, they gave us Mathari Valley. I don't know how much you know about Kenya and in particular Nairobi. Mathari Valley is the poorest section of Nairobi. Nairobi is the fastest
growing city in the world. The average age is thirteen years of age. So it's—you can imagine all of the kids. Uh, what is happening in Africa and in Nairobi and in Kenya is that so many of the tribes the farms are, uh, you know each family has more children and the farms no longer can support all the children so they coming in, they coming in to the urban areas trying to find, to seek work. And, uh, many of them of course don't find work and they end up moving down into what's called Mathari Valley which is just eight by ten huts and most of them are built on dirt and, uh, or rock, we went into those homes and I could not believe that some of these kids are dressed as nice as they are. You know, they're clean, they're not well-dressed but they're clean and they're living in homes eight by ten, five or six kids in there lot of them either be dirt or rock. But we went and talked to the parents and had a great experience.

Now, I say that, I'm not saying it was always pleasant, you know, you had your open sewers between these huts and had to step over and of course they're small people they're not over like in West Africa were you have some real tall Africans. They're very small people. Uh, the little kids that we went down to Mathari Valley and of course we're only white face there, uh, the little bitty kids, you know, little bitty ones it's just like anything, you know they say what's on their minds. You know the adults and the teenagers wouldn't say this but the little kids they start pointing at you and are screaming "Mazunga! Mazunga! Mazunga!" Which means "Whitey! Whitey! Whitey!" And the teenagers try to, you know, they try to apologize for them and sayin', well you know some of these probably have never seen white men down here.

Uh, you know I am a pretty big guy and I wasn't ever really frightened, uh, but, uh, we got almost through and one of the guys said, uh, you know most of the Kenyans think that all white men are good fighters. And, uh, so they're not probably
not going to bother you plus you're a very big man, but if they do come after you
there will be many of them and they will have weapons. Well, that didn't do a whole
lot to make me feel better. [Laughter from audience] Uh, uh, then we went a little bit
further, rounded a corner and a little ole boy about nine looked at me and says [with
accent], "How are you James Bond?" [Laughter] He called me James Bond. Uh,
poor little--one poor little girl in Africa is probably still scared to death. Here I am
this big white guy, and you round all these little houses, and we round one house and
we come I come face to face with little girl about fifteen years old and she looks at me
and just screams. You know because we just rounded the house right face to face
and and she didn't know who I was, what I was doing, if I was gonna kill her I
guess, but, uh, it was a great experience. Went down to visit those homes.

I think that it was one of those experiences that changes your life. Uh, I
know it did Janice and lse. We came back and we realized that a lot of things that we
have are not necessities, they're extravagant, extravagant things. Uh, when you ask
them to draw a feast, it was real interesting, Darlene Coastin had a young man from
their congregation to draw a picture of a feast and he had one bowl in front of
everybody that was heaped with a porridge stuff that they called "yugali." It was just
heaped. That was his idea. One single bowl with a drink just heaped with yugali.
That was his idea of a feast. All the yugali he could eat. You know we would have
had all these meats and fruits and vegetables and, you know, they have no idea.

Uh, one of the things that I, uh, wanted to share with you was simply the
need, great need there. Janice and I went down last year or went to Africa, however
you go, a the Stevens Foundation took care of that, we got back and, uh--the
Coastins and Burkley and Charlotte Hackett are the missionaries that we worked with
over there and they said that we really, you probably had more effect on these young
men, our teenagers, then anybody that's been over in a long time. They said it's one
thing they expect a preacher to talk about Christ but when they see a sports figure
doing it it really makes an impact. And they said we would like to have you back.
Well, make a long story short, uh, Janice and I weren't sure if we were going to be
able to do it and they said we really need you to do this and a couple of congregations
said we'd like to support you in doing this so that's kind of what triggered it. We
said we'd like to talk to some people about helping us get funds. All we're really
doing now is trying to, uh, if people that want to help get us back over there. We are
really raising money for our airfare and our food for about fifteen days is all we're
trying to do. Ah, it's a great work if you want to get involved in a wonderful work
it's something you really could feel that you're really productive in.

I think that the thing that made one of the impressions really stick home to me, we're walking down on that Saturday and we'd got some handbills that we're really
saving for the parents. And we've got, you know, over a hundred of those and, uh,
we'd hand em out to a couple of kids to go to different houses some of our coaches.
And the people on the street see something being handed out and they rush over to get
this from you. You know here in the states when someone sees something, number
one no one rushes over to get a hand out, but if they see it and saw that it would have
been religious material they would have thrown it down. And, of course, this really
was inviting them to service, telling them something about the church there at Eastly.
And, ah, it was in Swahili and English both. But these people prized that, they
would take it and read it and read it and go put it up on their walls.

They were very very receptive to the gospel. One of the most heart-rending
things is to see, you know, the need and people receptive to the gospel and no one to
talk to them. Ah, I don't know, you know, about you, but probably the thing that,
ah, I think that we do the most of is we don't do anything. We just kinda get in a rut
in our own lives and we just kinda live our lives and we stay here in very comfortable
surroundings and we're very apathetic and we just come and do and come and do and this was really a disruptive force in our lives. I can't say that I'm always comfortable when I sit down and I eat and the plenty that we have. It has changed us in that the house that we recently bought is a much smaller house than we've ever had. Ah, the things that the way now that we live is a little bit different. I think that some of you probably are already learning those things but one of the things that I found out is truly God is a God of all people. And that he has a work for us to do. I think that now I see, you know I'd prayed two or three different times in my life when things were kinda stagnant, pray God, you know, send me something to really let me know what you want me to do. And, uh, I think He has. This just keeps coming up, keeps working out. But John said it best, in recording Jesus's words there in John 13. Jesus says, you know, "a new commandment I give you that you love one another even as I have loved you that you also love one another. By this all men will know that you are my disciples if you have love for one another."

It's great to be back. We love you guys, I know your love takes care of a lot of people. When you think about your folks think about relationships--what Christianity is all about is built on relationships--and us showing those relationships to other people whether it's here in Snyder, Texas or in Africa. We would love to have you help with this work, if you can't that's okay too--I understand. If you want to make out checks I'm sure James and them will tell you about that but you can make it out to Southern Hills Church of Christ and then they'll take care of it but, uh, be sure and note it what it's for--but I assume that you're gonna talk about that but let me just say this: more than anything else it's just a blessing for us to come back and just share what's on our heart, the work that we're involved in is a there's a great need there but I just as much as anything take some time to go back and look at some photos. We did get to go out and see some of the country. Got to go out and see
some of the animals in the wild. Uh, our jeep was even charged by an elephant. You know, it's not like the zoo, it's a little bit different when you have to sign you won't hold them accountable if you get eat up by a lion or trampled by an elephant you know you're not in a zoo. And, uh, it's it's it's great for us.

I wish that I could just load everybody up and take you there, it's a wonderful experience but more than anything else I love you, I love the four years we had here at East Side and the wonderful love that you've given to us. Ah, I know, that we customarily sing a song and, uh, we're gonna have this opportunity if you have any needs and, uh, James may want to say something later on but we'll have an invitation song if you have any needs we'll ask you to come forward as we stand and sing.
APPENDIX B

This transcribed interview took place on a Saturday morning in January 1994 in Abilene, Texas. It records the conversation between the campaigning missionary, Traci Dunn, the researcher, and the researcher's wife.

Cayce: It's not anything formal at all. I promise 01

Traci: OK! [laughter] 02

Charlie: I just tape to help me, uh 03

C: Instead of taking notes 05

Ch: Instead of trying to take notes 06

T: Yeah! 07

C: These smell so good! 09

T: The apple ones are the little ones and then.... 10

C: Oh yum! They smell delicious! 11

Ch: Um, I guess where I can start off is, um, you tell me what you did, uh, where this took place, uh, kind of some of the things like that. 14

T: Um, we were... the first part of our summer we were in France. And we worked with a team of missionaries who were already over there. 16

Ch: Uh-huh 19

T: It was two couples mainly. And, uh,
Ch: Those were the people that were already there?  
T: Yeah.  
And they had some people that were working with them, but there were two main couples that were there and we, um, just worked out they were doing a campaign that week and doing seminars at night and so the first part, the first week we were there we just went around--it was in Marseille--we went around and we just passed out flyers to the people and we just talked to the people and as best as we could know  
Ch: Uh huh  
C: Yeah.  
T: Some of them spoke a little English but I had some French so I could kind of pick up on what people were saying and just got acquainted with the city and the the how the people were you know just their just their attitudes, um, and just the way they were. And so that was really good, um, 'cause that was our first week there and we got to really see, be with the people and see what they were like and then so the second week started our, um, little seminars at night and, um, uh, they had different, well, they had different speakers each night but the first night only I think one or two people came and that was fine we were thinking well if it reached  
C: Right.  
T: one person that was fine. And  
C: Right! It was worth the trip.  
T: Yeah.  
And then the second or third night the place was filled. It was really neat.
And you could tell people were just coming in just really curious about what is this, you know, what are the Americans doing. And also, but the speaker was a, um, man, that a, um, was from Geneva, Switzerland and he had been an atheist before he had become a Christian and he was reached by one of these campaigns that Stanley Shipp had done. He was reached by a campaign. And, um, so his speech was powerful

C: Yeah.

T: I mean, it was all in French, but he had told us what he was going to say before hand, you know. It was really, the people were just really amazed and touched by it and, um, the Harding Chorus was there but they sang a lot of, um, uh, just, uh, old, uh, style kinda church songs

C: Hymns!

T: Hymns but it was all in English but the people were just like on the edge of their seats just listening cause they had never heard anything like it and, um, but a lot of people were reached through all that they had a lot of, um, they had the thing were you could go sign up, um, for a thing called "Let's Start Talking" where you go and--ya'll've probably heard of it--where you just go and, um, you start meeting with people. So they needed a lot of help after all of this seminars so they needed more people to stay and

C: Right!

T: help with all the people that were responding. Um, but...
Ch: How many people went over?  
T: Oh man, there were--let me think about it--I think there were about thirty...thirty five people  
C: And that was with Stanley Shipp right?  
T: Yeah, the interns we were I think there were ten of us and then there were people from the church in St. Louis that wanted to go. ((She brings more muffins from the kitchen.))  
C: These are great.  
Ch: Yeah!  
T: But then the rest of the summer we spent in St. Louis. And we did, we had classes in the morning...classes on faith and

Ch: Taught by, um...  
T: Taught by the--like Bob--the people that are the staff there, Stanley and Jeff Prider and sometimes we had like, um, Evelyn Boigt from Haiti she came and spoke to us, she's an older lady, I don't know if you've ever met her  
C: Huh-uh  
T: Her story is incredible but she came and spoke to us she started an orphanage over there after her husband died she's like [inaudible]  

C: Wow.  
T: Her husband died and she's like the whole first year that he was dead she just sat in her house and just mourned and mourned. And finally she just said I'm not gonna do this.
I've got to get out and do something for people, you know, and she came to ACU and was working in the missions thing and got hooked up with some people that were forming a team and she ended up being the first one to go over there to start

C: Wow!

T: and so she, I mean, this woman that could've just pined her life away, you know, and sat in her house and cried and she, but I know I mean she's started an orphanage and she lives there. But...

C: That's amazing!

Ch: Yeah.

T: I mean it was just over and over we heard all these incredible just testimonies of God and how He works through hardship and suffering like [laughter] "Shadowlands."

C: Yeah.

T: But, uh, and then in the afternoons we, uh, could team up with a year long intern and we would go, uh, like one day we would go, um, on some things with them like we went to a home for the battered women called the Mary Rider home and we had Bible studies there, or we went to children's hospitals or we went just to visit people in the church that were hurting or visit people that had visited the church.

C: Right.

T: Um, or we went to the university and some of them
had, uh, Bible studies with the international students so we'd go visit the international students and we'd talk to them...just kinda follow up time in the afternoons.

C: That's great.

Ch: Let me ask you a little more about how you got involved with that program. And then, after, how you got involved, or the things that led up to your actual, uh, campaign, first France and then back to St. Louis...

C: the preparation that you did...

T: Okay, um, I heard about it, I've heard about it ever since I've been at ACU because, you know, Stanley comes and talks

Ch: Yeah

T: and, um, I'd always wanted to go but, um, finally I'd prayed about it cause I had to work every summer and finally Ise just like, if I'm gonna go I need to do it this summer cause I don't have any other time

Ch: Yeah

T: so I talked, I went on the Spring Break campaign just to make sure, you know, and I loved it and talked to Stanley and Bob there and asked them how do I get to come here this summer, is there an interview process I have to go through or, you know, and they... I think usually there is like they like to talk to you before they make sure, you know, they say, "Sure" but they had seen me all of Spring Break and then I had talked to them and stuff and so they...said, "Come on." Uh, they started sending me letters about how much it was
gonna cost and, uh, kinda what we were going to be doing and so I had to
start, I wrote letters to my church and, um, to people just the elders first
of all and then to people in my church just individuals and family and
anyone I could think of that

C: Right
T: had any relationship with [laughter]
at all. And, um, and I was just blessed I mean people just sent I mean
even just five dollars or ten dollars and whatever...
C: it adds up
T: it all added
up. And I ended up raising the whole amount I don't remember how
much it was now. But, um, so it was just a lot of faith that God was
gonna help me get the money and Tiffany too
C: Yeah
T: she didn't have, you
probably heard
C: It was very hard
T: She didn't have the money until we got
even all through France. She didn't have all the money
Ch: Oh, really?
T: and
Stanley was just letting her stay and then we got back to St. Louis and,
um, one day she got her money, like, I think five hundred dollars in one
day just from people. And she was like, okay God I think you want me
to be here. [Laughs]
C: Uh-huh
Ch: Yeah.

T: But I'm about to do that too--I'm going to Siberia in July

Ch: Oh, are you?

T: so I'm about to have to start raising money again.

Ch: Will this be just for the summer or...?

T: Yeah, just a just a month.... So...

Ch: So, then once you got your money together, um, did you fly up to St. Louis and then did you'll have an orientation?

T: They had one but

Ch: Uh huh

T: we weren't able to go I think

Ch: okay

T: it was like Sing Song or something but we couldn't go to it but he sent us all the information in the mail and stuff

Ch: Yeah

T: and so that's more, they have orientation more too for year long people

Ch: Okay.

T: But, since we'd already been there Spring Break we kind knew what was going on and stuff
Ch: And then, uh, after how many weeks was that?  
T: It was, um,  
let's see three weeks in France or two and a half in France and then eight weeks, I think, in St. Louis  
Ch: So it really was the whole summer....um,  
what about after it was over with and, you know, you'd spent your last time there in St. Louis was there any any...how'd they end it all? Uh...  
T: We had a Remember and Behold banquet--they do this every year--where they look back on the year and, um, they kinda thank God for what's happened in that year and they talk about what's happened and, um, they have a slide show and they do new Christians and they have the teens do a program and I mean they sing and everything it's really good and then they have a video of like it uh well they've sent out a lot of missionaries like to Thailand and...uh all these places and so...  
C: The slide show of new Christians has to be wonderful.  
T: Oh it is  
C: That's got to be incredible  
T: Yeah  
C: to see that.  
T: Yeah, they talk and they talk about how they came to God and what's happened since and it's really neat I mean, it's not a slide show it's like a video I think were they're talking on it  
C: Yeah, uh huh.
missionaries they've sent out send like a video of like they video all around their city and like their church and they get kind of silly on it they watch that cause I mean everyone in that church is so dedicated[inaudible] for those people you know cause that got to know them while they were there. And so that's really neat, and um, and then the interns the summer interns do a program a little skit and stuff. But that's how we ended that was our and then we went to a dis-orientation we left St. Louis the day after that, the Remember and Behold banquet, and then we had dis-orientation where we went to Trout Lodge it's a way from Saint Louis and we just had three days of just talking about what we had learned and we kinda affirmed each other like we spent a whole day just affirming each other. Like I see this in you and I've seen you grow in this way and this way, I challenge you to continue growing and, um, that was real emotional cause you get so close to those people I mean we had shared our stories at the beginning of the summer, you know how just our stories about how we came to know God and and some of us had never shared that with anyone ever before so it was just really emotional and, uh, really faith-building time just amazing how God can work through people that...so that's how we ended just having a dis-orientation. We were just having fun like we they had canoes and paddle boats and we played volleyball you know

Ch: Yeah

T: it's kinda unwinding, you know, and we left after that but...
C: So did you have to come straight back to school then or did you go home or...?
T: We came straight back here.
C: And what was it like coming back to school, I mean, because you have grown so much over the summer...
T: uh-huh
C: tell us about your re-entry [laughs]
T: Wellll!

First of all relationships went bad because they weren't--it wasn't their fault they just didn't experience it. But I think that caused a big gap in our relationships. Therefore we're not together now....no, no that's not the only reason. But that was really hard because part of you is saying, well I'm just going to forget all that I learned because it's too hard to change your whole life. I mean with relationships it's too hard and, uh, for awhile I mean it was really hard to continue and to grow and to encourage each other and Tiffany and I live together and, um, and it was and I mean that was good because we could remind each other you know and hold each other accountable. And, um, but it was a struggle it was really hard. And we saw through a lot of things that before we didn't, you know, um, but I think, even though, you know like Stanley always said if you don't share what you've learned then you're going to lose it. You know if you don't continue and just add on to what you know you're gonna lose it like anything you know like, so that really scared me cause I think that for a while there I just got comfortable living in my relationships, um especially with Nathan, you know, because that was so such a security you know
C: dated him so long...

T: Yeah, so that was hard because a lot of things like I would just start talking about things I learned and that he didn't really understand you know, sometimes he thought, gosh, you're so weird. But, um, anyway so that was hard but I think, uh, what I learned though will be with me forever because I mean it's got me through so much you know lately especially at the end of the summer, I mean it really got us, Tiffany and I both, I mean not St. Louis but just what we learned there you know how God reveals Himself to us and just the way He's continuing to do that and adding on to what we learned then, but, oh...it was a lot of changing basically.

T: Well, I'm sure Tiffany could have told you more too I mean, you know Ya'll are so lucky to be here together

C: She is the biggest blessing.

T: I know you both are to each other.

T: Gosh. I don't know what we would have done cause we went through all that together. And we had to remind each other, I mean for awhile there it was like daily every day just to get up, you know, and to live.
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