A contextual missiological study of The Sheepfold Ministries in the Garissa and Tana River districts of Northeastern Kenya

by

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DECLARATION

I, Francis W. Omondi Otieno, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted to any academic institution for a degree.

Signed: Francis Omondi Date: 26 June 2018

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all who contributed to the development of TSM and especially to the inaugural board members who have since departed this life: Dr Tokunboh Adeyemo, Rev. Gilbert Mulaha, Sister Phoebe Kigira, Rev. Isaac Simbiri and Missionary James C. Wakhu.

To TSM missionaries past and present and many who support this work.

And to all who will in the future commit to mission service.

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ABSTRACT

This research describes the mission work of The Sheepfold Ministries (TSM) in Northeastern Kenya, revealing the extent to which nationals have participated in mission. The case study in this research provides the crucial link between mission theory and practice as espoused by TSM. It further describes the context in which this mission occurred, and how that has shaped and continues to influence mission thinking and practice today.

The data collected during this study makes public the work by TSM, and therefore provides the initial documentation for public awareness and appreciation. In this way, the research gives voice to nationals and their mission work in bringing their unique perspective into the corpus of mission literature. The study further addresses the question about mission's priority today, mission in a turbulent and tumultuous context, and exposes existent gaps that could improve how nationals take part in Christian mission.

The study shows that TSM's involvement was intentional, organized, springing from careful reflection and a response to faith in Christ and that the communities they serve receive their ministry. Thus, the work by TSM missionaries provides a contextual missiological understanding and praxis.

This thesis delineates the missiological paradigm emergent from TSM and brings to light the peculiar stories of national missionaries and their work. It concludes by offering implications and making recommendations for mission, which should inspire more mission work by nationals to the unreached peoples.

ABBREVIATIONS

AE- African Enterprise

AIAI- Al-Ittihad Al-Islami

AIM - Africa Inland Mission

BMS- The Baptist Missionary Society

CMS- Church Missionary Society

CMT- Center for Missions Training

FTT- Finish The Task 2000

KUPnet- Kenya Unreached People network

JKUAT-RPED-Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology,

Research Production and Extension Division

LMS- The London Missionary Society

MANI- Movement for African National Initiative

Msgr.- Monsignor

NEMC- North Eastern Medical Center

TJRC- Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission

TSM -The Sheepfold Ministries

UMFC- United Methodist Free Churches

Bible references

AJ- Agano Jipya, Ndanda Peramiho, Tanzania 1986 Benedictine publication

BFC- Bible en Français Courant

BHN- Bibilia Habari Njema

CEB - Contemporary English Bible

ELB71 of 1871- Evangelical Lutheran Bible 71

ELB of 1905- Evangelical Lutheran Bible (1905)

FRDBY- Bible Darby en Français

KJV- King James Version

LSG- Bible Segond 1910

NAB- New American Bible

NEG79- Nouvelle Edition de Genève 1979

NBS- Nouvelle Bible Segond

PDV 2017- Parole de Vie 2017

SUV- Swahili Union Version

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Irrespective of their motives, there is no question that the Western missionary enterprise of the 19th century introduced Christianity to Kenya and the East African countries. The successful work of the Western missionaries in planting the church and the subsequent revivals ensured that Christianity largely replaced African Religion in the area, leaving pockets of Islamic centers. Despite great sacrifices made by missionaries for this success, of grave concern has been the obfuscation in the study of world mission of the role played by nationals in this success. When mentioned, their roles appear to be very marginal and insignificant in making a contribution to the missionary enterprise. The truth may be different though, since the Western missionaries depended on nationals to translate, guide and provide other help.

Even today in an era touted as a time for the church in the Southern hemisphere to carry Christianity forward due to the maturity of the church, large numbers of Western missionaries still make Kenya and other African countries their destination of service. For instance, Barrett and Johnson (2001:420) give the total number of "aliens received" for missions as 6,000, while only 800 are sent from Kenya. The impression is created of an insatiable need for missionary personnel that nationals are apparently unable to satisfy. Such a situation continues to feed the narrative of great expatriate missionary involvement, because of much documentary attention being focused on these "benevolent" foreigners, and it does so at the expense of the budding national missionary movement. There is, however, an increasing awareness of nationals' entry into mission. Barret and Johnson (2001:241) estimate that a total number of 17,406 African missionaries were being sent to other parts of the world around the year 2000. Nevertheless, this research is suspicious as their figure of 800 national missionaries sent from Kenya is far too

conservative, and the same may be true of their estimate for the number of missionaries sent from the continent as a whole.

This apparent statistical suppression is the reason a number of modern mission scholars are calling for a change in emphasis. For instance, Jenkins (2002:4) maintains: "little attention has been given in scholarship to indigenous aspects of the growth of the church in Africa and its mission".

Hitherto African church history has been written, "as if the Christian church were in Africa, but not of Africa. It stressed the missionary presence while forgetting or neglecting whatever there was of an African initiative, an African dimension of African Church history" (Sundkler and Steed 2000:1) and therefore mission. The result is what Sundkler and Steed say has been: "Producing a history where the Westerner, the foreigner, was the main focus and the African (remained) outside the story" (2000:82) and occasioned the absence of fundamental aspects of African mission history from African mission discourses.

This researcher got involved in missions in the predominantly Islamic regions of Northeastern Kenya, (region covered in this study) from the late-1980s and was disturbed that official documents on the mission work by nationals were scant, and where such documents were available, nationals barely got mentioned. He also became aware of the valuable contribution of nationals through active missionary work and research. The work of The Sheepfold Ministries (TSM) in this increasingly difficult environment provoked this researcher to initiate this study, which will focus on finding out what TSM missionaries have accomplished in the last thirty years, and what lessons can be derived for mission work.

1.2 Purpose of the research

The purpose of this study is to critically examine the mission work by TSM missionaries over the past three decades in the Garissa and Tana River districts of northeastern and coastal regions of Kenya and thus provide a significant perspective on the role that nationals have played in the continued work of mission in Kenya (and beyond). The national workers and the church

in Kenya need such a report to appreciate the work that has been done, and to encourage further missionary work by nationals.

1.3 Research problem and questions

The missionary work by TSM missionaries in Garissa and Tana River districts has not been adequately or scholarly documented; therefore **neither has their contribution to mission been appropriately acknowledged.**

The dearth of information on TSM and national missionaries has led to the lopsided view that missionary work in such areas is still a preserve of white Western people. This perception has resulted in limited engagement or research work of local mission in those areas, which stands in sharp contrast to the attention given to the work of foreign missionaries. Missionary writings retain the old missionary narrative that credits the success of African mission to white Europeans, starting with the very first European protestant missionaries such as Johann Ludwig Krapf (Groves 1954; Crummey 1972; Anderson 1977; Hildebrandt 1981; Baur 1994; Shaw 1996), while remaining completely silent on the crucial contribution of nationals to the missionary enterprise in Africa. *This thesis seeks to bring to light a sampling of stories of national missionaries and their work and to further discuss themes emerging from these narratives*.

The main research problem to be addressed in this thesis is: What impact did the mission understanding and missionary practice of TSM, as a national mission, have on the people of the Garissa and Tana River districts?"

The following four research questions emerge from the main research problem:

- 1. How did the social-historical context shape the understanding of mission concepts, and influence TSM's practice of mission? (Chapter 2)
- 2. What impact did mission work by TSM have on the people of Garissa and Tana River districts? (Chapter 3)
- 3. What can we learn from the missiology implicit in the work of TSM in Northeastern Kenya? (Chapter 4)

4. How can this study bring out the voice of national missionaries that have been rare or kept silent in the discourse of world mission? (Chapter 5)

1.4 Objectives

In order to answers the research question, the following objectives are set in this study:

- 1. To provide a general outline of the early Kenyan missionary history with a view of the impact on Northeastern Kenya. This will include a socio-historical survey of the region, giving the context in which mission occurs and the dynamics that continue to affect work. (Chapter 2)
- 2. To explore and describe the mission work by TSM in Garissa and Tana River districts through the period of this study. The research will seek to quantify the impact this involvement has on the communities of the districts. (Chapter 3)
- 3. To discover the scriptural basis of TSM's mission understanding and missionary work. (Chapter 4)
- 4. To find lessons of missiological import emerging from their work to inform those who seek to do mission work and to encourage the church in Kenya in its mission endeavors. (Chapter 5)

1.5 Hypothesis and assumptions

The study hypothesizes that TSM missionaries have participated in mission in the Northeastern region of Kenya not only as accidental participants, but also as an integral and deliberate, proactive mission organization with an innovative approach to mission. It analyzes the missional impact that TSM has had that is valuable in mission to the "unreached peoples" and that can be useful in other regions of the African continent.

Further, the study assumes that the impact of foreign/ Western missionaries should not be prioritized in the region. The focus on the foreign missionaries

in past mission was supported by a contextual, yet selective, missiology governed by a mission approach that emphasized going to foreign lands.

This study will show how TSM has developed a relevant, effective, and contextual missiology that differs from that of the mission theory and practice of earlier generations.

1.6 Delimitations

The study will focus on the work of TSM, which as a national mission agency working in the area of study provides a leitmotif for the study of national missions. TSM has missionaries working in most of the communities in the area and will provide enough data for analysis. However, it is not an evaluative analysis of their effectiveness or a comparative evaluation between nationals and foreign missionaries. The study will incorporate two earlier scholarly works by Karaku (2006) and Juma (2008), which analyzed aspects of TSM missionary service. It will be taken into account and, where proper, be incorporated in this study even though those researchers went beyond the geographical limits of this research.

This researcher has been actively involved in mission as part of TSM in this region since its inception in the late 1980s. Therefore, apart from the data collected during the research, personal ethnographic knowledge of the area and the people will be used to fill in the documentary gaps, allowing for a comprehensive analysis of TSM work. Overall, this should be regarded as a reflective study of the work for the last three decades from a participant observer's perspective. For this reason, this researcher does not claim to be a wholly objective investigator, but rather a well-informed practitioner with experiential and first-hand knowledge of the subject matter. Nonetheless, every effort will be made to identify objective corroborating resources.

1.7 Research design, methodology and overview

This research used contextual missiology as the overarching study design, in order to reflect the mission journey of TSM expressed in its current praxis (Bate 1998:150-185). The research design is comprised of the following sections:

- 1. Overview of early history of missionary expansion.
- 2. Recent missionary work by national missionaries.
- 3. TSM's scriptural based missiology.
- 4. Conclusions and implications.

The contextual missiological approach was beneficial in explaining the concepts and context of mission and the particular events and processes of TSM involvement over the three decades in real-life or natural settings (Maxwell, 1996).

1.7.1. Overview of early history of missionary expansion (Chapter 2)

According to Pablo A. Deiros (Elliston 2011:138), mathematical certainty and absolute conclusion are impossible in historical research since "its subject matter is unrepeatable human actions of the past" (p. 139). For this reason, Deiros suggests four steps in historical research, which were applied in later chapters (pp. 136-140). The four steps include first, the *heuristic* step, which as a technique, deals with establishing rules to get evidence from the documents that give testimony of past events; to get evidence from documents means to transform them into sources (p. 136). In the second step, the *critique* step, information was critically and qualitatively analyzed. The third, the *synthesis* step, comprises the coherent ordering of the material collected and the resulting historic "construction" or "creation" (p. 137). Fourth, in the *exposition* step, the researcher documents the results obtained through historical research.

1.7.2. Recent missionary work by national missionaries (Chapter 3)

The approaches included field research, naturalistic research, phenomenological research, and case studies research, which were used in Chapter 3. Together they helped explain not only what happened, or who played what role in our area of study, but also why TSM participants became involved, what their perspectives of the situations were, and how they have

influenced what is happening in the mission area to date (Kaplan and Shaw 2004:215-231). TSM participants were interviewed in depth and were asked to give detailed accounts of their experience and perspectives on the specific situations. They were further studied systematically in their natural setting. Confidential documents available only at TSM head office not in public domain due to security concerns such as letters to supporters have also been used (Creswell 2009).

Being a staff member and a leader at TSM, this researcher had open access to both archival material and the people selected for the study and thus did not need an introductory letter. However, the researcher sought permission and explained to all concerned the aim of the research and how it would benefit TSM and the course of mission worldwide, which was according to the recommendation made by Spradley (2002:13). Data collected from interview transcripts, documents, written observational descriptions of activities, conversations, and a collection of other artefacts of people's actions, were valuable aids to the goal of this study: the understanding of the phenomena of work by TSM missionaries in Garissa and Tana River districts.

1.7.3. TSM's scriptural based missiology (Chapter 4)

The evaluation part of the research focused on the exegetical study to establish the mission understanding of TSM. This research follows Kighoma's use of contextual missiology for the development of mission theory (2017:23). Kighoma integrates historical research, surveys with interviews and focused group discussions, exegetical studies, and theological research (Elliston 2001: 68) to do missiology as a contextual theology reflecting on the Church mission as it expresses itself in contemporary praxis.

In order to provide a new missiological focus, it was necessary also to apply missiological theology methods recommended by Paul Hiebert (Taylor, 2000:164-168). This involved four steps. The first involves *Phenomenology*, which studies the current ministry cases and biblical parallels to find precedents in scriptures. This requires mission theologian to "seek to understand the cultural context as the people they serve understand it" (p.

167). This is also referred to as an "emic" analysis, different from "etic" analysis, which uses the categories and logic of the analyst, and is based on a comparative study of many cultures and societies. Second is the application of *Ontology*, the examination of both the people's and the theologian's understanding of the particular situation in the light of biblical revelation. The third step is the *Evaluation* of the present situation in the light of biblical teachings and a decision on what should be done. Finally, *Missiology* helps people move from where they are culturally and historically to where God wants them to be.

As criteria for evaluation, Hiebert's (1994:88-90) critical contextualization approach was valuable. This involves four steps:

- 1. the exegesis of culture;
- 2. the exegesis of Scripture;
- 3. the hermeneutical bridge critical evaluation of the cultural concept in the light of Scripture with a decision on how to respond;
- 4. and the critical response which applies the new contextualized concept expressing Christian meaning.

This process of evaluating the context of TSM work and the exegetical study enabled the researcher to elucidate the missiological framework by TSM and to humbly propose the new paradigm.

1.7.4. Conclusions and implications (Chapter 5)

After observing the mission work of TSM in the northern Kenya districts of Garissa and Tana River, the research offers some implications and conclusions in the final chapter.

1.8 Overview of the study

Chapter One relays the background of the research by elaborating on the challenge of the scarcity of information about national missionaries and describes the work of TSM. It also enumerates the questions that the study seeks to answer and further explains the design and methodologies the study

uses. Finally Chapter One describes the terms and abbreviations used in the study.

In Chapter Two an overview of the early history of missionary expansion is described. This explains the present context in which TSM missionaries work. It also describes the socio-historical context of the Garissa and Tana River districts. This provides further gravitas to the mission work of nationals. The chapter shows how the peoples of the Garissa and Tana River districts in our study have had a greater affinity with their extended families in southern Ethiopia and also south and central Somalia. The research explains how, like rippling circles, events in the Horn of Africa countries of Somalia and Ethiopia have influenced events in Northeastern Kenya. This chapter explains how social and historical factors have affected the religious and political makeup of the people of this region. It explains why practicing Christian mission remains a challenge to this day.

Chapter Three explores the recent missionary work by national missionaries in the Garissa and Tana River districts. The findings include how and where missionaries worked, what work they did and the community's reception of their work. It also describes TSM as a national mission agency and shows the array of services they provided, how they instituted the projects and the way the projects were received. The case study on Peragia Wangui Masinde provides a clear illustration of the general argument developed in this thesis that TSM missionaries worked in mission, and their work should be in the historical records of mission achievements.

Chapter Four critically examines TSM's scripture-based missiology and describes current mission practices and missiological reflections. It also focuses on the importance of establishing a Biblical basis for a more inclusive missiology. It does so by conducting a missiological exegesis of John 10:16 and other Scripture. Thus a new missiological paradigm is proposed from this exegesis, a paradigm that forms the basic framework for how TSM understands and practices mission. This also leads to a contextualized

definition of mission and missionaries, as demonstrated in the mission work of TSM in the Garissa and Tana River districts.

Chapter Five offers some conclusions and implications implicit in the work of TSM and the new paradigm. It suggests a general mission strategy and training based on the proposed paradigm. Conclusions are also drawn with recommendations for further research. Of further interest is the assessment of what the future portends for the church in Africa with the dual contextual changes taking place: increasing influence of Islam and inverse decline of Christianity. Scholars should benefit from the residual lessons of TSM's work in developing healthy relationships with Muslims.

1.9 Definition of terms

For the purpose of this study the researcher has found it important to define the following terms:

1.9.1 Church

This research will refer to the church (*Ekklesia* Greek), in its general sense, "a calling out," especially "a religious congregation, an assembly" (Strong's Exhaustive Concordance, #1577). It designates the body of believers of which Jesus Christ is head and indicates the entire group worldwide, or it can designate a particular local group of individuals. Therefore, when used to refer to the church in Kenya, it will mean either the general Christian community or specific denominations when noted.

1.9.2 Dawa

Dawa literally means "call" or "invitation" to Islam, that is, to Islamic missionary work.

1.9.3 Galla

The Amharas of Ethiopia and the Arabs used the word *Galla* to refer to the Oromo people. They call themselves the Oromo, which means "sons of men". Dr Krapf pointed out that it means, "to go home". They occupied southeast to west Ethiopia and most of northern Kenya. The remnants of the Galla are the

Borana of northern Kenya and the Orma of Tana River in Kenya. According to Iuxon Barton:

Probably those Galla whose southward route lay near the East Coast of Africa and who are now found along the Tana River and in the neighborhood of Witu are correctly described by Dr Krapf as 'more primitive' than those of Abyssinia. (1924:6)

The name Oromo is preferred in this study, although Galla will be used when it appears in direct quotation.

1.9.4 Integral mission

Also known as "holistic mission", it is a mission concept focusing on the activities of the Church in the world to mirror God's actions (the "Missio Dei" vision). It is an integrated approach to mission that does not treat the mission elements independently or in isolation, but rather weaves the different strands to work together in harmony (Corrie 2009:259). Therefore evangelism, social justice, stewardship of creation, healing and reconciliation are all mutually organized to affect mission. Integral mission aims for the transformation of the community. Transformation is understood as a change from a condition of human existence contrary to God's purposes to one in which people are able to enjoy the fullness of life in harmony with God.

1.9.5 Missio Dei

The Latin words *Missio Dei* can be translated as the "mission of God". In essence, it refers to the fact that mission is the work of God, and therefore the church's mission derives from it. Jurgen Moltmann illustrates this point when he notes: "...it is not the church that has a mission of salvation to fulfil in the world; it is the mission of the Son and the Holy Spirit through the Father that includes the church" (1977:64). *Missio Dei* is establishing the Kingdom of the triune God in the world and, therefore the church's mission. There is a possibility of applying the wrong meaning of the Kingdom of God, as Hiebert (1996:40) states: "If we speak of mission as *Missio Dei*, but do not define *Dei*, we are free to equate the Kingdom with our own utopia - with Marxism, capitalism, or socialism. The kingdom of God to which we bear witness is the Kingdom defined by Christ, its King". The church, as a community of God's

followers, becomes an instrument of God, rather than being the proprietor of the action.

1.9.6 Mission trend

This is a prevailing direction or drift in which mission work is developing. It can be a major trend or a significant trend if it turns out to be consequential in the course of missions. That is, it will tend to define the future.

1.9.7 National missionaries

The nationals are missionaries, because they share the Christian message in almost exclusively non-Christian communities. They come from outside the community, but not from outside the country. This differentiates them from the foreign or expatriate missionaries in service in the area.

1.9.8 Recent period

This term refers to the years between 1985 and the present, 2017. It is practically over the past three decades that national missions have emerged.

1.9.9 Sacramental mission

John Corrie (2009:263) shows that sacramental mission can be understood either as "specifically in relation to the church and their liturgies or, more generally, in relation to a recognition that any of the ordinary things of life are potential mediators of the grace of God". Sacraments are designed to be missional, especially when they act as proclamation and demonstration of gospel truths. John Drane (2004:49) recognizes that "there is a need for missiological orientation in the church's attitude to the innate sacramentality of those who are not Christians". This is an approach to mission where sacraments are at the center. It has its roots in the Augustinian tradition and theology that puts the real and the symbolic together, pointing out that the sign shares in the reality it signifies. A sacrament is, therefore, more than merely symbolic, but actively proclaims the gospel.

1.9.10 Salafism

Salafi Muslims believe in returning to the ways of their "pious ancestors", the Salaf, such as Muhammed and his immediate successors who practiced a pure form of Islam.

1.9.11 The Sheepfold Ministries (TSM)

TSM is a national mission agency founded in 1988, at the close of the FOCUS students' mission conference, Commission 88. The ministry works in Eastern Africa, the Horn of Africa, and the Sahel among the unreached people groups where there has been little or no impact of the gospel by the churches. To this end, TSM recruits, trains and sends cross-cultural missionaries to work among unreached people groups in the Horn and Coastal regions of East Africa. Today, TSM has missionaries and staff workers among eight people groups in Kenya, three in Tanzania and five in Mozambique. TSM combines evangelism and social work.

1.9.12 Trinitarian mission

This approach focuses on God's "invitation to participate in the Trinity, not merely as a model community, but because in Trinity, we discover the meaning of community as we share in the triune life of divine interrelationship" (Corrie 2009:265). As a missiological concept, it means that our engagement in mission is a participation in God's continuing work of creation, and not merely in its redemption. According to John Taylor (1972:37), "Mission therefore means to recognize what the Creator-Redeemer is doing in His world and try to do it with him".

1.9.13 Unreached people groups (UPGs)

This study will generally adopt (unless qualified) the term as used by *Joshua Project*, which defines it as:

An identifiable group of people distinguished by a distinct culture, language, or social class who lack a community of Christians able to evangelize the rest of the people group without outside help. The only opportunity for the people group to hear about salvation is through 'external witnesses'. (Joshua Project, 2017)

When any ethnic or ethnolinguistic nation is without enough Christians to evangelize the rest of the nation, then the nation is unreached (Morreau 2001:180-3). According to Operation Joshua, evangelization should continue in that nation even when the Christian population reaches 2%, and that nation considered reached, because there is cause to continue making Christ known. While Muslims together with Hindus and Buddhists are a quarter of the world's population and form the bulk of the unreached people groups worldwide (Park and Scott, 2010), the unreached people in this research will mainly be the adherents of Islam.

1.9.14 Wahhabism

This is a strict puritanical form of Sunni Islam, founded in the 18th century predominantly in Saudi Arabia (Sookhdeo 2014:236). Wahhabis put their emphases on the strict scriptural authority of the Quran and Sunna (the Islamic tradition) as the instructions –theological roadmap– for the organization and structure by which to build an Islamic state (caliphate).

1.10 Summary

This introductory chapter gives the basis for carrying out this research by explaining why little attention has been paid to the work of nationals' missionaries in the Garissa and Tana River districts. The thesis identifies the major problems to be investigated and selects the methodologies to be employed. This chapter develops an understanding of terms and abbreviations that will be used during this study. There is also a brief summary of the study, explaining the content of the following chapters.

Chapter two will explore the missionary history of Kenya and the impact this has had on mission work in the Garissa and Tana River districts from the time of European missionary arrival. Further, a description will be made of the socio-historical survey to paint a clear picture of the context in which mission occurred.

CHAPTER 2

THE EARLY MISSIONARY HISTORY AND SOCIO-HISTORICAL MILIEU OF NORTHEASTERN KENYA

2.1 Introduction

To provide a clear understanding of the mission context of Garissa and Tana River districts, this chapter explores the early missionary history and also looks into the social-historical context of the region. The first part of the chapter outlines a selected missionary history of the coast and northern Kenya regions. This focuses on the Western missionary attempts to reach the people of Tana River and Garissa districts. The Portuguese did the early missionary work in Kenya along the coastal region ruled by rival Muslim Sultans. The turf wars pitching rival Muslim Sultans on one side and the Portuguese traders on the other stalled the missionary attempts here. A fresh mission impetus came in the 19th century with the Protestant missionaries who took the Gospel inland. Among them were those that sought to reach the Oromo people in Tana River district where TSM works today. This anchors the work of TSM in the long tradition of missionary work and, therefore, acknowledges the relevance of national missionary work.

The second part looks into the social-historical development of the region to provide an understanding of the context in which mission practice and thinking occurred. The section explores the political and religious development of the region and what influence the Somali people of Garissa district had. There are several people groups in Tana River and Garissa districts, but this research selects to examine in some details the Orma and Pokomo. This historical and social context provides nuances that influenced mission and continues to date.

2.2 The early missionary history of Kenya

The first missionaries to arrive on the East African coast were the Portuguese in the late 1490s. They came to the general area that later became Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. This area borders Ethiopia to the north and Somalia to the east, reaching along the coast to Mozambique, and stretching inland to the great lakes region in the west. The missionaries first contacted the Swahili people, who had adopted the creed of the Arabs. The Portuguese were unsuccessful in converting the Africans living along the coast (Hildebrandt 1981:64). Their chief focus was their commercial interest in India, and there was no desire to engage in missionary work in the interior region until the great missionary era of the 1900s.

To gain sufficient understanding of the intrigues of this era, one must acknowledge that the encounters between the Portuguese and the Arabs on both sides of the Indian Ocean took place in the spirit of crusades and jihads (Baur 1994:86). The Arabs saw the Portuguese as "infidels" and, more importantly, feared the threats they posed to their trading empire in the Indian Ocean region. Part of the Portuguese strategy was to establish the Kilwa and Mombasa forts to safeguard their interests - spice trade routes to the Far East. It is understandable, therefore, that Portuguese' missions in East Africa between 1500 and 1700 gained few converts among the Africans or the Arabs (Hildebrandt 1981:65).

Initially, the Portuguese depended on the invaluable and unique maritime knowledge of the Arab traders on the Indian Ocean for crossovers. For example, there was no way Vasco da Gama, the famed Portuguese explorer, would have reached India, had not the Arab Sultan of Malindi welcomed him and given him aid on his way. The Sultan of Malindi lured the visitors into being allies to aid him in the constant power struggle of the city-states against his archrival, the Sultan of Mombasa (Baur 1994:87).

The erection of a *padrao*, a Portuguese word for a large stone cross, inscribed with the coat of arms of Portugal, was placed as part of a land claim by Vasco da Gama, on the Malindi coast, which exists to this day. It was the first sign of

the presence of Christianity in East Africa. It was done with the permission of the Sultan, in effect placing the coast within the Portuguese *Conquista*. But it was Cabral later in 1500 with his crew who showed intent to bring Christianity to the region. He brought with him eight chaplains and one priest of the Franciscan order, who according to Baur (1994:87) "were to use their spiritual swords before he used his physical one". One of them was the first to preach the Gospel to the East African people. On arrival in Mombasa, the friar put a flag with the cross over the royal palace, a move that was not only insensitive but also ineffective.

It took a long while before renewed interest in evangelism was shown by the Portuguese conquerors. In 1567 a group of Augustinian friars built a monastery at Mombasa (Hildebrandt 1981:65), but to secure them and their work the Portuguese captain placed a fort in Mombasa. This was the forerunner of the now famous Fort Jesus built between 1593-95, following the decline of the Shirazi dynasty of Mombasa. The friars showed remarkable missionary zeal, in the estimation of Baur, resulting in 600 coverts in 1598, and after three years they had registered 1200 baptisms, one of them being a Bantu chief (1981:88). They did not restrict their work to conversions alone; it is observed that there was also a house for the sick and destitute called Misericordia, run by brothers and supported by local Christians (Barrett and others 1973:29).

In 1598 three missionary priests moved to Lamu, although their work there only lasted a few years. Most successful among the missionaries seems to have been an Augustinian father at Faza. This was the only place on the Lamu Archipelago where a priest was able to stay for a reasonable time. With the help of the Sultan, Fr. Diego de Espirito Santo not only built a church there but also established a solid friendship between Portugal and Faza during his 30-year ministry. (Baur 1994:98)

The waning of the Portuguese influence on trade and the East African coast by the end of the seventeenth century saw the decline of Portuguese missionary activities. The missionaries were inextricably associated with the traders and the conquerors, such that the plight of the latter affected them. In the course of their 100-year activity on the east African coast, the missionaries were highly esteemed, with the result that only eleven friars suffered martyrdom. (Baur 1994:91)

The year 1844 marks a significant new beginning for mission in the region. This is when the Church Missionary Society's Dr. Johann Ludwig Krapf (German Lutheran) and his wife Rosine moved from Zanzibar to the mainland of what became Kenya, landing in Mombasa within the domain of the Sultan Sayyid Said of Zanzibar, to establish their mission in great weakness. Krapf, who was later joined by John Rebmann, started the early work of Protestant missionaries in the interior of East Africa. No missionary had attempted to reach the peoples of the East Coast since the Augustinians of the seventeenth century (Shaw 1996:181). Krapf developed the desire to evangelize the Oromo people during his first missionary service in the Shoa region of Ethiopia. He heard legendary stories of a fierce people who frequently raided the Ethiopian Christian Empire. The Oromo were mainly pagan people, some of whom were Muslims and estimated to be about eight million (Anderson 1977:2). They were a nomadic people, arguably the largest and most versatile community of the region, whose area stretched east to Ethiopia and to the coastal region of Kenya. For this reason, Krapf regarded them as holding the key to evangelizing eastern Africa (Crummey 1972:49). Krapf could not realize this dream from Ethiopia. He was refused entry repeatedly in 1842, prompting him to seek an alternative way in through East Africa from 1844.

As early as the 1840s, Krapf saw the pressure Islam exerted on the peoples of the region, pushing from the Horn of Africa on one hand and from the coast on the other, and the threat this was to the success of missionary enterprise. For this reason, he favored British intervention, creating space for mission work in the region (Shaw 1986:184). The establishment in 1841 of some sort of diplomatic ties between Britain and the Sultan of Zanzibar provided a perfect impetus for the work of mission into the interior of eastern Africa (Baur 1994:224). This was indeed why Krapf and his team were allowed entry into the vast interior of the Sultanate. Krapf was now set to approach his target, the Oromo people from the south coast inward, beginning at Rabai Mpya in 1849.

Here and in the meantime, he and colleague Rebmann sought to bring into the church the Wanyika people, part of the Giriama peoples. (Anderson 1977:2-4)

The desire to contact the Oromo people in the north weighed heavily on Krapf's heart, so that he made efforts to visit a Kamba chief, Chief Kivoi, whom he had met in Mombasa (Hildebrandt 1981:124). Groves narrates how this journey to Kivoi's settlement started in 1849 November 1st:

It was a hard march through the desert country with water at rare intervals and imminent risk of running into a Masai foraging party... three weeks' travel brought them to the plains of Yatta, an extensive lava plateau some 3200 feet high. Krapf's statement of his missionary objective met with a sincere welcome: 'I fully understand your purpose and you shall have all your requests', said Kivoi. After an absence of fifty-one days, Krapf was once more back at Rabai on December 21, 1849. (1954:104)

Groves further observes that Krapf did not make meaningful contact with the Oromo during this trip as he had hoped, but "saw Mount Kenya for the first time". (1954:105)

At this time Krapf conceived a new plan of developing a "chain of mission stations" across Africa starting from Mombasa and reaching the Gabon River in West-Central Africa (Hildebrandt 1981:125). He traveled to Europe to sell this idea in 1850. The CMS, his sending mission, liked this proposal, and so authorized him to establish the next two stations in the interior: one in Usambara to the south and among the Wakamba.

Upon his return in 1851, Krapf started out to Kivoi's settlement with the aim of beginning a settled mission work among the Kamba. Disaster struck before the work took root. As they traversed the land in search of a "highway" for missionaries traveling inland, they thought that Tana River would be the answer. Before the party could reach Tana, it was attacked by a band of more than a hundred robbers. Kivoi and some of his men were killed; Krapf and the other men escaped, going in different directions. After many hardships, Krapf returned to Kivoi's village and told what happened. Some of the villagers spared his life, prevailing over their colleagues who sought to kill him in

revenge, and escorted him back to the coast bringing this attempt to a premature end:

Krapf now realized that it was hopeless to begin a mission station in Ukamba under the existing circumstances. The extremely dangerous route, together with the distance would make regular communication next to impossible ... he reluctantly came to the conclusion that the projected mission must be postponed, though he hoped not abandoned. (Groves 1954:107)

A very sad observation is made of the pioneer Protestant missionary work in East Africa; for all the CMS labor, they did not see many converts, nor did they advance the Gospel very far inland (Hildebrandt 1981:126). This conclusion, however, failed to recognize the foundation that the work of Krapf and his CMS team laid.

The writings of Krapf, published in 1860, particularly show how his dream of converting the Oromo persuaded the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Methodist Free Churches (UMFC) in England to send missionaries to the Oromo (Anderson 1977:6).

The efforts of the mission to the Oromo by UMFC happened in three waves. In 1862 Krapf himself led a party of four missionaries to Mombasa, settling them further inland in Ribe. Among them were two Swiss missionaries sent to Kauma, near Malindi. Although this was not home to the Oromo people, the missionaries had thought being close to the Oromo would be a stepping-stone for a greater plunge. It was not long before they realized they had no missionary calling and left.

The second attempt involved Thomas Wakefield, who arrived in 1862 and had been sent to the Usambara, but that mission failed, too, and he returned to Ribe. In 1863 Charles New joined him, and together they were to focus on the Oromo. Their mission was fraught with setbacks. In 1864 their Giriama porters refused to proceed to the Oromo country for fear of their safety. They found a new team of porters with whom they managed to reach Kauma. Here they negotiated with some elusive Oromo elders, who abandoned both them and the deal the following day. They returned to Ribe to start all over again. In the second attempt, they contacted the Oromo people by sailing to Malindi and

then trekking inland, reaching the Oromo chief of Ganda in a village of some 300 people beyond the Tana delta. (Hildebrandt 1981:127)

So despite their attempt, the Methodists failed to establish mission work among the Oromo in the Tana River area. It became plain to them that Krapf had overrated the Oromo. Their population was not as had been thought, and they lived in fear of the Masai people, so that the "slightest mention of the Masai approaching caused consternation" among them (Groves 1954:289). This diminished their importance as the "key tribe" in East Africa as Krapf had suggested. Instead, they encouraged some of the Oromo to come to Ribe in Mombasa where they were taught the Word, resulting in the first Oromo believers being baptized in 1870.

The third attempt took place in 1884. Two outposts were established at Lamu and Kau, both set to reach the Oromo country during this venture (Anderson 1977:7). During, a Sierra Leonian missionary, led this mission, but worked with Oromo Christians, Aba Shora, and Matthew Shakala.

Wakefield made another attempt to settle among the Oromo at Golbanti in 1885. John and Annie Houghton joined him in the following year. In February 1886 the inevitable yet dreadful occurred. The Masai raided Golbanti, taking the cattle and killing Christians among the villagers. This was followed by another raid, during which the Houghtons were killed in May 1886. This mission came to an unfortunate and sudden end three months after its beginning (Hildebrandt 1981:128). Wakefield survived this attack, but had to withdraw and return to England in 1887. He had served as a missionary on the coast for 25 years. He died in 1901 with his last words: "Is it dawn?" (Anderson 1977:8). It was not.

In 1887 the German Neukirchener Mission started a station to work in Lamu, but moved to Ngao on the Banks of the Tana River in the present Tana River district. The mission to the Oromo came to a halt with the opening of the inland of Kenya.

The attention of mission quickly shifted to the newly accessible communities in Central Kenya. The colonial administration in the late 1890s and the early

1900s encouraged missionaries to work inland, and with the operation of the railway line, the movement inland became less perilous. The inland communities were hospitable and welcoming to the missionaries. Thus on arriving, new missions went inland to other people groups, leaving out the communities in the Tana River and Garissa districts.

Renewed mission attempts were made in recent times (from the mid-1980s) among the communities in Garissa and Tana River districts. Peter Cameron Scott also drew inspiration from Krapf to set up African Inland Missions (AIM) to reach the heart of Africa from the East to Lake Chad in West Africa. The AIM working together with the Society of International Ministries (SIM) and the Mennonites' Central Committee of East Africa sent expatriate missionaries who worked among Somali people of Garissa. The AIM and the Africa Inland Church (AIC) have also done some missionary work among the Orma people in Tana River in intermittent intervals since the late 1960s, but stopped in 1990 due to lack of security. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) staff are doing Bible translation amongst the Orma and Welwana and carrying out more missionary work in the region.

Several churches have also been working in the area. The Catholic Church has established mission centers in Garissa focusing on the Somali people since the early 1970s in Bura, Hola, and Garsen in Tana River district. The Anglican Church began work in Garissa in the early 1970s as a chaplaincy to serve the civil servants working in the districts. This was the main purpose for the Protestant churches, to worship and not to do mission.

2.3 Summary

Missionary work by the Portuguese on the coast laid the first claim of the Church's presence in Kenya. The establishments of the Muslim empires quashed the budding community of believers for over a century before the new initiatives were made. The Protestant missionaries who began new work focused inland where they made significant inroads in establishing the church. People of Garissa and Tana River districts were also the focus of this early missionary initiative. The Oromo, for instance, were considered by Krapf and

later missionaries to be key in church expansion in the region. This community did not develop strong enough to carry out mission as was envisaged by the missionaries. The later changes in the missionary focus, to people groups further inland, led to the shift from the region that left its people unreached. This missionary history continues to inspire Christians to follow in the steps of the early missionaries in reaching the people of Tana River, as shall be explained in the case study in Chapter 3 of this research.

In the next part, the researcher will explore the social-historical milieu of the region.

2.4 Socio-historical survey of Northeastern Kenya

In describing the socio-historical context of the Garissa and Tana River districts of Kenya, it will be prudent to examine the rippling circles of Northeastern Kenya through the prism of the Horn of Africa countries of Somalia and Ethiopia. The people of the districts of our study have had a great affinity with their extended families in southern Ethiopia and south and central Somalia.

Surveying the historical milieu of the region would be too great a task and would go beyond the limits of this study. This is why this researcher explored the social-historical context involving a mix of social and historical factors. This is the historical background of society, where the focus will be placed on the Somali of Garissa district. Social survey, which involves culture, home life, religion, and the daily living conditions of ordinary people, will mainly focus on the Pokomo, Munyoyaya and Orma of Tana River district.

2.5 Garissa district

Garissa is one of the three county districts in Northeastern Province (NEP) and part of the Northern Frontier District. In 1925 the Northern Frontier District was carved out of the Jubaland region in present-day southern Somalia (Osman, 1993:1-10). At the time under British colonial administration, the northern half of Jubaland was ceded to Italy as a reward for the Italians' support of the allies during World War I (Oliver 1976:7). Britain kept control

of the southern half of the territory, which they called the Northern Frontier District and later renamed the North Eastern Province (Osman, 1993:1). On June 26, 1960, four days before granting British Somaliland independence, the British government declared that all Somali-inhabited areas of East Africa should be unified into one administrative region. However, when the former British colonies in the region were dissolved, Britain granted administration of the Northern Frontier District to Kenyan nationalists despite an informal plebiscite showing the overwhelming desire of the region's population to join the newly formed Somali Republic (Laitin 1977:75). Besides, the ethnic Somalis almost exclusively inhabited the NFD (Vallat, 1974:20).

At Kenya's independence in August 1963, British officials realized that the new Kenyan regime was not willing to give up the Somali-inhabited areas now under its jurisdiction. Led by the Northern Province People's Progressive Party (NPPPP) the Somalis in the NFD sought union with their kin in the Somali Republic to the north (Baker 2003:83). To keep the region as part of Kenya, the Kenyan government enacted several repressive measures designed to frustrate the secessionist efforts in the *Shifta* War.

The measures included putting Somali leaders in preventive detention, where some remained well into the late 1970s, as well as restricting general access to the North Eastern Province (along with other parts of Kenya) as a "secluded" area ostensibly closed to all outsiders, including members of parliament, as a means of protecting the nomadic inhabitants. News from the region was very difficult to obtain. A number of reports, however, accused the Kenyan government of the mass slaughter of entire villages of Somali citizens, and of setting up large "protected villages" - in effect concentration camps. The government refused to acknowledge the ethnically based irredentist motives of the Somalis, making constant reference to official statements on the *shifta* (bandit) problem in the area. (Howard 1986:95)

These hostilities ceased in the early 1990s with the government lifting the curfew and ban on travel by night in the region. Increasingly more and more Kenyans of the Somali ethnic group have been included in government, and efforts have been made for the political development of the region. Although

the conflict ended in a cease-fire, and gestures have been made to include the Somalis into the Kenyan society, "Somalis in the region still identify and maintain close ties with their brethren in Somalia". (Mwakikagile 2007:79) Even while settling in different parts of the country, they have continued to marry from their own community, created Somali colonies in big cities, where they have taken residence, and formed a cohesive ethnic network (JKUAT-RPD 2005: 27).

2.5.1 People of Garissa district

According to Somali mythology, three Sheikhs crossed over from Arabia to Somalia, married local women and established the Somali clan families. Sheik Daarood arrived about the tenth century with Dir and Isaaq preceding him by several centuries (Shenk 1972:25). In about the tenth century, the Somalis began exerting pressure on the Oromo and the Bantu tribes who occupied the southern panhandle. They moved southward along the Shabelle River and the Indian Ocean coastline, and by the thirteenth century Somali tribes had occupied as far south as Merca on the Indian Ocean coast. In the early twentieth century, the last vestige of the Oromo power in the inter-fluvial area was dissipated. The Somali people were quick in their occupation of the region and easily gained new ground, so that by 1909 they had begun massing along the Tana River of Northern Kenya. It took the British authority's intervention to prevent further Somali expansion. Ethnic Somalis now predominantly inhabit Garissa district.

The main Somali clans in Northeastern Kenya are the Ogaden, Gurreh, Ajuran, Degodia and other Hawiye (Oucho, 2002:51). Scheel observes the Somali ethnic composition of northern Kenya to be, "the Darood Somali, mainly Ogaden (Telmuggeh, Mohamed Zubeir, Mashable, Habar Suleman) who entered what is now Garissa District and later expanded into Wajir District" (1989:43). This seems to be the last frontier of the Somali southward movement from the Horn of Africa to the Tana River banks.

During the nine centuries of Somali expansionism, the Oromo and Bantu groups who were not exterminated were assimilated/absorbed into the

Somali matrix or retreated south into Kenya or westward into Ethiopia, thereby displacing people in those regions (Lewis 1961:23-25).

2.5.2 Religion in the district

Understanding the development of Islam in the region is valuable in comprehending the nuances that shaped the religious context of Garissa and Tana River districts today. The effect of these developments and isolation of the people determined the religion in the region. Islam.

The whole region where Somalis live is predominantly Islamic. Islamization of the region sprang from the coastal towns. These towns grew to become centers of Islamic commercial activities and cultural diffusion. Lewis notes how Zeila, on the northern coast, emerged as a significant center early in the Muslim era, and by the fifteenth century, Mogadishu and Harar (in current Ethiopia) enjoyed similar renown (Lewis 1961:18).

Arab traders were the medium of this expansion. As they settled in Somali towns, they married Somali or Galla women, by which they established Muslim dynasties or influential clan-families. This also drew religious instructors into towns, who attracted disciples through their magical powers and expertise in deciphering the written word. This was an era of amazing innovations. In the twelfth century, Sharif Yusuf ibn Ahmad al-Kaweyn produced an orthography, which is still in use by Somali students of Arabic, by introducing Somali adaptations to the Arabic script (Lewis 1966:25). The resultant expression of Islam developing here during the sixteenth century became Sufism. It fused Islam with Somali indigenous culture, thereby becoming a revitalizing force within Somali Islam (p. 24-31).

The now crystallized Somali-Islam needed special agents to take it inland. Lewis observes that it was the nomads, not the townsmen, who have been "the main carriers of Islam and its principle local exponents" (p. 8). Somali Islam has never succumbed to the trappings of hierarchy, or expatriate or urban dominance.

The other way this Islam spread inland and to other communities was by Somali expansion. The thousand years of Somali expansionism was

synonymous with the Islamization of the region. Lewis suggests that, in fact, Islam might have stimulated Somali wars by encouraging jihad, and it provided support for their traditional "sentiments of ethnic exclusiveness and superiority" (1966:34).

The coming of the Portuguese in the region stirred up a turbulent era. Already the Somali expansionism had instigated devastating wars, pitching the Christian Abyssinia (Ethiopia) against northern Arabs, causing a debilitating impact on the region (Lewis 1961:10-11). The ensuing wars have been indelibly implanted into the Somali national psyche, with leaders like Ahmed Guray being lauded as national heroes and celebrated in all Somali regions including Garissa (1961:16-17).

The end of these wars, besides affecting the regional dynamics, brought in changes in Islam as were practiced by the Somalis. The increasing Arabian influence throughout the region was occasioned by the Portuguese withdrawal from Eastern Africa in the eighteenth century. The renewed immigration of the Arabs became possible under the relatively peaceful coastal suzerainty of the Omani Arabs and the gradual ascendancy of Zanzibar. This renewed infusion of Adamawa culture reinforced the Sunni Shafi'ite legal tradition in Somalia, thereby assuring homogeneity in Somali Islamic orthodoxy. (Trimingham 1964:20)

In practice, the Somalis practiced an eclectic form of Sunni Islam, which is "infused with Sufistic belief and practice". (Shenk 1972:69) Then, as today, the role of saint cults has remained central as part of their faith in an attempt to make the faith work for them. This expression of faith does not make them any less fervent Muslims as Lewis averred; the Somali has a practical mentality and consequently, he uses his religion to enhance his position in contemporary life (1966:59). It should be understood, therefore, that Sufism pervades the brand of Islam practiced by the Somali even in Kenya. It is represented by four orders listed here according to the sequence of apparent significance "Qadiriya, Saalihiya, Ahmediya and Rifa'iyya". (1966:592)

The colonial era in the closing decades of the nineteenth century also had an impact on the Somali region. The British occupied the north and the Italians

the south, although the area south of the Juba valley remained in British hands until 1925 (Lewis 1966:19-20). Ethiopia claimed that the Indian Ocean was her eastern boundary, and respective European powers attempted alternately to placate, threaten or invade her (Drysdale 1964:40-47).

The British and Italian rule appeared to hasten and enhance the Islamization of the region. First, by drawing Muslims into their administration, the colonial powers tended to favor Islamic laws above the customary law. Paid Muslim judges (Qadis) were appointed to serve the alien government (Trimingham 1965:275).

Secondly, the presence of alien Christian authority stimulated a sense of Islamic solidarity in opposition to the "infidels". This was aggravated by the European collusion with Ethiopia, which was interpreted as the internationalization of the perpetual hostility between Muslims and Christians in the Horn of Africa. A twist in this relationship was seen in the Italians' attempt to win Somali support for their Ethiopian invasion of 1936. The Italians had earlier evicted the Swedish missionaries in 1935 from the Juba river area where they had been working for nearly forty years. (Pankhurst, 1951)

One of the legacies of the colonial interests in this region was the jihad against Christian rule led by Sheikh Muhammed Abdille Hassan. He has popularly been known also as the "Mad Mullah", but to the Somalis, he is "Sayyid" referring to his genealogical descent from the prophet Mohammed's family, the Quraysh. Abdille popularized the Sufistic mystical *Saalihiya* religious order in Somalia and co-operated with the British authorities. But in 1899 when he learned of the presence of Christian missionary teachers in the country, he proclaimed a jihad against the British. He sought to recruit all Somalis through persuasion or compulsion to join the cause. From 1900 to 1920 neither the British, Italian nor Ethiopian authorities succeeded in crushing the movement until the advent of the airplane, when Sayyid's massive forts at Taleh were effectively bombed. He died shortly thereafter of natural causes. Sayyid stimulated the aspiration for modern Somali nationhood. His militant religious poetry is embedded in Somali national lore, and according to Lewis, he epitomizes the

forceful traits of character and cunning, which Somalis most respect. (Lewis 1966:225-226)

In 1936, Italy invaded Ethiopia, and in 1940, occupied the British Northern protectorate. This was reversed in 1941 when the Italians were forced to retreat, with the British regaining authority over northern and southern Somalia. In 1950 southern Somalia was returned to Italy as United Nations Trust territory with the mandate to grant independence by 1960. Both north and south achieved independence in 1960, and immediately thereafter both united to become the Somali Republic. (Lewis 1966:19-20)

These politico-historical developments and religious evolution in Somalia laid a foundation upon which both the religious and political life of Somalis in the whole region would be built. Somali people in Kenya and Garissa, in particular, continue to be influenced and shaped by this history and heritage to this day.

2.5.3 Rise of Wahhabism

It will be helpful to examine how these influences affected the Kenyan Somalis and more so those of Garissa region.

The Garissa of the 1990s saw a dramatic change in Islamic theology and practice. There was an increasing growth and influence of the Wahhabism brand of Islam, emanating from Salafism at the expense of the age-old "Sufism", which had been the core of Islam in the region. Salafis give special importance to the strict scriptural authority of the Quran and Sunna (the Islamic tradition) for instruction and as a theological roadmap on one hand, and as a social construct, the organization and structure by which to build an Islamic society on the other. Their practice contrasts with the Wahhabis whose

...core message is an implicitly political critique of the secular, nationstate government, and while it does not preach violence *per se*, it informs much of the core theological outlook of the Salafi-Jihadi trend, including al-Qaeda. The routine argument is that the growing influence of Wahhabism has provided the ideological groundwork for the progression to violent activism. (International Crisis Group, 2014:7) The rapid rise of Wahhabism in Garissa and Kenya has been attributed to the Saudi-funded charitable foundations like al-Haramain (which was disbanded in Kenya in 1998), Young Muslim Association, Muslim World League, Islamic foundation and World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) (International Crisis Group, 2012:5). This growth has been gradual and strategic. Muslim youths leaving madrasas received full scholarships to study in Saudi Arabian, Sudanese and Pakistani Islamic universities, and upon graduation returned to help fund and head madrasas, mosques and charities. Some went into business and politics, exerting Wahhabism, which is now ingrained and self-sustaining in Kenya. The ideological and theological shift has had a three-fold impact on the Somali community in Garissa.

First, it has created a split among religious authorities in Garissa affecting the faithful. "This trend has certainly brought tension between older 'Muslim' elites who are closer to the Kenyan establishment, and the new, more politically assertive and outward-looking 'Islamist' *ulama*- scholars and religious authorities" (International Crisis Group, 2012:9).

Second, as a result of the prolonged war and instability in Somalia following the ousting of President Said Bare in 1992, Somalis in Kenya sought more inclusivity in Kenyan political life. This was a remarkable departure from the past. By jettisoning the historic marginalization following the protracted *Shifta* Wars, they claimed their space among Kenyans, even though in their perception Kenya was more a Christian nation. In fact, this marginalization had been a thorn in the flesh of the government that led to the appointment of a Presidential Special Action Commission (PSAC) in 2007 to address the Muslim community's special concern. Engineer Abdullahi Sharawe headed the commission, which confirmed "institutional discrimination of the Kenyan Somalis, including in the issuance of national identity cards and passports". (TJRC Report, 2014:295) The report criticized the security agents, especially in the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU), for operating "without due regard to the existing law of the land". (TJRC, 2014: 295)

It also found that "the majority of Muslim-inhabited areas lag behind in development due to lack of public and private investments from years of marginalization". Lastly, the committee also pointed to the absence of Muslim representation in public service appointments "at the level of policy and decision-making". (TJRC Report, 2014:366) Perhaps a successful implementation of this report could stem the tide of support al-Shabab has at the grassroots.

Finally, with the establishment of Wahhabism in the 1990s, al-Ittihaad al-Islami (AIAI) - the then leading and now defunct Somali Salafi-jihadi group found a fertile recruitment ground mainly in Kenya's ethnic Somali population. AIAI's main focus was a pan-Somali, rather than a global jihad agenda, and had little impact outside Somali-inhabited regions (International Crisis Group, 2005:11). Mosques raised funds and recruits for jihad in Somalia, and against Ethiopia in its eastern Somali-speaking regional state (sometimes known as the Ogaden). This steadily continued, to such an extent that, by 2006, many Kenyan Somalis from Garissa (often madrasa teachers and students) had left for Somalia as combatants alongside the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) which took over Mogadishu and parts of south-central Somalia, and which at that time, included the early Al-Shabab organization (International Crisis Group, 2005:8).

This ideological shift continues to significantly affect the work of missionaries in Garissa and beyond, as churches and missionaries have been terrorism targets (*Daily Nation*, July 1, 2012).

2.6 Tana River district

The Tana River district is in the former Coast Province of Kenya. It is one of the undeveloped regions in Kenya. The district derives its name from the river Tana and has an estimated area of 38,446 square kilometers (14,844 sq. miles) with a population of 180,901 according to the Kenya census of 1999 census. The district is dry and prone to drought. Rainfall is erratic, with rainy seasons in March-May and October–December.

Tana River district displays an interesting case of the nexus between conflict and food security. A recent survey prepared by Arid Land Monitoring R Program (ALMRP) of Tana River district and presented to the Tana River District Steering Group (2004) found that the district is 79% food insecure, and with incidence of poverty at 62% (Interim Poverty Strategy Paper (I-PSP), 2000–2003). It comprises several areas of forest, woodland, and grassland, which are minor centers of endemism. The forests are designated National Reserve status if they have over four plant endemics and over seven vertebrate endemics (IUCN, 2003). Despite the plainly adequate natural resources, the region remains marginalized from the rest of the country. Efforts at development always seem to center on the huge River Tana, despite massive failures in all the previous irrigation projects in the district, namely Bura, Hola and the Tana delta rice irrigation project which failed when the El Nino rains in 1998 damaged the waterworks. Despite the large area of the Tana River district, its only local authority is Tana River County Council. The district has three constituencies: Garsen, Galole, and Bura.

2.6.1 People of Tana River district

The Pokomo and the Orma together account for 91 percent of the population of the Tana River district, although this is a small population in proportion to other areas in Kenya. Christian missionaries and Islam have influenced the two communities.

It has been known for a long time that the major ethnic groups here are the Ormas, together with the Wardeys, who are predominantly nomadic, and the Pokomos, mainly farmers. People groups such as the Munyoyaya (Korokoro) and Welwan (Malakote) were classified as the Pokomos until the 1989 unreached peoples of Kenya survey published by Daystar University changed this classification distinguishing them as distinct people groups. This researcher, having lived in Tana River district and written about the people groups of the district (KUPnet, 1995) concurs that these two communities, the Orma and Pokomo form the basis of the People of Tana River district. There are other communities that insist on being distinct, yet are in a way related linguistically or customary.

For the purpose of this study, focus will be placed on the Pokomo and the Orma even though TSM has had mission work amongst the Munyoyaya and the Welwan peoples of Tana River district.

2.6.1.1 The Pokomo

The Pokomo is the most dominant people group in Tana River district. According to the 2009 Kenya population and households' census results, the Pokomo numbered 94,965. They are among the Bantu Language family of Niger-Congo (E-71, Simons and Fenning, 2017). They speak Kipfokomo. The Pokomo are closely related to the tribes that inhabit the east coast of the coastline from Lamu down to the river Rufiji, and include the Wanyika, Wagiriama, Wadigo, and Wazaramu (Hobley 1894:103).

Origins of the Community

The Pokomo, like other Coastal peoples, have a common tradition of origin and migration from Shungwaya, the legendary town or territory supposed to have been situated on the southern Somali coast, somewhere in what is now Jubaland. We may speculate on the origin of the Pokomo from the works of Morton, "New Evidence Regarding the Shungwaya Myth of Miji Kenda Origins", published in The International Journal of African Historical Studies, where he mentions:

An account of added interest, collected on the lower Tana in 1891, concerns Liongo Fumo, the legendary Swahili of Kipini and supposed contemporary of Vere. It tells of Liongo's journey south into Wanyika country, where he carried off a man and woman and established them on the Tana. From this couple, the legend goes, sprang the Pokomo people. Early Pokomo traditions therefore contain strong mythical elements that are not easily reconciled. (1977:635)

According to Thomas, the mid-16th century saw the Oromo invasion of the lower Juba at Singwaya where they drove out the Digo and the remnants of the Kashur, forcing them south in two migratory waves. "The Digo proceeded down the coast to their main settlement at Kwale, south of Mombasa. The others followed soon thereafter. The Pokomo settled along the Tana River while the Mijikenda and Taita continued to Mwangea…" (Thomas 1977:241)

This view is in line with the community elders who claim that traditions of the origins and settlements of the Wapokomo are that Shungwaya must have been the original home of a number of clans, not only of the Pokomo but also of Taita, Digo, Giriama and Segeju/Katwa tribes. Earlier, Werner in *A funeral of Pokomo man* had also maintained that there is a "strong probability that they are part of Wasanye descent". (Werner, 1913:66) But Carol Eastman disputes this consensus on the origin of the Pokomo in her essay "Women, Slaves, and Foreigners: African Cultural Influences and Group Processes in the Formation of Northern Swahili Coastal Society". She argues that: "There is evidence that some Upper Pokomo may be descended from serfs of the Witu Swahili on the mainland off Lamu" (1988:10).

After their last migration, the Pokomo settled in Coast Province's Tana River district; and Upper and Lower Tana River. This has led early observers to believe that the communities living on the floodplains of the Tana River from its mouth at Kipini to Mbalambala are the Pokomo people.

For instance, Townsend (1977:388) states that:

The Pokomo are composed of four peoples (...) these four are the Lower Pokomo, Upper Pokomo, and Elwana (or Malakote), and the Korokoro (or Munyoyaya). Two of these four tribes contain subdivisions (...and) each sub-tribe inhabits a particular stretch of the river, averaging about 15 km. At a lower level of division still, there are patriclans, of which each sub-tribe contains between 2 and 9 (The Elwana and Korokoro, who have no sub-tribe divisions, also have a number of such clans).

The information from the Pokomo elders in the community affirms this claim, though with some variation. The Pokomo are divided into four main groups or *vyeti* and into thirteen sub-groups. The four groups have distinct identities, territories, and dialects. The territory of the first major group, the lower Pokomo, is from Kipini to Bubesa in Salama location; the upper Pokomo occupy the area from Matanama in Ndera location to Roka near Masabuba; the Welwan (called Malakote by the other Pokomo) live in the area extending from Roka to Garissa; and the Munyoyaya (meaning "Northern Pokomo" in Oromo; other Pokomo call them Korokoro) occupy an area extending from Garissa through Mbalambala.

This tradition, though, has come under serious questioning following the protestation by either the Welwan (Malakote) and the Munyoyaya refuting that they are a subgroup of the Pokomo7 (see explanation in section 2.6.1.2 and 2.6.1.3 on the Wailuana and Munyoyaya). This is possible since both were known by names given to them by the Pokomos. Welwan (Wailwana), as they prefer to call themselves, had been called the Malakote (KUPnet, 1995:35), a name they deem derogatory. The Munyoyaya, as they preferred to call themselves (KUPnet, 1995; Jenkins and Omondi, 1994) were called Korokoro (KUPnet, 1995:37), a name they loathe. This researcher observed that these communities have certain cultural practices, e.g. rites of passage, customs regarding marriage, births, and deaths in common with the Pokomo. Their shared life along the river Tana floodplains and close similarity in their way of life seem to confirm the views of the early writers. However, linguistic differences do lead to a different conclusion, that they are not the same people (see sections 2.6.1.2 on Welwan and 2.6.1.3 on Munyoyaya for the clarifications).

The Pokomo is an agricultural and fishing group, who live together in small villages of 10 – 60 grass-thatched houses. Since moving to their current location in the 17th century, they have learned to accommodate themselves to the flooding river and benefit from the silt and water, which these floods provide. The Pokomo use the banks of the Tana to grow maize, sugar cane and plantains. Fish is also part of the diet, and hippo and crocodile were once hunted for meat.

Cycles of life

In the Pokomo birth and initiation customs, a new mother and her child are isolated for 40 days with a midwife and other women attending to her needs. Between the 2nd and 7th day after birth, both mother and child undergo treatment massage using charcoal. They are very much aware of evil in their environment and seek to protect the child as best as they can. If the mother or the midwife has to leave the child behind in the house for any reason, they put soil or ash on the baby's forehead to avert evil spirits. On the 40th day, "malewale" ceremony is performed, where the community feasts to bless the

child and the mother. This is the first time father and child meet. The naming of the child is on a family-tree basis, both maternal and paternal. A woman should not give birth outside the house or even on the farm for the Pokomo community, for they believe this would affect the rains or the harvest. It's also obvious giving birth outside the house would complicate the seclusion tradition.

The other example is the initiation among the Pokomo; the boys' rite of passage into adulthood is a circumcision done in groups at ages 10 to 15 years. After circumcision, the initiates are then kept away in a camp for two months for healing and counseling. A ceremony called *bakora* is organized to welcome the initiates back into the village, with feasting.

The rite of passage for girls involves isolation in a special camp at the point when they evidence signs of puberty. During the isolation period, elderly women guide and counsel the young women on motherhood. It also prepares them for marriage. Among the Pokomo marriage takes place between ages of 18 and 25 years. After the conception of the first baby, the expectant mother returns to her parents, from where she gives birth to the child. After the delivery, her parents buy presents for their in-laws, and the new mother and child are received back. These aspects of the tradition are like those of the Munyoyaya and Welwana.

On social organization, Townsend observes "ties of common ethnic identity, as well as ties of kinship, marriage, and friendship, are used as a basis for sharing access to land". (1977:387)

However, as Carol Eastman explains:

After 1870, Pokomo society underwent a transition from a clan/lineage scattered form of village settlement pattern to capital town settlements, in reaction to Somali invasions. This urbanization was perhaps also instrumental in their acceptance of Islamic (*Waungwana*, Swahili) ways. (1988:11)

This seems not to have allowed for an organized social hierarchy in the leadership of the people. "There are no such positions as clan-head, or clan-

chief, or even lineage-head." (Townsend 1977:388) Nevertheless, Townsend continues:

It is also important to note that the authority of the elders grew not only from their control over marriages but also from the fact that each generation depends for its existence on resources advanced to them by those who have gone before. The elders are in fact the only ones who owe nothing to any other living people. (p. 393)

The faith of the Pokomo people

How the Pokomo society evolved and what their faith became remained a factor in their interaction with and influence of their neighbors. Their contact through trade played a crucial role in shaping not only the Pokomo but also the twin neighbors the Munyoyaya and Welwana. Townsend again observes:

The system of international trade that was established by Arabs along the East African coast, though not nearly as involved as, e.g. the Kamba though linked to an outside market system, the elders limited the potentially disrupting effects of commercial exchange by (a) preventing access by Arab and Swahili merchants to the upriver areas, and (b) raising their demands for bride-wealth as these imported goods became more common. (p. 393)

On the banks of the Tana, the Pokomo could not avoid their Orma neighbors. In fact, contacts were mutually essential, for the Pokomo provided the Orma with access to water, with refuge in times of famine and war, with agricultural produce, pottery, medical services, tobacco, and honey. In return, the Orma provided the Pokomo with milk, meat, livestock, metal knives, fishhooks, metal fishing-spear points, and jewelry. The relationship was a symbiotic one, even if asymmetrical (Rouzier, 1980:103-105).

The Pokomo have in fact been greatly affected by Oromo culture (ancestors of the Orma) over the centuries: "much of their lexicon is clearly derived from Galla, as are their personal names, their clan names, and some of their institutions" (Townsend 1977:391). This is what Alice Werner had recorded of the Pokomo Folklore, "The Galla was for many years the tyrants of the [Pokomo], continually raiding and harassing, when not actually enslaving them..." (Werner 1913:459).

The Pokomo also imbibed Islam from their other neighbors, as Townsend helps us appreciate how the Pokomo were affected socially:

Following the fall of Witu in 1893, the demand for agricultural produce and for labor in the rice fields of the delta expanded rapidly, as the grain export trade to Lamu, Mombasa and the Persian Gulf began to thrive. Many young men flocked to the delta area to find work. Some may have been seeking refuge from heavy Somali raids on the upriver areas. At the coast, these upriver people came into contact with Islam. Islam had existed along the coast for centuries, but the little attempt had been made at proselytization until just before colonial rule began. (Townsend 1977:394)

Islam was introduced into the Pokomo society through the Arab influence at about the beginning of the World War I, via the youth returning from the coast to their homes in the upper areas. The Pokomo culture, however, remained resilient within the Islam that they practiced, which is why Werner (1913:10) observes that their culture was "considered unfavorable to Islamization. It is likely that their selective adoption of Islamic ways is due to the recent nature of their Islamization".

Furthermore, Eastman (1988:9) observes that *pepo*-spirit possession dances, also found in the Swahili only among "rustics" with little religious knowledge, have remained popular with the Pokomo.

Finally, we see that Christian influence has affected the ritual of burial. Before Christian influence, the grave was much shallower, and there was no plank that was laid over the body. Sand was heated in an earthen pot and poured over the grave. If this was not done, it was believed that the deceased would cause others to dream. (Werner, 1913: 67)

2.6.1.2 The Welwan

The Welwan, Ilwana, had pejoratively been called the Malakote. In this study, the Welwan have been classified with the Pokomo people. They shared the space along Tana River and close linguistically and in customs with the Upper Pokomo (see 2.6.1.1). Their language is Kiwilwana. This is in the language family of Niger-Congo. (E.40, Simons and Fenning, 2017) Larsen, a linguistic expert, indicates that the Welwan language is not to be grouped with Upper

Pokomo or Lower Pokomo, due to "57% lexical similarity with Lower Pokomo, and 55% with Upper Pokomo" (Larsen, 1994). The Cushitic influence they have had from their proximity to the Somali, the Orma and Munyoyaya people groups, has obviously influenced their language causing the variance. Sometimes language ought to be a key distinguishing factor between the peoples, this researcher, however, has elected to treat the Welwan (Malakote) as part of the Pokomo aware of their closeness to each other. Other researchers have treated them distinctly. The Kenya Unreached People Network (KUPnet), for instance, found considerable reason to regard Welwan (Malakote) as a distinct community (KUPnet, 1995).

According to the 2009 Kenya population and households' census results, the Welwan number 16,803. After their last migration, the Welwan settled in Coast Province's Tana River district, Tana River north of Pokomo, and between Bura and Garissa. The Welwan territory begins 200 kilometers from the coast in eastern Kenya and extends for about 100 kilometers.

Their houses are constructed near the river Tana often using banana or palm leaves over a framework of poles. In areas not prone to flooding, mud walls are used instead of leaves. Their livelihood is based on agriculture/farming, fishing, and bee-keeping. Concerning trade, the Welwan derive cash income from the sale of honey, cattle, and mats woven by women. They also trade with the Somali people to the north and with businessmen in towns adjacent to Welwan area. About 20% live in Garissa town.

The first active Christian work among the Welwan began in the 1990s by a Kenyan mission agency and a Bible translation and literacy project. The geographical inaccessibility is a major reason they have had little Christian contact. One source refers to only four known Welwan Christians.

The researcher is strongly recommending that further anthropological research should be carried out to affirm or dismiss the claim of the Welwan.

2.6.1.3 The Munyoyaya

The Munyoyaya is a small tightly knit people group, living in Tana River district of Kenya, north of Coast Province, who speak a Cushitic language very similar to the Orma language (KUPnet, 1995:37).

The Munyoyaya elders claim they were part of the larger Oromo peoples, who began migrating back in the 1500s in the southern Ethiopian highlands and settled in their current area along the Tana River by about 1900. The Oromo were cattle or camel herders, while the Munyoyaya have become farmers and fishers in their life on the Tana River (Jenkins and Omondi, 1996). The Oromo peoples pushed south, putting pressure on earlier Cushites or Bantu inhabitants of what is now Ethiopia and Kenya. This concurs with the history of the Orma peoples in Schlee's work (1989), referred to later in this research.

The Munyoyaya people believe that all people groups know them even though few Kenyans have ever heard of them. Some people refer to the pejoratively Korokoro, though they were referred to as Munyoyaya in the Ethnologue (Simons and Fenning, 2017). While this researcher found a tradition accepted in the community explaining that the Munyoyaya are part of the remnant of the Oromo people, as noted above, this is disputed, as the majority insists they are a separate people group. Munyoyaya are therefore considered a distinct ethnic group, even though linguistically they are similar to the Orma, while their cultural practices and occupation are like the Pokomo. They practice subsistence farming on the floodplains of the Tana River growing corn and bananas and fishing (KUPnet, 1995:37).

This could be the reason Townsend (1977:378), among others, concluded that they were part of the Pokomo people. This researcher was able to tell them apart based on their language. Customs and way of life would not have been helpful in distinguishing them. They also keep stock. They are a hospitable people and kind to strangers.

Even though they have taken to Islam due to pressure from their Somali neighbors, the Munyoyaya have a strong belief in their traditional pre-Islamic practices. This researcher was told a story of their traditional seer and community elder who predicted things that would appear on the world scene before they did. The legendary story of Boru Rooba, a Munyoyaya leader, by divine powers predicted the coming of a flying canoe (airplane) and a canoe moving very fast on the ground (motor vehicle). He also predicted droughts and floods with exceptional accuracy, guiding the people when to plant and when to move away from the flood plains, among many other stories.

Today all Munyoyaya people claim to be Muslims. Their employment by Arabs, along with their interaction with their Somali neighbors, brought the change to Islam. The fact that many do not understand Islam makes them turn to their previous animistic practices to find solutions to life's problems.

A Kenyan mission agency began the first active Christian work among the Munyoyaya in the 1990s.

2.6.1.4 The Orma

The Orma are descendants of the Oromo people of the southern provinces in Ethiopia. They belong to the Eastern Cushitic group and speak Orma. Some Orma also understand Somali, Borana, and Swahili. The Orma are 99.9% Muslim. They converted to Islam starting three or four generations ago. They observe all the rites and festivals of Islam.

The Orma, estimated to be about 45,500, populate most of the Tana River district, Kenya, on the west bank of the Tana River, with heavy concentration also in the Tana River delta and some settlements in Lamu district to the east of Tana (Ensminger 1991:35).

As Orma mythology has it, they believed *Waaqa Tokkicha/Waaqa Guuracha* (the one god) created the world and the people. The community elders interviewed shared that before Islam came, the Orma people believed *Waaqa* first created water and then created the sky and then dry land from water. Then, *Waaqa* created a star for light, which created day and night. Using this light, *Waaqa* created all other plants and animals (Every Culture, 2013).

The lack of records made this researcher speculate the following about the movement and settlement of the Orma people. Probably this expansion occurred on all sides - perhaps within a few decades. The southward

expansion of Oromo from their southern Ethiopian nucleus into Kenya presumably did not take place much later. In any case, a strong concentration of Oromo on the lower Juba is documented for 1624 (Turton 1974:533).

Schlee observes that:

The successive waves of Galla or Oromo that moved farthest into Kenya were the Wardey, Warday or Warr (a) D (a) ay (a) whose descendants are the Tana Orma. "Orma" is a common southern dialect form of "Oromo". The *Warra Daaya* are believed to have inhabited at one time or another almost all of northern and eastern Kenya and the Jubaland, graves marked by large stone circles and many wells are attributed to them (there is a certain confusion in the oral traditions between *Warra Daaya* and *Madanleh* well diggers). (1989:35)

Their original home, from where they were expelled by the Boran, was the Dirre and Liban area of southern Ethiopia. On arrival at the Lorian Swamp, the Orma split into two groups; one group went to Aji on their way to Kismayu and the other proceeded down to Tana River. Schlee explains that after the Daarod Somali expansion of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, "those *Warra Daaya* who had escaped death or captivity by the Somali were, for safety, restricted by the British to the right bank of the Tana River." (1989:38) These Orma settled in the Tana River district and are nowadays referred to as Wardei. Their culture and language are essentially Somali. However, the Wardei insist that their ethnic identity is Orma.

The arrival of the Orma in Tana River area led to a retreat of the Bantuspeaking peoples towards the Sabaki River.

The Orma people are divided into three major groups on the basis of the ecology and river systems that define their homeland. These categories are the Hirman, in the arid north bordering Garissa district, the Galole, in the intermediate section of Tana River district, and the Chaffa, in the south along the Tana River Delta (Ensminger 1996).

Culturally the Orma people are predominantly pastoralists who keep cattle, sheep, and goats. In the semi-arid hinterland of the Tana River district, the Orma also keep camels and donkeys. A growing minority are involved in farming, primarily for subsistence (Kelly 1990). Cattle are central to the Orma

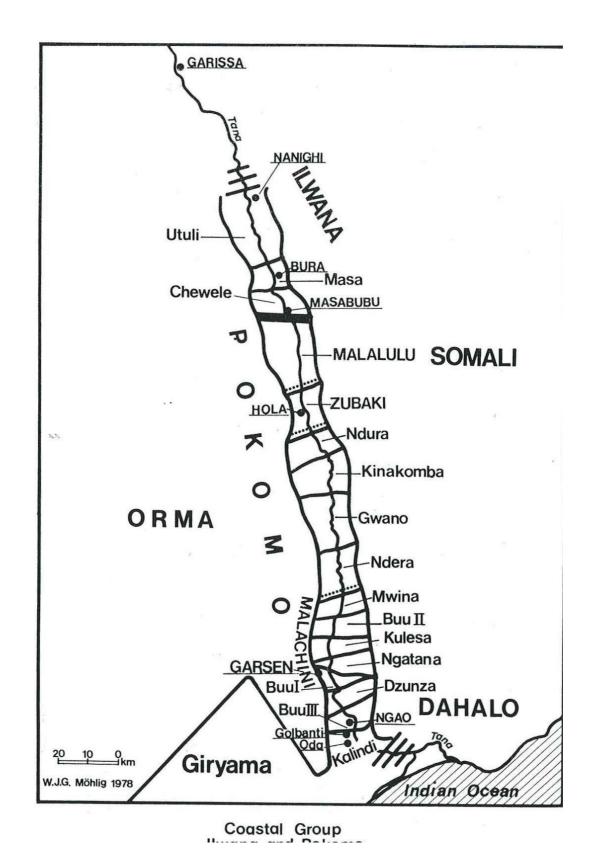


FIGURE 1. Ilwana and Pokomo, adopted from Bernd 1981: Vol. 4

culture. They are the currency of bride price from the groom's family, and also slaughtered at weddings and funerals. The whole life of an Orma is linked to

the welfare of cattle. The milk is supplied by the large stock, while the small stock supply most of the meat.

Most utensils and furniture, including stools, water and milk containers, food-serving bowls, drinking vessels, ladles and "books" inscribed with texts from the Koran, found in Orma houses are made from wood and doum palm (*Hyphaena coriacea*). The doum palm leaves are also woven into mats which, at times, are used to cover houses, floors of houses, beds, and for saddle-padding camels and donkeys.

The houses are of two shapes, hemispherical and beehive. Beehive-shaped houses belong to the Orma, while the hemispherical houses belong to the Wardei (Irungu 2000). In both cases, women construct the houses. Both designs are constructed from pliable saplings of Danisa trees to form a frame that is then covered with doum palm leaf fiber or sometimes grass mat. The hemispherical houses are, in general, smaller and roughly constructed compared to the neatly erected Orma houses. A typical hemispherical house is about two meters high; a beehive house is usually about six meters in height. In both designs, the entrances measure about four feet high and two feet wide, so that one has to bend to enter the house. The door is usually made of a tuft of soft threads woven from the bark of the *Karadri* tree. Apart from those belonging to newlyweds, the houses are usually partitioned with a mat into a bedroom and a sitting room. The bed is an elevated wooden rack covered with a traditional cowhide. The sitting room is simply furnished with a mat and one or two low wooden stools, mainly for non-Muslim visitors.

The houses are grouped into *manyattas* (villages). Schlee (1994) explains that amongst the Tana Orma all this is inverted: their houses face east, north is left and south is right (Werner 1914:129 and 132; Jaenen 1956:176). As this orientation of huts does not seem very functional because of the dust, the most likely explanation may be that it once marked a ritual opposition to the Borana, the other group, and a phenomenon not unfamiliar to anthropologists. The custom may stem from the time of their common residence in the Ethiopian highlands, where the mountain ranges produce irregular wind patterns.

The *manyattas*, (the homesteads) are usually circular and are laid out to include enclosures for calves and the small stock. There are two types of *manyattas* - fixed and temporary - as dictated by the nomadic lifestyle. Fixed *manyattas* are usually located near the town centers while temporary *manyattas* are located in the bush. In general, the Wardei *manyattas* are more mobile than the Orma *manyattas*. A typical fixed *manyatta* comprises several household heads that may not necessarily be related, their wives and children, some of whom attend school. The married sons build at the periphery of their father's compounds. In each fixed *manyatta* there is a herd of lactating cows that supply the household with milk. A temporary *manyatta*, on the other hand, is a highly mobile cattle camp consisting of the few herd animals and a few herdsmen.

Every member of the community is involved in labor among the Orma with its divisions along gender lines, with the focus on livestock production. Across the board, men are the heads and managers of the household; they direct all aspects of household life. Women are house-keepers; they construct the houses, take care of the children, cook, fetch water and firewood, milk the cows, churn butter from the cream, fashion the milk vessels and sometimes even help with the herding. Teenage and unmarried men follow after the cattle. Young boys and girls herd the calves and the small stock around the *manyattas* homesteads. They also make bonfires in the evening for the cattle. Adolescent girls help their mothers in the house. Girls are usually married at around 14 years of age.

Baxter (1954) rightly observed that in terms of communal leadership, the Orma are split into two exogamous sections, which are subsequently divided into clans. These are focused on rules related to marriage. A man who is a member of any of the clans of one section must marry into one of the clans of the other section.

For a pastoral community that moved frequently in search of pasture over a very wide area and surrounded by hostile neighbors, an organized governorship became inevitable. Orma chiefs (*hayu*) were chosen two at a time and held their positions of authority for a period of eight years. The

members of the *gada* (or age group) selected them, and their principal public duty was to preside over assemblies. Their personal duty was to lead unimpeachable private lives. The office of the chief was not necessarily coveted as it entailed many restrictions, with the chief often being nothing more than the chairman of the council of elders (Werner 1914; Krapf 1860). Each chief and sub-chief had four divisional elders who acted as assistants and judges for presiding over minor cases. Cases of a more serious nature were sent to the senior chief (Ensminger 1996). There were certain men, like the rainmakers or medicine men, who were respected as "holy" and exerted great influence on the community, since they were considered to have special powers.

This arrangement is very different today. The government appoints the chiefs, and education qualification plays a key role. These chiefs seem to have retained much of their moral authority and many of their leadership principles (Braaksma, 1994). On another level, the *mangudo* (council of elders) maintains a large amount of power and plays a key part in the Orma model of social organization within the boundaries of traditional, Islamic and national law.

2.7 Conclusion

In looking at the social-historical overview of Garissa and Tana River districts, the research explained the events and movements that shaped missions in Northeastern Kenya.

The history of the Somali people in Kenya (Garissa district) shaped the religious and political development of the region. This has been through the interconnectedness of the people of the two districts to each other on one hand and to their kindred and kith in the Horn of Africa countries of Ethiopia and Somalia on the other. The section showed how the events of the yesteryears shaped the social and religious environment of the region and the gradual development of Wahhabism and Somali nationalism continue to influence the people and their practices today. We have also been introduced to the social

changes occurring in the region and what that portends for religious practice and missionary activities among the peoples of the region. The section has introduced some of the people of the region, showing how they have been insulated from Christian mission. Mission attempts to reach the region, as shown in the first part of this chapter, and the description of the social-historical environment explains the context in which TSM mission takes place. TSM missionaries are a continuation of the universal church's mission to the unreached, thus following in the steps of Krapf and other missionaries. The chapter explained the shift of Christian mission from the region. As a consequence, Islam was established.

The context described here is the background against which TSM missionaries have worked over the last 30 years. Chapter 3 explains how TSM operates in this environment. Again the context influenced the missiology of nationals, as we shall explore in Chapters 4 and 5 which deal with mission praxis and summary findings respectively.

CHAPTER 3

THE SHEEPFOLD MINISTRIES — A CASE STUDY OF NATIONALS IN MISSIONS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the missionary activities of TSM in the Garissa and Tana River districts. It, therefore, presents the groundwork upon which this research is premised, for it enumerates the research findings on the work of TSM as a mission agency, the ministry of its missionaries, and how their ministry was accepted. The chapter is broken down into two parts: The initial gives a general overview and background information on TSM. It also explains reasons for establishing TSM and the circumstances that forged its thinking and praxis. Of significance, will be the examination of TSM missionaries' work in Tana River and Garissa districts. The next part will be the use of the case study of Peragia Masinde, a TSM missionary among the Orma, to emphasize the effectiveness of TSM missions concept and how the missionaries are implementing it. The contextual analysis establishes the basis of the missiological reflection in Chapter 4 and the conclusions, implications and recommendations in Chapter 5.

3.2 The Sheepfold Ministries: A national mission agency

3.2.1 Founding and early history

The Commission 88 took place in December 1988. It was a FOCUS Kenya mission convention to mobilize students for missions. Francis Omondi, a student at Kenyatta University, formed TSM at the conclusion of the Commission. The mission agency was to work among the unreached peoples, most of whom were unfamiliar to Kenyans, and on whom churches made little impact.

Three factors contributed to the establishment of TSM, the first was the increased awareness of the unreached people groups in Kenya, and the obligation for the national church to reach them. During the 19th-century

mission ventures, most of these communities had never been engaged, or few mission agencies undertook to reach them. The 1983 Daystar University publication of *Unreached People of Kenya Profiles*, though not comprehensive, induced a desire in the church to organize the means to carry out this mission. When a new survey was done in 1994, the impact of the Daystar Report showed that four of the five unreached people without cross-cultural workers were reached, and "new mission boards have emerged both national and foreign with emphasis on the unreached peoples" (KUPnet, 1995). However, little was happening in the areas where the unreached people were majority Muslims. Nevertheless, a few foreign missions had made attempts to reach them. The student mission team from Kenyatta University carried out a couple of mission outreaches to these areas, now that there were fewer missionaries engaging them. They adopted a popular door-to-door personal witnessing and "Crusades" - open-air rallies calling on the locals to accept Christ. The students were stoned and driven away, and the whole mission did not materialize. However, they determined to do it again.

At that time, there were no mission organizations or structures to send national missionaries. The general notion that nationals could not serve as missionaries, and therefore only serve Churches as pastors and Church organization as experts, denied the churches the imagination to set up the means to send cross-cultural ministers. The international mission societies that operated in Kenya did not sanction, nor were they keen to recruit, nationals as missionaries. What could nationals do who discerned this as their calling?

Contacts and exposure at Commission '88 opened the world for the founders of TSM. It now seemed possible to start a mission agency and respond to the call. John Stott's Bible exposition during the seven days of the conference on the theme "as my Father sent me so send I you" laid the basis of the calling to be missionaries. It was Jesus sending his obedient disciples, including nationals, to go as He was sent. However, it was meeting Bayo Famonure that proved the most consequential event. Famonure from Nigeria was at that time the incoming mission commission secretary of the Africa Evangelical Alliance

(AEA). As a founder of Calvary Ministries, a national mission agency, he gave both confidence and inspiration for the development of TSM. In responding to God's call to preach in the ancient Muslim city of Zaria on December 25, 1974, Famonure and his team were stoned and injured by angry Muslims, but that event spurred Famonure on by giving him a vision of reaching the "millions of souls in Muslim lands". The vision subsequently led to the establishment of a missionary organization called Calvary Productions (CAPRO) in April 1975. The name has subsequently changed to Calvary Ministries.

Famonure's story of being stoned resonated with the founders of TSM who felt challenged with the need to reach the unreached Muslim people. They were emboldened by the national mission development in Nigeria and faced the need for a missionary structure to enable many who were now responding to the call to reach the unreached peoples. TSM was subsequently founded one night after prayers in Nairobi. In 1990 Famonure organized for the first missionary from TSM, Anne Kimwele, to train in Jos, Nigeria, at the Nigeria Evangelical Mission Institute (NEMI). Her training at NEMI would be crucial in setting up the mission infrastructure of TSM.

The name The Sheepfold Ministries was drawn from the word "Sheepfold" in John 10:16: there are "other sheep" to be brought into "the sheepfold". This scripture also gave TSM the understanding that "it was Christ who had initiated the move to reach the unreached and was inviting them to join in the work". This had an impact on the attitude of TSM missionaries towards the unreached people, whom they now perceived as the Lord's own "sheep" for whom he died, whom he was seeking and among whom he dwelt. It also had an impact on their perception of themselves as missionaries who were conscripted by the Lord himself to share the Lord's love for his people (TSM Strategy Paper, 1995). The unreached people were as much God's people as the missionaries themselves were, and their task was to be witnesses for Christ, who through their lives and voices would invite others to faith. The word "Ministries" was to represent the variety of ministries that those who would join in the future would have.

As a national mission agency, TSM stated: "It seeks to establish communities of believers and worshippers of Christ among unreached people groups. 'We have the vision to plant culturally relevant churches among the unreached people groups especially Muslims in East Africa and the Sahel region of Africa'" (TSM Strategy Paper, 1995).

TSM declares its mandate as follows (TSM Constitution & Manual, 1997:1):

TSM is a non-political, non-profit-making, interdenominational, evangelical mission society whose mandate is:

- a) To reach the unreached with the gospel of Jesus Christ as an answer to our Lord's great commission (Matt. 29:18-20)
- b) To assist in development activities in areas of operation: educational assistance, health and medical care and rural development efforts in answer to our Lord's great command. (Matt. 22:37-39)

The values of the organization evolved over the years. These are expressed in their strategy this way: "TSM is committed to God's Call - answering to God's call to His people to belong to him, focus on him and serve him. We participate in God's pursuit of all peoples to make them like Him, making Christ's disciples of all nations" (TSM Strategy paper, 1995).

Christ-likeness is a value that permeates the organization's strategies, message and behaviors of members: "We realize that each individual is called to be a disciple of Christ and hence we emphasize the need to live a life that exemplifies Christ in so doing preaching Christ in words and in action" (TSM strategy paper, 1995).

Partnership is at the heart of TSM operation as well as its strategy. TSM operated as the mission department of the Evangelical Fellowship of Kenya for seven years, as a deliberate move to associate with the evangelical churches in Kenya (TSM Board minutes Min 1/90). This was their affirmation that God had scattered abroad His gifts to all His children for His service. Consequently, they sought to partner as closely as possible and enlist the support and participation of all His children in service.

To achieve its goals, TSM got involved in recruiting, training and sending missionaries to serve among the identified unreached people groups. TSM

initially recruited missionaries from the universities in Kenya. The mission conventions organized by FOCUS and Christian Union meetings of specific universities provided ready Christians who volunteered to either join as missionaries or become senders who committed themselves to prayer and financially supporting the mission. TSM ensured that each joining missionary got recommendations from their local churches. This was to involve the churches in the ministry of the missionaries. The churches had a duty to pray for the candidates and financially support them. It was also important that the church commissioned them publicly before they commence their missionary task. This was rare and was what led TSM to develop support groups to fund the work.

Those recruited and found suitable were recommended for mission training at the Center for Missions Training (CMT), started in 1990 for the orientation of new missionaries. Those who successfully completed the training were then sent out in teams to selected fields among the unreached.

Over time, TSM grew in understanding of its role as a sending agency, which presupposes (TSM Constitution & Manual, 1997):

Selection

This involves identifying and examining the person's suitability to serve in the mission field. It includes interviews to get to know the candidates, checking issues about their faith and calling to preach among the Muslim people.

Pre-field Orientation

This is the process through which the candidates are given training on basic issues in missions. It involves giving them tools helpful for living and working in a new culture, working in teams and implanting the culture of the mission.

Sending

This involves identifying, which field candidates can work in, and how to offer them support during their field service.

In 1990 TSM established its field base in Garissa. This is where the Center for Training (CMT) was also set up to train missionaries in context. The earliest

mission field was in Madogo to reach the Munyoyaya, followed by others in Northeastern and Coast Provinces of Kenya. Today TSM has missionaries among seven people groups in nine centers. These people groups engaged include the Orma, Aweer, Bajun Wailuwana, Munyoyaya, Sakuye and the Somali. TSM has the largest team of missionaries among the Somalis.

At the invitation of Kanisa la Biblia, a Tanzanian church begun by Christian Mission in Many Lands (CMML) from Germany, TSM began mission work here in 1998 after research to establish a ministry among the people groups most in need of missionaries. TSM sent a couple from Kenya to team up with Tanzanians to begin the work among the Waswahili in Kilwa and also raised Tanzanian missionaries to open up other fields. Today TSM has a missionary presence amongst the Wamachinga and the Wandengereko. TSM plans to send missionaries among the Wangindo, Wamaraba, Wangindo, Wandonde and Wamang'anja.

In 2009, TSM commenced working in Northern Mozambique. This work began in partnership with Mozambican evangelical churches, to which a Kenyan missionary couple was sent. Work began among the Mwani in 2009, Makwe in 2013, Wandonde in 2014, and Wamatambwe in 2014. In May 2016 three more Mozambican missionaries completed their training and were deployed to strengthen the one field, as well as open work among the Yao.

TSM requires its missionaries to live among the unreached people for not less than two years, with the first year spent learning the language and the culture of the people. TSM's approach to ministry can be seen as Spiral Evangelism, a four-year cycle explained in Appendix C 2.

FIGURE 2: Table of People groups engaged by TSM as of 2017:

	Current People Groups Engaged	Targeted Future Focus	In addition to strengthening current tribe engaged, seeking to expand work among
KENYA	Wailwana, Orma, Sakuye, Munyoyaya, Somali Cushites, Somali Bantus, Aweer, Bajun		Wailwana, Sakuye, and Somali Bantus
TANZANIA	Wamachinga, Wandengereko, Waswahili, Wangindo,	Wamaraba, Wandonde, Wamang'anja	Wangindo, Wamaraba, Wandonde, and Wamang'anja
MOZAMBIQUE	Mwani, Makwe, Matambwe, Yao	Matambwe, Yao, Mwinika	Mwani, Makwe, Matambwe, Yao, and Mwinika

3.2.2 Ministry principles

For effective entry into the communities and work, TSM has evolved three principles required of all its missionaries.

3.2.2.1 An incarnational missionary

TSM takes Christ's approach of entry into the world as their model. TSM acknowledges the cultural difference between the missionaries and the communities they serve. Therefore, by approaching entry like our Lord, the missionaries would make a way for the message to be received. In TSM's explanation: "We believe that incarnation is at the heart of the Christian faith. Taking Jesus Christ as the model, we see he came into the world as a servant. His ministry unfolded in poverty, weakness, and obscurity." (TSM Strategy Paper, 1995:4) Thus, the missionary must seek to emulate Jesus. The burden of translating the message of the kingdom to those whom the missionary serves is paramount. Therefore, the idea of sending incarnational missionaries is sacrosanct. They are sent as incarnational missionaries committed to taking Jesus Christ who came to earth in humility as their model.

3.2.2.2 Cross-bearing missionaries

The reason why TSM accepted this second principle was the experience that dialogue with local Muslims often led to arguments about the cross of Christ. There is a temptation, therefore, to preach other than the cross, so as not to offend. Missionaries drawn by the agency to proclaim Christ well know of the possible danger of losing their life as a missionary. TSM missionaries are aware from the onset of the possibility of danger to life, and that embracing the cross is "a guarantee of suffering at the hands of those to whom it is a foolish and obnoxious stumbling block." (TSM strategy paper, 1995:5), but Christ would share this suffering.

3.2.2.3 Weak missionaries

It was against the backdrop of mission work being capital intensive that this concept developed. TSM in its formation and operation could not marshal a similar capacity to impress the communities. Hence they conceived the idea of weak missionaries who would impress on the grounds of their spirituality rather than resources. Aware of their privileged background compared to where they serve, the missionaries divest themselves of power and taking on "weakness and vulnerability offer the best strategy consistent with Incarnational and cross-bearing principles" (TSM Strategy Paper, 1995:4).

3.2.3 Missions training

The training of missionaries is one of the most valuable infrastructures of mission. TSM established the CMT to help shape and develop missionaries for the unreached outreach. The center is very specific on who it accepts for training. It is geared towards preparing people whom God has called for frontier missions by offering relevant missionary training. Initially, this was only for TSM workers, but the program is now open to equip other church workers sent out as pioneer missionaries.

The philosophy of TSM training seeks to model the Lord Jesus in John 20:21: "As my Father has sent me, so send I you." The philosophy is expressed thus (CMT Prospectus, 1997):

We train candidates for spiritual battle. These are soldiers of Christ who wage war inside the enemy's territory, utilizing the weapons and tactics of weakness, humility, vulnerability, and suffering for Christ's cause against the spiritual powers of darkness dominating the unreached world. The candidates themselves are the incarnation representatives of Christ among the unreached peoples.

The training runs in two cycles. There are six to seven months at the center for basic training then four month's field training where candidates train under missionaries in the fields. Then there is a further two-month classwork period at CMT. Upon completing this cycle, the candidates are required to have a whole year as an intern in a mission field. During the internship, those who will serve as TSM missionaries are assigned both a supervisor and a field to serve in. Often it is the field they will eventually work in. If their churches have sent them, TSM asks the church or mission to assign them, and TSM visits for supervision.

CMT training has very lofty ideals and takes a very unconventional approach. Their ideas are pronounced in the Aims and Objectives of CMT (CMT Prospectus, 1997):

The program is a relationship-oriented one. It aims to teach candidates how to relate cross-culturally.

Our emphasis is placed on the quality of character and personal ability to build meaningful relationships.

We believe that the incarnation and the cross of Jesus Christ are models for apostolic life and ministry, especially in an unreached people's context.

A further explanation shows the unique training features of the CMT as: "not to train intellect above affections which are appreciations, the loyalties, the devotions and the aspirations. This will reach down to the springs of actions, influence conduct, form character, guide achievement, shape destiny." (CMT prospectus, 1997) The training aims at touching the will, and helps the candidate form decisions, and provide motives for self-direction and exploration. It will appeal to the conscience, stimulate self-respect, create regard for others and set up the law of allegiance to the common good. It will deal with the whole person providing (CMT prospectus, 1997):

Practical knowledge

Training will give knowledge as a guide to conduct, character, and service to others.

Right attitudes

It will cultivate fruitful interests, high ideas, worthy loyalties, fine appreciation, noble loves and hates, the spirit of artistry in work and achievement, the inclination to serve others, standards and values that give a true picture of Christ.

Skills in living

The trainee will gain the power and will to carry the knowledge gained and the attitudes developed, directly into daily life, service, and conduct, thereby transforming them into action, building them into habits, character, and achievement.

The training enables learning to occur in a classroom setting where formal courses are taught and graded, in the interaction with trainees and trainers in a very informal setting, and through intentional interaction with the Muslim communities and missionaries already in the field. This model is now being replicated in TSM Mozambique to train Mozambican nationals (who are Portuguese speakers) as missionaries.

3.2.4 Nationals becoming missionaries

TSM has sent missionaries in response to God's call on Christians everywhere to be his witnesses. They have crossed cultural rather than geographical or national boundaries. TSM missionaries, it is worth emphasizing, are sent specifically to reach Muslim people. They are culturally different from the Muslim people they are reaching, although they come from the same country. Therefore, according to R. Winter's categorization, they belong to the E-3 category (1981, 295). E-1 evangelists are reaching their own people while E-2 evangelists are reaching people of a sister language and culture. But the E-3 evangelists cross language barriers as well as other cultural barriers, to work in a different people group. Therefore since the missionaries differ immensely culturally and linguistically from the people they serve, TSM requires that they go through a bonding period with their host culture. This involves spending

their first two years in the field learning the host language and adopting aspects of the local culture (TSM concept paper, 2007). Afterwards, and with some level of proficiency, they are encouraged to evangelize. Missionaries are also required to consider serving on a long-term basis. The service was divided into a four-year term cycle. This is to accommodate the fact that it takes much longer to get into the culture and be accepted enough to speak from within.

3.2.5 Target areas and general approaches

Between 1990 and 2017, TSM sent pioneer missionaries to work among the Somali people in Garissa County, Munyoyaya, Malakote, and Orma peoples of Tana River County. They were given sufficient cross-cultural training before being sent to the fields. While in those fields they made contact with the unreached, and the missionary learned from them before ministering the Gospel.

TSM sent missionaries first among the Somali in Garissa County. This work began in 1990 pioneered by among others, missionary James Wakhu, a 1990 graduate of Nairobi University, who hailed from Nairobi Pentecostal Church and who died in 2000 (Babatomiwa, 2012); Andrew Mutua Mbuvi who graduated from Nairobi University in 1990, of Africa Inland Church Plains View Nairobi, and who was an Associate-professor of Shaw University Divinity School in the USA; and the researcher, Francis Omondi, a graduate of Kenyatta University, who serves as the director of TSM. There have since been over twenty-five other missionaries serving in Garissa town area and Dadaab in Garissa district.

Work among the Munyoyaya began in 1991 at Madogo, followed by work at Mororo in 1993 by Sarah Walobwa, an accountant by training who attended Nairobi Baptist Church, and Pamela Limbe, a registered midwife from Nairobi Hospital, who attended Nairobi Pentecostal church. Catherine Mwangi, an Anglican from Muranga in central Kenya was the last in this field when she left in 2007. Ministry to the Munyoyaya continued in Mulanjo (30 kilometers from Madogo) where a new field was opened in 2001. Eliud Masinde pioneered this work. He was a cartographer by training, who graduated from Daystar

University and came from Bungoma in western Kenya. Ten missionaries have since served this field. The work continues to the present with a team led by Felix Masinde, from Kitale in Kenya. A total of 29 missionaries have served the Munyoyaya sent by TSM.

Among the Malakote, TSM engaged in Chewele Bura from 1993 to the present. Judy W. Nduati from Nairobi, a graduate of Egerton University Njoro, currently lectures at Africa International University where she is also doing her PhD., and Pamela Seda, a graduate of Kenyatta University from Nairobi Lighthouse Church, now working at as a researcher ICIPE, pioneered the work here. There have since been 12 missionaries sent to minister here. Henry and Evelyn Asakah from Awasi in Nyanza, who are members of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, and their family, are presently serving as missionaries there.

The work among the Orma started in Garsen in 1993 and later in Kipao, from 1994. Peter and Mary Masai from the Reformed Church of East Africa in Kitale initially served as missionaries amongst the Turkana and Pokot in the Rift valley and pioneered the work in Garsen, where there has been a succession of missionaries serving to the present. Peragia Wangui, a graduate of Kenyatta University and from Karatina Nyeri, began the work in Kipao, which has seen nine missionaries serving there until it was closed in 2010. A total of 18 missionaries, past and present, have been serving the Orma people.

Long before TSM sent missionaries to serve in the two districts, David Shenk recommended that churches and missions organizations concerned about the evangelization of Somalis should concentrate their efforts in the Somali-inhabited areas of Kenya and Ethiopia. He prescribed that: "Mission involvement in Kenya and Ethiopia should combine church growth concerns with involvement in social services such as assisting settling of nomads along Tana River of Kenya." (1972:387) His concern was that Christian missions among a people in a process of change from nomad pastoralist to a sedentary way of life, should not be engaged in the traditional way of evangelism but, "it

FIELD	YEAR STARTED	MISSIONARIES WHO SERVED		MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES	CURRENT STATUS
		M	F		
Garissa – Somali	1990	10	11	Primary and Secondary school / Hospital / Visitations	Ongoing
Madogo – Mororo – Munyoyaya	1991	9	7	Agriculture / Visitations / Missionary training	Ongoing
Bura Tana Malakote (Welwan)	1993	5	7	Tailoring / Agriculture / Teaching / Visitations	Ongoing
Garsen – Kipao Orma	1994	7	11	Garsen: Agriculture / Adult education/ Primary school	Garsen ongoing / Kipao field closed
Munyoyaya Mulanjo		8	5	Agriculture / Teaching / Visitations / Nursing	Ongoing
Total		39	41		

FIGURE 3: TSM missionaries by service stations in Garissa and Tana River districts

seems imperative that churches attempt in a non-propagandists manner to Christianize the Somalis" (1972:387).

He thought missions should stay in close proximity to these villages along the rivers through medical services and community development projects. Shenk at the time of his research was not aware of any successful attempts to Christianize Muslim nomads in Africa. For this reason, he thought:

If Christianity could emerge among sedentary Somalis along the Tana River of Kenya, these Christian communities might be able to canalize the gospel to their nomadic kinsmen. In the meantime, churches should give every assistance to nomads themselves through services such as mobile public health clinics. (1972:388)

TSM engaged these communities in a two-pronged approach that agrees with Shenk's findings. In laying out its concept for missions, TSM clarifies:

Our approach to ministry is with both extended hands, one hand invites individuals to repentance, faith and eternal reconciliation with God through Christ Jesus. And the other hand embraces the lost's physical and emotional well being. This is the hand of social justice, mercy, and compassion, which embodies the goodness of God's

Kingdom on earth. One is not a means to the other but both are equally significant to life in the eternal kingdom. (TSM concept paper, 2007)

In this, TSM emphasized proclaiming the Gospel and participating in the provision of a solution to the social needs of the community they served. The proclamation was not a pre-condition for the works to assist the communities; rather, where such needs existed, acts of love arose in the projects. This explains why the missionaries had a broad mandate while engaging the community to include development work geared towards helping the communities.

Here, an example is useful. Between 2009 and 2010, TSM missionaries led by Zakayo Kimani (an Anglican priest from Embu county) engaged the men of two Orma villages, Dumi and Danisa, in farming projects. While the Orma are pastoralists, they had lost most of their livestock and needed to develop alternative means to survive. Although this project focused on all the villages, the Orma Christians who had believed through their witness operated it. Kimani helped them gain land. Organizing them into two groups for each village, they worked together to grow maize and watermelons, which fed their families, with the surplus being sold for their other uses.

According to TSM report about the project design: "The project aims to reduce dependency on donations, aid and begging...farming is also an alternative to pastoralism" (TSM report, 2010).

In their interactions, there was no suggestion of coercion into being part of the project or hearing the Gospel. Due to friendship, the Gospel-sharing or helping with physical needs were simultaneously dispensed and came naturally (TSM Annual report, 2010):

These farming activities and the meetings held by the groups have exposed them (Orma men) to Jesus Christ. The missionaries interact with the people in these groups. They get to talk about their lives. When faced with challenges, the people ask the missionaries to pray for them. The missionaries pray for them, and the testimonies have encouraged many of the people and drawn them near in search of the God who answers their prayers.

The entry behavior of TSM missionaries is significant. As previously noted, the idea of sending incarnational missionaries is sacrosanct. Here missionaries model Christ in their entry. The missionaries are quite aware of their privileged backgrounds in terms of education and opportunities or resources and mobility. The model calls on them, in the same way as Jesus did, to learn to give up power privileges and social positions, which are their natural dues, and to bring themselves to the level of the community in order to serve. It doesn't end there. The missionaries are aware of the need for self-renunciation after entry; for that reason, they affirm that such mission must begin, proceed and end in great renunciation (TSM Strategy Paper, 2007).

The missionaries are also to "enter" the community and learn or gain conversational knowledge of the local language, adopting aspects of the culture like local dressing styles and food and depending on the local community for their supplies, housing, and protection. For this reason, the missionary delays introducing new approaches and technologies to address life challenges until they demonstrate the weakness of the old local approach. That is often after the missionaries have gained acceptance in the community and understood the underlying rationale for their approaches. For instance, the Welwan who had been sedentary farmers depended solely on the flooding of Tana River to grow crops. But with the frequent drought and the damming of the Tana to generate electricity it became very difficult to grow crops. Because the missionaries were accepted, they had permission to discuss and provide a solution to the perennial challenge of drought and crop failure. As missionaries reported, since "the region would be productive if only water was available throughout the year, they considered that they should have an irrigation pump that they would use to water their farms and hence avoid the famine that strikes the community every year throughout" (TSM Report, 2007). The missionaries enabled the community to learn new farming methods - from sedentary farming waiting for flooded riverbanks to smallscale irrigation - a phenomenon repeated also among the Munyoyaya in Madogo.

Some of TSM missionaries participated in medical work from which the community benefited. For example, the NEMC Clinic was established in Garissa, serving mainly the Somali people; medical staff were posted to Mulanjo Health center to serve the Munyoyaya people; and Pamela Limbe pioneered a community health program in Mororo. The involvement in medical mission followed the skills and training of the missionaries. This was in line with TSM policy to deploy missionaries in the area of their gifting, including training and specialties.

TSM missionaries have also played a key role in education. This has been done in two ways. TSM missionaries taught in government schools in Mulanjo, Chewele, Kipao, and Garsen. In Garissa, they developed a private school to supplement the government effort in the provision of educational facilities, and developed early childhood education centers in Garsen, Madogo, and Mulanjo.

On the whole, TSM missionaries have relied on their proximity to the community they engaged as their primary contact and point of witness. They have stayed in houses built and owned by the locals, often paying rent to the owners, while in other instances some have received housing free in exchange for the service they were giving to the community. After a while, some received permission to build their own houses, and these were done to the local standards using local expertise. TSM places great value on the effectiveness of their missionaries as witnesses, and not so much on the programs they are engaged in. Language learning from local instruction, adapting to local foods and clothing while in the field are emphasized in the first three years of service. It has been observed that: "Effective missionaries have always been the ones who immerse themselves in a profound knowledge of the ways of life of the people whom they have sought for ministry, since only by such an understanding of the indigenous culture could they possibly communicate a new way of life." (Nida 1954:xi)

The fact that TSM missionaries serve in their own country does not give them immunity from challenges other missionaries faced. Their experiences reveal that they are as human and in need of the Lord's help as other cross-cultural

missionaries. Karuku's research exposed a very helpful aspect of this. He picked TSM missionaries for his study on culture shock among TSM missionaries. His stated purpose was to find out how such experience would be helpful in improving missionary training besides helping other senders. Karuku acknowledges that TSM training of missionaries at CMT is a very helpful context to prepare missionary candidates for culture shock. The training of new missionaries is done in a Muslim context, and it's the first point at which candidates come face to face with a new culture, which is quite different from theirs and all the more so when it concerns Muslims. Often when they experience the shock, they are helped to adjust by their trainers, so the impact is minimized.

In his conclusion, however, Karuku states (2006:52):

Nevertheless, the support missionaries get from their trainers and their colleagues during training does not continue being realized in their fields of ministry. This makes it difficult for missionaries to deal with culture shock in their new fields. From this study, TSM missionaries experience spiritual and interpersonal relationships that result from their cultural conflicts in the Muslim contexts. Even though most of them identified these problems as personal, financial or even spiritual, some acknowledged contribution of culture shock to these conflicts.

He further cautioned mission agencies sending missionaries among Muslims in Kenya not to ignore the issue of cultural conflicts, even though they were sending missionaries in the same country. He was right to observe that the Muslim worldview differs radically from the Christian worldview and therefore missionaries working among Muslims should be acquainted with the difference, to minimize the effect of culture shock and bridge the gap to communicate the gospel to Muslims. Karuku's study of TSM missionaries and the mission practices yielded very helpful information that helped missionaries to adjust in service. The findings are also recommended for those wanting to send missionaries to the Muslim world. This is a testament to the contribution of nationals in missions, an indication that nationals can contribute significantly, if they dare, and are encouraged by such pioneer initiative.

Of course, those sent to the mission fields eventually leave. TSM has had to cope with missionary attrition. From the table above, it can be seen that those who pioneered certain mission areas left. Those serving today are not the same. Taylor defines missionary attrition in most general terms simply as the "departure from field service by missionaries, regardless of cause". (1997:xvi) Taylor, as the head of the Missions Commission of the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA), having dealt with missionary attrition in many contexts, concludes that missionary attrition is often "a multifaceted creature providing touches of dark humor, personal reality checks, and painful stories as well as forcing churches, training schools and mission societies into serious selfevaluation" (1997:4). This is why TSM, recognizing the eventuality of attrition, worked to minimize it or its effect on the continuing missionary work. Juma has attested to this in his study on the attrition of TSM missionaries, when he established that TSM system of selection and recruitment, which screened candidates seeking to serve in missions, was designed to detect and aid missionaries to minimize attrition. Juma further lists measures TSM took to address attrition noting, "Pre-field training of the missionaries in an Islamic context strengthens this screening. This pre-field training exposes potential missionaries to Islam before sending them to the Muslims in the various target groups" (Juma 2008:48). Such exposure enables missionaries to respond to challenging questions often raised by Muslims, besides giving them a good understanding of the issues causing objections in the Christian-Muslim dialogue.

Juma also affirms TSM's sending of missionaries in teams as a helpful way in which attrition is considerably reduced. This is because missionaries are never alone in the field, and therefore they are able to develop fellowship and find mutual support for each other in spite of interpersonal challenges.

He continues to assess TSM safeguards against attrition (Juma 2008:53):

Besides all these, TSM raises financial support for missionaries even though the support is not sufficient to meet all the missionaries' needs. Without this support, it would be impossible to have many missionaries on the field today. TSM also educates missionary kids... In missionary care, TSM seeks to meet some missionary needs by

providing missionary housing, by providing hosting facilities for them in Nairobi while on holiday or transit to their homes, and by taking care of the medical issues. These great attempts by TSM contribute a lot in reducing missionary attrition.

Therefore, in ensuring that missionaries are adequately prepared before going into missions service, by providing support for them while active in service and caring for their children's need for schooling, TSM has worked as hard as most mission agencies to preserve the services of their most valuable resource, the missionaries themselves.

3.3 Case study: Peragia Wangui Masinde

3.3.1 Introduction

This is a case study of Peragia Wangui Masinde who served as TSM missionary among the Orma people between 1994 and 2000.

This case study will be used for the documentation and analysis of the contribution of nationals to missions in Tana River and Garissa districts. This case will be illustrative of the highlights in the earlier part of this chapter. It will further flesh out three important questions: How did missionaries' understanding of TSM's mission concepts influence their service? How did TSM missionaries adapt to the changing contexts and maintain their witness? What impact did the missionaries' work have on the people of Tana River? Thus this case study will attempt to answer the lingering questions about the nationals' contribution to mission. This story should inject fresh impetus to the task of documenting the hundreds of nationals who made remarkable contributions that have not been documented for the Christian world to acknowledge.

This case study will also provide a significant reflection on aspects of Peragia Wangui's life to show her calling, her process of discerning it, her preparation for ministry, her formation into a cross-cultural worker and her actual service and reception among the Orma people.

In selecting to study the life of Peragia Wangui Masinde, the duration of her service was considered: she served as a missionary for seven years among the Orma people of Tana River. Her prowess in service, shown in how the Orma people received her, and the impact this experience had both in the field of missions and on her personal spiritual journey influenced my choice of her for this study. That she pioneered as a single lady and developed the mission station that outlived her service is evidence of her enduring contribution to the lives of the Orma people.

Peragia Wangui's story reveals a strong sense of divine call and anointing upon Christ's servant, a stubborn courage to love God and neighbor, and a faith presented not only with words and arguments, but also in a life lived among the Orma, all done in love and self-sacrifice, like that of the master she follows The story further shows a unique development of a mutual relationship going beyond the religious divides and geographical distance at the end of her service. Peragia's story is intriguing and a testament to the continuing works of God through nationals.

3.3.2 Family and calling to faith

Peragia Wangui Masinde (formerly Maina) was born in 1968 in Karatina, Nyeri County. She is the fifth child of Mr and Mrs John Maina. This was by many standards an enlightened family, where her father, a teacher, and her mother, a nurse, raised their six children to succeed and be good Christians. As a young girl, she went through all the Roman Catholic Church's rites, thus grounding her faith in the church's traditions and faith. She matured in faith as a Catholic, observing all the sacraments and faithfully belonging and participating actively in her local church. Her belief and expression of faith were bound to change from her Catholic orientation, when she joined Kenyatta University in 1988 and ventured away from home.

The ensuing exposure led her to encounter Protestant Christians who asserted that they were "born again". A visit to Mombasa to the family of her elder sister, Patricia, during the University's long vacation of 1989, plunged her into close proximity with these believers who made a huge impression on her. Of their lifestyle, she said: "Many times when I previously visited this family, I

admired the genuine love and friendship that they shared with one another and their so-called 'born again' friends" (Masinde, 2017).

This made her question her previously-held faith position: "I was okay as a staunch Catholic who was waiting to get saved when I reach heaven, but secretly I never ceased to admire their genuine salvation. I also started a serious personal study of the Bible" (Masinde, 2017).

From these impressions, she could not resist being drawn to this faith. Her mind was changed faith-wise. In a discussion, she promised her sister that she would give her life to Christ, to be "born again" on the following morning. On September 12, 1989, her sister was at her door. Peragia explains, "She woke me up at 6 am and led me through the sinner's prayer. I started my walk of faith." (Masinde, 2017)

The space and freedom the university gave students to do whatever they wished as long as they attended lectures, sat for exams and passed for the next class, was not good for budding and nurturing faith in God. In fact, the whole environment was biased against faith. But Peragia's determination to follow Christ remained firm against the tide and lure of the high life in the university. She joined the Kenyatta University Christian Union to fellowship with other believers in Christ and find support. Her participation in a new believers' class showed her eagerness and enthusiasm to know more about the Christian faith. This was a discipleship class meant to help new Christians in the university. Going through this training on doctrine, new believers were built into fellowship with fellow believers to help prevent backsliding into being nominal Christians. Here the shift was complete from Catholicism to Evangelical Christianity. She says, "After some time I went through water baptism and not long after, I received the baptism of the Holy Spirit" (Masinde, 2017). Often evangelical Christians focus on re-baptizing those who have confessed belief and recognize a Holy Spirit-filled life through the sign of speaking in tongues.

Peragia's immediate focus as a student was to mature in her knowledge of God and keep in this Christian fellowship of love she desired and experienced in Mombasa. The Christian Union fellowship at Kenyatta University has been one of the strongest affiliates of the Fellowship of Christian Unions (FOCUS), the Kenyan branch of International Fellowship of Christian Students (IFES). FOCUS began student work in Kenya in the 1970s and was registered in 1973 as a non-profit organization. Its stated mission is to reach and equip students in institutions of higher learning and associates for effective Christian living. It has become the umbrella body that links and networks Christian students in Christian Unions in institutions of higher learning (universities and colleges) in Kenya. Their greatest goal has been to train and challenge university Christian students and associates to impact church and society.

3.3.3 Calling to mission work

If Kenya was to be a missionary sending nation, there was a need for missions mobilization programs, which would birth missions' awareness and connect Christians to mission opportunities. FOCUS Kenya played a significant role in creating a whole department to mobilize for missions. Since 1988 FOCUS, Kenya has been successful in mobilizing Kenyan students for missionary work.

They organized huge tri-annual missions conferences, which they called "Commission Conferences":

The Commission is a triennial missions mobilization, training, and networking conference. It brings together Kenyan University and college students, associates (graduates), church teams and international delegates from over 20 countries in Africa and beyond. The Commission aims to create awareness on the central place of missions for every believer. Its slogan is derived from John 20:21 where Jesus commands the disciples, "As the Father has sent, so I send you." (FOCUS-Commission brochure, 2014)

Two years after her salvation Peragia, now a final-year student in the University, attended Commission 91. This meeting would induce another change in her life. She explains:

One evening they showed a documentary about the world's unreached people groups. A group of children from an Asian country was shown saying, 'we are poor because we have no education'. This left me feeling very selfish, thinking, I have attained education up to university level, and if I wanted more it was readily available, yet

there were these children who had no education at all. I knew for sure that I had a role to play. (Maina, 1993)

With a degree in education and confidence in the Lord, Peragia wanted to do something to positively affect lives for God. This would involve expressing the love of Christ through education. On leaving the University, Peragia was employed by the Teachers Service Commission and posted to Kibutha Girls High school in Kangema, Muranga County. Yet she was continuously burdened with the subject of the commission meeting and how she would give herself for missions and play a role in reaching the unreached peoples.

Translating this vision into actuality and finding a mission to deploy her was just one barrier she had to overcome. She recalls, "While at the university, I got to know that my "new believers" class teacher had gone to Garissa to do mission work" (Masinde, 2017). She would try to connect and know more about missions to get involved.

The mission agency in Garissa was TSM. In a bid to expose people to missions, TSM organized Discipleship Training Courses (DTS) among the unreached people groups. Peragia learned about this program from her former university classmate, who attended the discipleship course during April of 1992. Her friend was so excited about the course and had brought a brochure of TSM with her. This is how Peragia connected with TSM and attended a similar course.

During the April school-holidays of 1993, Peragia decided to attend the Garissa discipleship course, in her words "just for adventure." A lady who also attended the course had a vision. She shared a dream she had in the night about people leaving their teaching jobs in schools and their secular jobs to join full-time missions. This dream spoke to Peragia. The dream, together with the DTS experience, had a huge role in eventually influencing her decision to become a full-time missionary. This is where she belonged. But she had a lot of convincing to do. Neither family nor friends shared this ideal. She also had self-doubts and agonized to make the decision of her lifetime. It would mean resigning from work and wholly giving herself to serving as a missionary. Her mind was set.

Peragia was keen to hear God at every stage. By the end of the year when she was already in the process of leaving her teaching job for full-time missions, she states, "a certain elderly lady appeared in my dream and told me I was to go to Garissa on a Thursday" (Masinde, 2017) and eventually, this was what happened.

Joining TSM as a missionary was to expose Peragia to an even more challenging life and service to God. She joined TSM missionary training program for her missionary preparation.

TSM valued the role of pre-field training in equipping missionaries for missionary service. Recent studies done on African missionaries had identified how important and valuable the pre-field training is to assist missionaries to manage culture shock (Karuku 2006) or early attrition (Juma 2008). Both studies commended TSM's pre-field training as playing a significant role in enabling its missionaries to cope with both challenges facing sending agencies.

Peragia, like other missionaries joining TSM, had to train at the Center for Missions Training (CMT) in Garissa. At this time, the majority of TSM missionaries were from the universities. Coming from an academic environment they needed to adjust to the rural communities, where in some cases no one had been through tertiary education.

Peragia found the program at the CMT quite peculiar. The training had very lofty ideals and took a very unconventional approach, unlike what she'd experienced in the University. There were a lot of things trainees did together on one hand and with the trainers on the other. The emphasis on relationships with each other in the book *Life Together* by Dietrich Bonhoeffer shaped her for team life in the field.

The emphasis of the training was not on the intellect alone, but on the quality of character and personal ability to build meaningful relationships. Peragia attests to how this program shaped her attitude. She also noticed how many new missionaries who went through this program had a noticeable change in attitude and ministry. She describes her experience as "life-transforming":

I experienced pure brotherly love, almost like that of the early church. I remember everything was shared equally, both work and food! You would find mature brothers and sisters sweeping the compound, cleaning dishes etc. At one point the landlord gave a brother a packet of sweets. He brought it intact to be opened in the presence of the rest. In another incident, a sister got her dues from a former employer and put them on the table to be shared by all! (Masinde, 2017)

It was also at the time of training that Peragia experienced a spiritual awakening. Even though there was a compulsory Thursday fasting for trainees, she fasted more days than prescribed. Consequently "Revelations, words of wisdom and knowledge were commonplace", she further explains (Masinde, 2017). It was thrilling, particularly because it happened in a community. Daily quiet time, Bible study and fellowship were quite enriching. It was conspicuously evident that the trainees had an insatiable hunger for godliness. Such spiritual context is often fertile ground for hearing God's direction.

3.3.4 Service to the Orma people

Peragia noted that through regular prayer, Bible study and reading of missionary biographies, she felt convinced of the need to carry on with Krapf's mission to reach the Oromo whom he identified as the entry point for evangelizing East Africa. Krapf had called for more missionaries to be sent to the Oromos, who would become Christians and missionaries to other tribes. Peragia saw herself as one who would continue this mission, even though she was not a foreigner. Her encounter with Munyoyaya ladies vending charcoal in Garissa town prompted her to seek to know them better. She was so exhilarated by meeting them that it was like going back into the days of Krapf himself, and she felt that she was already among the Orma people, because the two communities have a lot in common, with clothing dressing and language being the most conspicuous similarities. She further started visiting TSM missionary Cathy, based at Mororo among the Munyoyaya, from where she learned a lot about their culture.

The experience of class and exposure in context were key to making her ready and focused on the people she was to serve as a missionary. She comments: "The lessons about anthropology, cross-cultural missions and discipleship were very helpful. I also learned a bit of dressmaking during this period. By the end of the year, I was more than ready for the Orma field, at least for internship" (Masinde, 2017).

With such clarity, it was not difficult for the leadership of the mission to place her to work among the Orma people, even though TSM at that time had neither a missionary in that field nor a missionary to pair her with. She went to pioneer TSM work in Garsen in Tana River County, among the Orma. Garsen is a town settled by different communities. Apart from the large Orma population, there are Somalis, Arabs, Pokomos and a mixture of other communities from the rest of Kenya. There is a significant number of Christians from among the Pokomo and other Kenyan communities. It is for these Christians that churches were started, so that the communities would continue in faith while living in a majority Muslim context. The Somalis, Welwan, and Ormas are Muslims, and they formed the larger part of the region.

Due to the challenges of single ladies serving as preachers among Muslim people, and the challenge of sending any missionaries alone, TSM had established a principle of never sending lone missionaries. All missionaries were sent as teams. Peragia's desire to work among the Orma presented a challenge that the leadership had to solve, so as not to deny her the chance to serve at this time. An arrangement was quickly made to find someone to team up with her. It was found in Sister Lucy Mwangi, a missionary sent to work among the Orma in Garsen from Calvary Worship Fellowship in Nairobi. TSM had a partnership with the church, and agreement was reached that the two ladies would share a house and work among the Orma peoples at Garsen. During the first six months, Peragia routinely did personal chores, prayed and did Bible study until around eleven in the morning and then visited the neighboring Orma villages for the rest of the day, except on Sundays, when she went to church. It was necessary for Peragia to deliberately spend more time with the Orma people, whose language she had begun to learn. She had also advanced in adopting certain aspects of their culture. This was in line with TSM's Spiral Evangelism concept of missionaries entering into new fields (Appendix C). It is this period that she spent time bonding with the host culture. (TSM Concept Paper 1997:1)

TSM also appointed a couple, Pastor Peter and Mary Masai, to form TSM's team of missionaries to the Orma people joining Peragia and Lucy Mwangi. The Masais had served as missionaries among the Pokot people in Kenya, who were mainly animists. But having gone through TSM's training for missions, they were deployed to serve among the Orma. This was congruent with their calling to serve the Muslim people. Their coming gave room for greater ventures that pushed Peragia to explore newer ways of contacts and opportunities to fully enter into Orma villages.

3.3.5 Kipao the cradle of the Orma people

Kipao is a village very close to Golbanti. It was here in March 1885 that Thomas Wakefield, a pioneer missionary of the United Methodist Free Churches, reached the Tana River, settling Oromo Christians from Ribe and local Oromo people at Golbanti. They were to close this station in 1899 after a raid by the Maasai (Anderson 1977: 8).

Peragia was informed that Kipao was the biggest Orma village in lower Tana River County, and that its only school was a primary school. She imagined this place would give her a true opportunity to immerse herself in their culture, enable her to become fluent in the Orma language and get good ministry opportunities. Garsen is approximately 22 kilometers from Kipao, and it took a full day to get there. It was prudent to live midway, which was in Ngao, a home of the Pokomos and a place where Orma ladies used to sell milk.

Peragia moved from Garsen to Ngao on the 2nd of May 1995, responding to an opportunity to teach in Ngao Girls Secondary School, which was a government school. Schools in the region were often short of staff with her qualifications, and it was a huge blessing for the school to have a highly qualified volunteer teacher. With a light load of class work, she focused on ministry to the Orma people. Luckily this brought her into close proximity to the Orma in Kipao. Again as a lone missionary, she moved away from the team in Garsen, with

TSM's permission, because she was going to share a house with a Christian nurse at Ngao hospital.

The Orma language she had learned at Garsen and her way of dressing, with a long dress to her ankles, headscarf and a *garbasar*, a sari like over shawl, endeared her to the Orma ladies. This was one of the most surprising things to the ladies. No Orma lady had been beyond secondary school, and here was one who was very educated yet deeply respected the culture. In Peragia, the milk vendors had found one learned person who took a keen interest in them and welcomed them as a family. They were no longer just milk vendors, but family who would rest in her house after their milk selling tour of Ngao town. They soon became friends to the extent that they invited her for a sleepover in their village, which was not only kilometers away, but also across the crocodile-infested Tana River.

She acknowledges, however, that:

I had problems visiting their villages, mainly due to the fact that the way is bushy, but with God's grace, I finally managed. Orma girls move in groups while I am all alone. I thank God for my friends Shaffia (met through Agarbo) who brought their friend to our house, most of whom sell milk in Ngao and hence they frequently visit after milk peddling trips. My other friends are Dukalo, two Mumunes, Aliya, Muslima, Madina, and mama Mumina among others...I have made friends with two Orma students, Jamila and Hadija. Hadija was very interested in Christianity long before I came. She openly told me that she wants to get saved. She fears the reaction of her people. Pray for her and for me as I seek to explain the way of the cross to her. (TSM Prayer Letter of June –July 1995)

Peragia taught History and Christian Religious Education (CRE) at Ngao girls' Secondary for about one–and-a-half years. During the weekends and school recesses, She spent her time in Kipao. She explains "during the first sleepover I had a personalized *Kesha* (night vigil); I only managed a few apprehensive winks" (Masinde, 2017). This showed the extent of her fragility and fear despite her drive. It is worth noting that there was no bridge across the expansive Tana River. They used a dugout canoe to cross, which could capsize easily!

Sometime in February of 1996, the Headmaster for Kipao Primary School, the only learning institution for the Ormas, shared with Peragia during her regular visits to Kipao, about their lack of a female teacher in the school especially to teach the girls about physical growth and development in Home Science. She later got a request from the management board of Kipao primary school to conduct mentorship for the schoolgirls at least twice a week. The same board enquired of her, whether she would be willing to take up classes at the primary school. She wished to move from Ngao girls secondary school to Kipao Primary School thus to gain access to this very large Orma village. The Headmaster made this wish official and wrote to request TSM to allow her to work for them saying:

On behalf of the school committee and the entire school and the entire school community, may I request your organization for a female teacher? We have eight teachers against nine streams and all are male teachers. A lady teacher can assist us in helping the social development of our young girls. (Banta, 1996)

The mission had a challenge on how she would serve alone in the village. There was a need for a house and above all a family that would "adopt her" because for the Orma, ladies are never respected without the cover of either a father or husband. The board chairman of the school stepped forward to provide protection and cover for her, a decision the mission welcomed. The challenge of this new assignment led her to point out that:

I have already been granted accommodation at Kipao by the Primary School board of Governors Chairman's home. I am moving in this month (April). The Headmistress at Ngao Secondary was very sorry about my departure but she didn't have a choice. She, however, requested me to continue with the forth form class I was teaching since the teacher I relieved went on transfer. I consented. I'll be crossing Tana River about five kilometers to seven kilometers away, every week to teach the fourth formers up to November 1996. I know it is going to be hectic but I can trust in God's sufficient grace. (TSM prayer letter April –May 1996)

The community not only offered her accommodation, they also gave her some upkeep. This was unusual in that most teachers had good pay from the government and would be considered extremely wealthy in such villages.

Their hospitality and kindness to her went beyond the call of duty. Two schoolgirls were allocated household chores in her house. This was to free her to focus on schoolwork, since she taught home science and English at the village primary school. One should not imagine that the school was as equipped as many we have been to. Peragia did not have the requisite facilities to set up a home science room, nor textbooks for teachers or pupils.

Peragia had to exert her influence beyond the region to equip the school. She appealed to TSM for assistance. TSM through her supporters built and equipped a home science lab for the school, providing all the learning materials for the subject and textbooks for the learners and teachers. Reporting on the impact this had on learning and relationships, she said:

I managed to get a textbook per classroom and it has proved to be quite a thrill teaching Home Science. The pupils are not used to lady teachers. I'm the only one here apart from the nursery school teacher. After two months of being here, some still call me Sir! The girls have also drawn quite close, with some coming to spend nights at my place and I spending in a few of their homes. They help me draw water, wash utensils and I stay with one of them from class four for company. The Headmaster and fellow colleagues are lively and cooperative. It is a pleasure to be in their midst. (TSM prayer letter November 1996)

There was a tremendous improvement in performance in the National examination, K.C.P.E, when the results were announced that year. All of the pupils qualified to join secondary school. To appreciate the change, it was reported that out of 60 schools In Tana River district, Kipao Primary was ranked 12th, compared to the previous year where they were in position 59!

It became a matter of prayer for those admitted to join secondary school to afford school fees. The attitude of the people towards education had shifted. Peragia modestly quips; "Despite my meagre contribution through home science, this situation reminds me of Genesis 38:5. The Lord blessed the household of the Egyptians because of Joseph" (TSM Prayer letter March 1998).

In March of 1997 Rose Akinyi from Alego in Siaya County, a member of Pentecostal Assemblies of God and an expert in adult education, was posted as a second TSM missionary to join Peragia in Kipao. Rose added a new dimension to their ministry to the Orma as she began an adult literacy program mainly among women.

Living in Kipao was never as easy as they have made it appear. The village at the Tana River delta was prone to flooding and floods endangered the lives of people and their stock. Kipao, in particular, was not spared inundation by the El Nino of 1997/98. Roads were impassable, and Kipao was submerged. This occurred while Peragia had a short break in Nairobi. She paints a grim picture of what she found upon her return:

After leaving Nairobi, it was reported that there was a lot of rain in Tarassaa. However, we managed to cover the whole distance albeit briefly alighting to later catch up with the bus on the other end. We also had to cross a flooded part of the road with *mwau* and wade through waist-high stagnant water for some distance before reaching Kipao. Some people I knew well died after a cholera outbreak hit our place and others are still in Hospital. They were indeed thrilled to see me. (Masinde, 2017)

At such times one had to rely on God's continued protection. Peragia stayed with the community and raised prayers for those in Kipao in outbreaks of cholera, malaria and tsetse flies. Her prayers are indicative of the bond that tied her to the Orma people.

Like most modern missions, TSM also invited people for short-term field visits in order to raise support and prayers for missionaries. Peragia and Rose in Kipao in their village among the Orma hosted a team of African-American guests who deeply appreciated their work. Anita wrote this poem to depicted the missionary's state in their work among the Orma as a blessing to their work:

IF I WAS AN ORMA MISSIONARY

I would leave my home, my own
I would walk a distant mile, through forests
Gum and grass
Cross rivers in a wooden boat and pray the
Hippos aren't afloat

I would finally reach a hutted stead
Sleep on reeds gathered in a bed
With no ceiling, plastered wall or fan
And few friends amongst woman and man
No light but a glowing coal
Only your Spirit feeds my hungry soul
Of vice and such amenity
My daily bread is found without your

Luxury

I walk to fetch the water brown as each girl

Does to evade a frown

The soothing fragrance of cloves and ginger

Mix with Cinnamons sweet, as I in my hurt sit down to

Eat

My house is swept clean of dust

My pots are shiny; you will find no rust

When times of disease lay me low, low can

You ever know

With which tears the future harvest now do

Sow

I dress, I eat, I like them speak
That one day the Lord Jesus may seek
As each day ends in singing, dance
I wonder what may be the chance of you

Praying for me

Tonight as I lie in my Orma bed till another break of light.

S.O.S

(Anita mama Tobbie, of Caver Mission - 1997)

Of all the trophies a missionary would dream about, leading others to faith is foremost. Famous are they who talk about hundreds of commitments reached following their proclamation of the Gospel. Peragia had a peculiar experience in Kipao. She explains:

Personally, I never led any Orma in the sinners' prayer but my colleagues in Garsen often mentioned Ormas I used to interact with who had given their lives to the Lord. Once in a while, I would be requested to pray for someone undergoing challenges in the village but that was all. Other times I would share the gospel with someone unto some point when they would plead with me to stop; "Madam, addo lakhis oddu sun". These were their words. Loosely translated, it means; Madam, please stop that topic. (Masinde, 2017)

The lack of conversions and opportunities to preach the Gospel takes nothing away from her illustrious ministry and sacrificial service among the Orma people. It impacted her life and of those around her and endured long after she stopped living in Kipao. Serving as a missionary tremendously influenced her life, the lessons of which continue to shape her faith. She advises that if God's call is on an individual's life, a lifestyle of obedience to God alone can yield true peace. She recalls that before she submitted to the call to missions, she was miserable. Works of charity, prayers, bargaining with God did not give her ease. But as soon as she complied, even though the future seemed full of uncertainties, she was at peace.

3.3.6 Where God's mission is, there goes his provision

Becoming a national missionary remains one of the most challenging tasks. This is due to the inability to get support for missionaries serving especially in the remote areas among the unreached people. The national churches have not accepted the responsibility for supporting mission agencies, let alone supporting their own members serving as missionaries. This is the context in which Peragia entered as a missionary. Leaving employment meant that she forfeited her salary to come into this uncertainty. When funding was available Peragia, like other missionaries, got ten times less than she previously earned as a government employee. She quite modestly states, "I only received a minimal monthly allowance. With this, I was amply supplied. I even had a surplus to send gifts home occasionally" (Masinde, 2017). She doesn't fail to joyfully mention small kindness people showed to her. Once, she had an airlift to Nairobi from Malindi, and she always enjoyed a balanced diet, often free of charge, courtesy of her neighbors and hosts. These constituted Peragia's

affirmation that, "Where God's mission is, there, will be his provision" (Masinde, 2017).

It is almost natural that when Christians and Muslims interact, they make a comparison of religions and practices. Some of Peragia's most meaningful discussions did not begin with her ideas but with her spiritual practices that others observed. Many here assumed that Christians do not fast like Muslims during Ramadan. The girls staying with Peragia observed her fast regularly. What should have been her private discipline became a subject of religious discussion with some religious leaders. One such day a brother of one of the girls who stayed with Peragia asked: "Madam, kwani wakristo hufunga sawm? Kwanini basi hawali dakku?" (Madam, do Christians also fast? But why don't they eat an early meal before dawn?) This was a renowned religious teacher. He had known fasting the way Muslims observe it during the month of Ramadan. They would often rise early between 3 and 4 am and have a complete meal in preparation for the day of fasting, kudakku. This would also come after the evening futar, a meal that breaks the fast plus a very good evening meal at around 8 pm. Thus the community learned the discreet way of Christian fasting through Peragia's practices.

One issue that proved difficult to convince the Orma community about was how unmarried Christian ladies can uphold sexual purity. Through travel and trade, the Orma people made contact with Christians and communities that had majority Christians. Unfortunately, the majority of the Ormas were mainly exposed to non-Muslim ladies whom they supposed to be Christians with loose morals. Peragia's discipline and chastity, though, did not fit this mold. They often talked about her and not to her about it. A girl's life among the Orma would be under her father's protection and care until between late teens when the transition is completed to her husband's care. Never does she remain outside this protection.

"I once overheard this conversation about me," Peragia narrates:

01. Is she married?

A1. No.

Q2. Why not, yet she is of age?

A2. She belongs to a group of Christian ladies who do not expose their hair and also do not get married (referring to nuns). (Masinde, 2017)

Peragia seized the opportunity to correct the wrong perception by telling them that at God's appointed time she would get married, but until then, her role was to preserve chastity. For the Orma girl and her society, marriage is a big thing. They live for it. Peragia observes how until then, many girls nursed only one objective, marriage.

Besides being a Christian testimony in their midst, her goal was empowering girls through education into building a career, so that they could supplement family income and boost their self-esteem, especially when they remain unmarried. Not that marriage made any difference to self-esteem.

There has been a significant change in attitude since Peragia began teaching. There are now several married career women from Kipao. One of the girls who used to stay in Peragia's house is pursuing a degree in early childhood education. Another one is completing her Bachelor of Commerce degree. Some time back, a family from Kipao paid for her transport to grace their daughter's graduation ceremony at Shanzu teachers' college in Mombasa.

The families with the educated girls enjoy better lifestyles now due to the regular support from their daughters. Such benefits include a constant food supply, modern houses, and education for their children.

In 2000 Peragia felt that her time at Kipao and service to the Orma was up. In the space of seven or so years, she had done her pioneer work, and now she wished for others to continue it. Again at this time of exit she sensed divine guidance and approval to leave (Juma 2008). It is plausible that one could be called away from the mission field and therefore ascribe the reason for leaving to God, for Hunter observes from personal experience that God calls missionaries back home, though this calls for keen discernment. (2005:153) Peragia proceeded to undertake further studies at the Kenya Polytechnic University pending direction. In 2004 she got married to Eliud Masinde, who had also served as a TSM missionary, first as a pioneer among the Boni people of Lamu district and later among the Munyoyaya.

TSM closed this field in 2010, having sent nine missionaries to serve the Orma in Kipao. The village is being served once again from Garsen.

Despite the fact that it has been many years since she left, most of the friendships she made while in the mission field remain. They include even friendships she made with the Ormas. They have maintained communication, and whenever they communicate the warmth is still there. Many Orma people consider her as a friend, and indeed one of them. Some were so curious to know where she came from, that two paid their own transport to meet her mother in her rural home in Karatina, Nyeri. True friendship is tested in times of grief. Her Orma friends though still Muslims proved true: "When she got bereaved some time back a couple traveled all the way to bring their condolences", she explains. Peragia's husband and children visited Kipao in 2012 to have a feel of her life among them. The youth were so excited that they posted on Facebook with the title. "Let's welcome Madam Perry home!" (Masinde, 2017) This got 38/45 likes and views on their facebook page.

Neither distance nor time dimmed the trust built in the long lonely nights in Kipao. They cared for Peragia among them in reverse when they called on her to care for their girls in the pressure of Nairobi life. Peragia illustrates how "One man (a university graduate himself) appointed me as a guardian to his daughter at Makueni girls. When she joined Nairobi University, she was entrusted to me yet her close relatives are living and working here in Nairobi" (Masinde, 2017).

The United Methodist missionaries withdrew from Golbanti in 1899. (See section 2.2 of this thesis.) Years on, national missionaries assumed the mantle of bringing the Gospel to the Orma people. Peragia gives glory to God because she was one in the string of many following the pioneer giants, and more because she had the opportunity to serve her Savior.

3.3.7 Reflections of significance from the case study

This case study has provided us with an initial mosaic made from the scattered notes and information gleaned from various people, offices, and records providing primary documentation of nationals' work. This should be viewed

as a precursor to a complete documentation that will give voice to the nationals' stories in missions hitherto unheard. Here is but a glimpse of the depth of commitment, the grit of the missionaries, the wealth of history, the value of the work and the unique quality of nationals' contribution in missions. The case study has helped establish that work by TSM should not be seen in isolation but in tandem with previous pioneer missionary work that opened up Africa for the Gospel. This study should prick the interest of more scholars to research and write these stories in greater depth, to inspire more nationals to serve in missions, to encourage national workers to document their work, and to provide data on nationals for other statisticians to pick up.

3.3.7.1 Call and response

Every Christian mission enterprise worth the name begins with the calling of the missionaries to be involved in missions. This case study explained in depth that nationals respond to God's call for missions just like their foreign counterparts. Peragia's call as narrated has all the hallmarks of divine guidance. For her, it was not just sudden, but a response to a call she gradually discovered. The sequence of events by which she recognized her call for missions is fascinating. First, she found Christ and was established in faith in Christ. Then came discipleship, and her commitment to follow Christ, with whom she was in love, led her to the question of service. Out of her fellowship with Christ, her surrender to service flowed. She did not see herself as a career minister or clergy as such whose commitment to church or commitment to career leads to a ministry station. But as a disciple of Christ, she was willing to follow the Lord wherever he would lead her no matter the cost. Her story shows how this decision tore her from relatives and kindred, thus making her build her home among strangers who did not share her faith. She risked her life and sacrificed greatly focusing on this call, to gain the approval of her master.

Peragia's discovery corresponds to standards maintained by the vastly experienced Overseas Missionary Fellowship who make plain that the two foremost and basic requirements that missionary candidates ought to have are a personal sense of vocation or calling and spiritual maturity. A personal sense

of calling or "'a missionary call' in this sense can be described as a deep personal conviction of God's purpose for a person's work in missions" (Lane 1990:13). It was evident in Peragia's journey as she sensed this conviction gradually developed. When she saw the movie challenging her about the children who were poor because they had no education, she was moved with the compassion of Christ, not only to pray but also to be the solution. Her gratitude filled heart wanted to pour out and make a difference.

To avoid being perceived as illusionary, a missionary's claim of calling must be attested to by others. This can be seen on several occasions in Peragia's journey.

Spiritual maturity, on the other hand, can be described as walking with the Lord and covers all the other qualities that follow from it. Spiritual maturity means developing a walk with the Spirit of God and following the Spirit. This is an essential part of a missionary calling (Lane 1990:14). In Peragia it was evident in her spiritual disciplines of prayer and fasting, private devotion and what she has described as peace of heart when she obeyed the call. The trust a missionary puts in God for personal safety and provision of needs should be indicative of this. The service led her to trust God among strangers that she would be safe to live another day to share her faith, that she would have food and, more so, that the community that received her would receive her message.

A clear call to mission will often determine the quality of missionary service that will ensue, just as has been shown in the case study.

3.3.7.2 Entry into the community

Peragia's approach to the community is worth mentioning. The context of her missionary service was daunting. That a single Christian girl could command respect and the invitation of the Orma people to serve among them should be commended. From the case study, it is observable how by adopting the culture such as donning their cultural dress and headgear and speaking their language she won friends among the Orma ladies. Her ability to recognize their humanity and seek to identify with them made her stand out from her

Christian base. Furthermore, while the Christian Pokomo would have little to do with the Orma people, save trade items such as milk with them, Peragia's interest in the Orma as a people and their habits endeared her to them. There have been recorded animosities between the two communities over grazing fields and farms that often take a religious twist. Her willingness to accept their invitation to visit, walk their paths, and share their abode with joy endeared her to them. In discovering that she had more to give and that she could improve their status led them to invite her to serve them. Ministering in this context was made possible by the permission of those to be ministered to. Christians throughout missions have stormed into the mission fields whether they are wanted or not. Consequently, missions have sought protection from the very people they were serving. It is clear why such ministry has been fraught with conflicts, tricks, and hostilities.

What Stott advocated for in the "Incarnational missions" approach is here embodied in the story of Peragia. In his study of the Gospel of John, Stott was emphatic that in the Johannine version of the Great Commission we have dual imperatives. "I send you", implies action, the work we must do, and "as my Father sent me", talks about the attitude in our work. Stott disapproves of Christian attitudes and enterprises lacking servanthood but displaying dominance and glamour when he writes, "It comes more natural to us to shout the gospel at people from a distance than to involve ourselves deeply in their lives, to think ourselves into their culture and their problems, and to feel with them in their pains" (1975, 28).

The case study has described a missional approach that is more disposed to service than dominance, that got permission to serve rather than forcing itself in through the power of might or resources. A ministry of vulnerability supported by the recipients is a powerful witness to the love of the Lord Jesus. This is what Cardinal Suhard, archbishop of Paris in the 1940s, implied when he wrote "To be a witness does not consist in engaging in propaganda nor even in stirring people up, but in being a living mystery. It means to live in such a way that one's life would make no sense if God did not exist." (Hauerwas 1998:38) Peragia, therefore, ministered with credibility. When she began

speaking about Christ, the ladies asked her not to speak "those words". But she still spoke the Gospel through her life of faith and chastity among them. Her observance of fasting made the religious leaders compare Christian and Muslim fasts. This led to a great understanding of the Christian faith.

It is also important to note in this case that the mission field is stretched beyond the initial geographical space. Peragia retained contact with the people of Kipao even after leaving for Nairobi. When their prosperity excites them, they invite her in to celebrate with them this transformation. She is invited to Shanzu Teachers for Graduation at their own cost. The community seeks for her reciprocal care for their girls coming to universities in Nairobi. Her new family visits the field where she served and inversely, the Orma community seeks out her ancestral home and also visits. There is an established connection beyond the field. This allows for continued ministry long after her departure. There has been a notion that mission is what we do out there in exotic lands. Her example shows how nationals erase the thick line dividing the mission fields of Tana River from "home". Such a situation does not exist with TSM as in the traditional missions.

Muslims' Evangelism (now sometimes called aggressive proselytism) has been viewed as a threat to interfaith relations. Peragia approaches evangelism with firmness and forces an interfaith dialogue in a non-threatening way, softly but incisively. That she could imbibe their culture and values to answer her calling is noteworthy. With the rise of the Wahhabism form of Islam in the region and also among the Orma people, being a Christian missionary working for the conversion of Muslims would certainly raise tensions. It is naive not to question the Islamic belief-system, strategies, and objectives. There has been the need to approach evangelism among Muslims with great trepidation. Could Peragia have been non-threatening because she was a single woman who was faithful, honest, simple, accommodating and truthful in responding to the needs of people around her? While it's sometimes difficult for Christians to genuinely love Muslims as fellow human beings, because Muslims who express their faith as an ideological, religious and political system inhibit love, Peragia loves them well. Further, she never capitulates to extreme

contextualization nor adopts the "Insider Movement", increasingly promoted in the changing missiological scene. David Garrison (2004:151) defines the "Insider Movement" as popular movements to Christ that bypass formal and explicit expression of the Christian religion. The "Insider Movement" is also known as The C5 model. This description is extrapolated from John and Anna Travis' (pseudonym) C1-C6 spectrum, which is differentiated by language culture, forms of worship, degree of freedom to worship with others, and religious identity used to compare and contrast types of "Christ-centered communities (groups of believers in Christ) found in the Muslim world". (Travis, 1998:407-408) Rather than adhere to prevailing mission philosophies, Peragia fasts, and when she observes her fast, Muslims around her watch and compare, and there she forces a conversation of religious fasts, earning a chance to explain Christianity. This is made possible by the entry through an incarnational approach.

The work of Peragia in mission confirms what David Bosch deals with in his book *Transforming Mission* (1991). He argues that her incarnational approach is participating in Jesus' mission of liberating love, which is best done as part of a community. As do TSM missionaries, Peragia, in particular, is not counting her results by the number of "converts", but by the work she does living among and alongside the people and being a true witness to her calling.

3.4 Conclusion

The description and analysis of the mission work by TSM demonstrated the extent to which nationals participated in mission. The way national missionaries were recruited, prepared for mission and deployed to various mission fields showed adaptation to context and an authentic response to current mission challenges. The chapter further revealed TSM's organizational ethos and values that are embodied in their missionaries. There were a total of 81 missionaries sent to serve in a variety of ministries in Garissa and Tana River districts. Their reception by the communities and what their mission meant is best captured in the case study in this section. The case study of Peragia Wangui has also shown that the new missiology developed was

practicable and effective in this context. Reflections in this chapter, established from the practice of TSM, provide a basis of mission themes of findings and implications for discussion in Chapter 5. Chapter 4 will attempt to develop mission theology from the practice of TSM.

CHAPTER 4

TOWARDS A CONTEXTUAL MISSIOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This study is exploring the contribution of nationals and, specifically, TSM missionaries, to mission in Garissa and Tana River districts in Kenya. This chapter forms the key part of this study as it establishes a biblical basis for a missiology emerging from TSM mission work. It begins with a short description of biblical missiology and then turns to a missiological exegesis of John 10:16, which then sets the premise for a new missiological paradigm in TSM. It further examines how this exegetical understanding has shaped TSM's ministry and practice of mission in the Garissa and Tana River districts. The biblical exegesis also leads to a contextualized definition of missions and missionaries used in this study.

4.2 Basis for missiological theology

Thinking theologically about world mission should be greatly encouraged to innovate and renew mission participation. The assumption that mission theologizing has already been finalized, and that we must just apply existing mission concepts and programs, is misleading in the light of shifting contexts. We need to question how revealed scriptures can help us understand the role of the church in mission in our world. In the scriptures, God reveals himself and his mission to the world, and therefore the scriptures make God the subject, but also the object, of mission. It is for this reason that confusion is rife when mission is defined in terms of human endeavors. Missionaries are obliged to do theological reflection owing to the nature of their task. Bosch (1991:124) affirms, "Paul was the first Christian theologian precisely because he was the first Christian missionary." Making the message of Scripture relevant and understood in specific contexts is the inescapable duty of missionaries if they are to be effective.

Missiological theology, therefore, seeks to bridge the gulf between biblical revelation from the distant and cultural past, and the different cultural social contexts of today. It draws on systematic and biblical theology to understand Scripture, meanwhile building the bridge that brings those truths into the socio-cultural and historical contexts in which the missionary serves (Taylor, 2000:167 see figure 4 below). The task of the mission theologian is to relay the gospel to his or her present audience in order to bring about a wholesome transformation of the community.

A comparison of Evangelical systematic, biblical, and missiological Theologies

	SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY	BIBLICAL THEOLOGY	MISSIOLOGICAL THEOLOGY
SOURCE	The Bible is divine revelation.	The Bible is divine revelation.	The Bible is divine revelation.
KEY QUESTION	What are the eternal, unchanging, cosmic realities?	What is the cosmic story?	What does Scripture say to this particular human stuation?
METHOD	Abstract analogical logic	Historiography	Precedent teachings and cases
RESULTS	Helps develop the synchronic understandings of a biblical worldview	Helps develop the diachronic understandings of a biblical worldview	Helps develop missional vision and motivation based on a biblical worldview
LIMITATIONS	Difficulty in bridging from: —structure to story —universal to particular —explanation to mystery —Not missiological in nature	Difficulty in bridging from: — story to structure —universal to particular —Not missiological in nature	Difficulty in bridging from: — today to cosmic structure — now to cosmic time and story

FIGURE 4 (adopted from Paul Hiebert, in Taylor, 2000: 167)

In using this approach to theology, one does not discard systematic or biblical theologies, for they are complementary. Hiebert suggests:

We need systematic theology to help us understand the questions, assumptions, categories, and logic found in Scripture regarding the structure of reality. We need biblical theology to help us understand the cosmic story unfolding in scriptures, the mystery now revealed to us. We need mission theology to communicate the transforming gospel into the particular contexts in which humans find themselves. (2000:168)

This is the foundation upon which mission theology findings are applied, through precedent cases, which is the same method used in the British legal system and all countries that share their legal background.

4.3 Exegetical study of John 10:16

TSM used the theme of John 10:16 to develop its understanding of mission, a different scriptural basis from most missions preceding it, thus providing for a new missiological focus. Köstenberger (2002:69) also affirms that John 10:16 is one of the major Johannine mission texts because of the weight it places on Jesus' messianic consciousness during his earthly ministry. Of significance in determining the missiological influence of the text, is Jesus' statement in John 10:16 and particularly his claim that he has "other sheep". The exegesis of this text will provide answers to four key questions deemed helpful in the research:

- 1. What is the meaning of "other sheep" in its original textual and historical context?
- 2. How does this impact TSM's mission approach in Garissa and Tana River districts?
- 3. How does the verse inform TSM's missiology
- 4. How does the text lead to contextualized definitions of missions and missionaries?

4.3.1 The setting of the passage

4.3.1.1 The author

Many ancient manuscripts do not identify their authors, since at that time the writers were often not the source of the communication. There was frequently a strong sense of collective ownership; the concept of individual intellectual property is a modern one. That explains why most of the Biblical books do not have an identified author, or may have been attributed to a leading figure who may not have been the actual or only author. The authorship of the Gospel of John also is not as evident. The author concealed his own identity, only calling himself "the beloved disciple". He is not mentioned by name anywhere in the Gospel, though he is identified a few key times, where he is beside Jesus at the last supper (John 13:22-25), is present at the crucifixion (John 19:25-27), is

told to care for Jesus' mother; and sees the empty tomb (John 20:1-8). Even then, these are not explicit about who the disciple is. We must admit also that there is no direct scriptural evidence that the author was John the disciple.

Where internal evidence is not obvious, as in this case, one may be compelled to look outside. The traditional identity of this disciple is John the Apostle. Theophilus of Antioch (c. 170) quotes the prologue of the Gospel and attributes it to John (*Apologia ad Autolycum*, ii.22). Eusebius of Caesarea quotes Irenaeus as saying that the disciple John, "who reclined on his bosom", wrote a Gospel in Ephesus (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, v.8.4.). The *Muratorian* fragment (c. 170) also attributes the Gospel to John the Disciple. Clement of Alexandria (150-215) mentioned that John wrote the fourth Gospel after being urged by his friends (EH 6:14 and CCHS 777a, Barton, 2017:79). This notion is supported by Denis Barton (2017:79) whose work *The Clementine's Gospel Tradition*, states Irenaeus (120-180) wrote, "Later on too, John, the disciple of the Lord, who had even reclined on his bosom, he too brought out a Gospel while he was dwelling in Ephesus of Asia."

But our lingering question of authorship can benefit from the position taken by Brown (1970). He had earlier emphasized the necessity of tying the internal biblical data to the external evidence as proof that John, son of Zebedee wrote the Gospel, but this he later retracted. "I now recognize that the external and internal evidence is probably not to harmonize." (1979:34)

This therefore is the convention that the author is "John the Evangelist", or just "John", leaving open the question of whether it is John the son of Zebedee, or another close disciple, who is the source and primary author of this Gospel. However, if one had to depend on an internal clue to identify the author, then this would not be satisfactory, for there are internal clues that more people were involved in the authorship of Gospel, as indicated in John 21:20-24 and particularly in the phrase "we know that his testimony is true" in John 21:24, pointing out that there is a group that confirmed John's testimony.

Most scholars today follow Brown's (2003:151-183) argument that the fourth gospel is the product of a Johannine community, not an individual author.

Brown infers how dialogue within the Johannine community developed the gospel. There are four partners identified within the community:

- 1. The former disciples of John the Baptist who were to be convinced that Jesus and not John was the Messiah
- 2. The Jews who had difficulties believing in Jesus, rejecting the northern prophet from Galilee
- 3. Jews who were secret believers in Jesus (the Nicodemus type) in the 80s and 90s
- 4. Other followers of Jesus who rivaled each other as heretics, such as Cerinthians (with Gnostic leanings), Ebionites (with Jewish-Christian leanings), or Docetists (with heretical leanings), and other Christians of inadequate faith

Brown makes this argument clear when he links the authorship of the gospel with the Epistles, which he takes to have been written by the Presbyter (or the elder). He does not see the elder as a final editor of the Gospel, but opts for a Johannine school, in which several leaders may have been involved—the editor being at least a third literary contributor. According to Brown, the Johannine gospel narrative called people to be faithful to the message they had heard, and to abide with Jesus and his community of faith, much more than considering it as a missionary document (Brown 2003:151-183).

4.3.1.2 Date

The Gospel of John was written approximately around AD 50 but not later than AD 70. This is supported by the evangelist's choice of the word "is" in John 5:2 instead of "was", with regards to the pool near the Sheep Gate. This gives a strong indication that the Gospel was written before AD 70 when Jerusalem and its temple were destroyed. It therefore places John's after the three other Gospels, a position that supports Clément's statement (Barton, 2017:82-86) that John's writing supplemented the earlier Gospels, and therefore had a more developed theology. However, this assumption of progression in theological development in the early church does not necessarily imply a later

date for every document. For example, the theology of Romans is very developed, but it is dated around AD 57.

On the other hand Brown argues that some part of the writing of John occurred around AD 85 or later. He suggests that the act of expulsion from Jerusalem might be connected with the reformulation of one of the 18 Benedictions (*Shemoneh Esreh*) of AD 85. Brown states: "The reformulation of the Twelfth Benediction involved a curse on the *minim*, i.e., on deviators who seemingly included the Jewish Christians." (1979:22)

Brown introduces new insights into the Johannine and the Synoptic traditions, with implications for John's historicity. The archaeological details in Chapter 4-5, 7-10 have significant information, which reflects First-hand knowledge of Palestine prior to AD 70 and the destruction of Jerusalem. Brown believes the Johannine Evangelist was familiar with Mark, and this in the oral form. He infers some sort of cross-influence between Luke and John in both directions. As a result, "John is based on a solid tradition on the works and words of Jesus, a tradition that at times is very primitive. Indeed, I believe that often John gives us correct historical information about Jesus that no other gospel tradition has preserved." (Brown 2003:110)

From the foregoing discussion, on the author and date, we can accept that John the disciple wrote a significant part of John's Gospel before AD 70, while the members of the Johannine community wrote additional portions around AD 85 in the diaspora.

4.3.2 The text

It is important to establish the translation of the text John 10:16 to be used in this study and reflection, by examining various translators' works beginning with the Greek text. Besides this, we will also compare to the NA28 with the Westcott and Hort Greek text:

καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἔχω ἃ ούκ ἔστιν έκ τῆς αύλῆς ταύτης· κάκεῖνα δεῖ με άγαγεῖν, καὶ τῆς φωνῆς μου άκούσουσιν, καὶ γενήσονται μία ποίμνη, εἷς ποιμήν (John 10:16; Westcott and Hort / NA28 variants)

Attention should be focused on the two sets of important words in the translation, since the choice made may affect the reading of the text.

The first set is between "one fold" and "one flock". The Greek text contains the two words: $\alpha \nu \lambda \eta - aul\bar{e}$ (fold) and $\pi o \iota \mu \nu \eta - poimn\bar{e}$ (flock) respectively.

The Vulgate translated both of them as *ovile* (fold). Beasley-Murray (Word Biblical Commentary Vol. 36) believes this goes back to an original Greek text with $\alpha \nu \lambda \eta$ rather than being a mistranslation.

One of the earliest talking points on the translation of this text has been in the KJV, which reads: "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd".

The other later translations used flock ($poimn\bar{e}$), which found in the Greek text, for all extant Greek manuscripts have it as ... μ i α π oi μ v η , ϵ i ϵ π oi μ i ν (one flock and one shepherd). It is clear that KJV translation's use of the word "fold" (Greek is $aul\bar{e}$) is a small but significant variation that affects the reading of this text.

There is an obvious discrepancy between the words *aulē* (fold) and *poimnē* (flock), which occurs in this passage and these two words are similarly distinguished in the Syriac and Egyptian versions. The "fold" could have crept into our KJV by way of Jerome's Latin Vulgate (AD 405), which renders both *aulē* and *poimnē* by *ouile* (fold): ("et alias oves habeo quae non sunt ex hoc ouile: et illas oportet me adducere et vocem meam audient et fiet unum ouile et unus pastor"). Jerome states: "Hoc enim Graecum aulē significant quod Latina simplicitasin ovile transtulit" (translation; "surely this Greek fold expresses what Latin simplicity has translated into *ouile* - fold").

Westcott commenting on this said:

This observation is interesting for several reasons: It shows how perfunctory Jerome's criticism of the Latin text was. He distinctly prefers *atrium* to *ouile* as the rendering of *aulee* and yet he did not introduce it into this revision. Again he implies that *aulee* stands in the Greek text in both

places, which at least shows that he did not verify his references. (1908:74-75)

Another renowned translator, R. A. Knox, while retaining "one fold" in 16b in his English translation of the Vulgate New Testament, acknowledges in the footnote that *poimnē* (flock) is the more accurate in the Greek (Bruce 1953:199).

The observations of Catholic scholars reveal that: "There is no doubt that *poimnē* (*grex*) "flock"- is the correct reading in 16b, though "fold" (*ouile*) appears in the VG and henceforth universally in Medieval Latin writers" (Orchard 1953:1000). It is most likely that this is the Old Latin text upon which Jerome based his New Testament to read *ouile*, *grex* (fold, flock). This could have influenced later translators, Wycliffe, Erasmus (1516), Cromwell (1539), KJV (1611) all who maintained the "one fold, one shepherd" in their translations.

The usage of "one fold" instead of "one flock" distorts the sense and reading of the scripture. Maintaining it will further affect the interpretation of this scripture. In a "fold" there is a limit to the number of sheep that can be accommodated, thus creating an obvious boundary. But when "flock" is mentioned, there is the contrary connotation of a dynamic and growing organism, unlimited in scope, and therefore consistent with the metaphor's vision of Christ's flock.

Insightful work of contemporary translators has corrected this problem. Modern translators of John 10:16b, among them ASV, YLT98, LEB, and NLT all use, "one flock" and "one shepherd".

The second sets of words that require careful study here is "bring" and "lead". The Greek word can mean both bring and lead, and translations have chosen to read it differently.

The word "agagein", $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\tilde{\imath}\nu$, which is translated in most versions as "bring", opens another point of interest in our study, and influences our understanding of the intention of the shepherd for his "other sheep" (v.16a).

Most of our translations have rendered the word ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\tilde{\imath}\nu$) "agagein" as "bring"; "agagein" is drawn from the root word "ago", which could mean either to "lead" or "bring". It also means to "take" or "direct" or "guide" the movement of an object without special regard to the point of departure or the goal. The same word has been used in 2 Timothy 4:11, Luke 4:1 or when the "leading" involves force causing linear movement such as in Luke 4:4.

It is improbable that the shepherd would want to bring all his sheep into one physical fold; rather he has the desire to LEAD them as their good shepherd wherever they are.

The translators of *CEB* confirm this position when in their translation they preferred to use "lead" instead of "bring":

I have other sheep that don't belong to this sheep pen. I must lead them too. They will listen to my voice and there will be one flock, with one shepherd. (John 10:16 CEB)

Their position agrees with the translators of the New American Bible (NAB 1996), together with that of the majority of later German translations that dropped the use of the German word *bringen*, which translates as "bring" (ELB71 of 1871, and a later one ELB of 1905), preferring to use the word, *herführen* (lead) (see translations HFA, GANTP, NBH, NGU2011, SCH2000, (DELUT 1912). The significance of the German translators' use of the word *herführen* (lead) lies in the meaning of the word: "Something leads forth a path, a road, or like leads up from somewhere to the speaker or the actor: This path leads directly here (to the house)" (The Free Dictionary –German, 2009).

Also modern French Bible translators, for instance PDV2017 and BFC, used the term *conduire* (drive or lead) in the translation of the Greek word *agagein*. They differed from the earlier translators who used *amène* (bring), such included the FRDBY, LGS, NEG79, and NBS French bible translations, thus underscoring the importance of this term "lead" for the more used "bring".

The trend can also be observed in the Kiswahili translations. Modern translators seem to have preferred the use of the word "lead", as is evident in

a later Kiswahili translation, which differs from the word in the earlier translations. The Kiswahili, "Agano Jipya" (Ndanda Peramiho, Tanzania, 1986) a Benedictine publication, has translated the word agagein as kuwachunga (shepherd or lead) as opposed to the earlier Kiswahili translations, the Swahili Union Version and Bibilia Habari Njema (published in Kenya), which both use kuwaleta (bring).

With the aforementioned translators, the researcher favors translations of 16a to read: 'κάκεῖνα δεῖ με άγαγεῖν (them also I must lead).

The importance of using "lead" instead of "bring" will positively impact on how the text is read and applied, not only for translators, but also for commentators. In sum, the word, "bring", gives the impression that the shepherd wants to gather his flock into one fold and in this case "this" sheepfold.

The use of the word "lead" will, in this researcher's view, influence the interpretation of the nature and identity of the "other sheep" mentioned here and how they are domiciled in the flock. In the phrase "not of this fold" emphasis is placed on "fold" and not "this", thus "them also I must lead" should be preferred to "bring". It is preferred because Christ is capable of leading his flock in their own lands and is not bringing them all to one place, for he specifies no appointed place, where his people must gather and worship. In fact, as he emphasizes in John 4:21, to the Samaritan woman, "you will worship the Father neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem".

Brown (1966:384) translates this text as: "I have other sheep, too, that do not belong to this fold. These also must I lead, and they will listen to my voice. Then there will be one sheep herd, one shepherd", thus affirms this researcher's examination of the two sets of words.

This researcher, therefore, prefers to use the CEB version of the text as most accurate translation:

I have other sheep that don't belong to this sheep pen. I must lead them too. They will listen to my voice and there will be one flock, with one shepherd. (John 10:16 CEB)

It is worth noting that the use of sheep pen in this text instead of sheepfold does not affect the meaning since sheepfold is a its synonym. The researcher chooses to use one word (sheepfold) where two words (sheep pen) were an option.

4.3.3 Interpretation of the text

From the discussions above, on date, authorship and the text, we can allude to the fact that John accurately recorded Jesus' statements. This is important for establishing what Jesus' word meant to his audience and what import they would have on mission. What Jesus utters in John 10, and especially 10:16, can be considered his vision of a united "flock" which is still in the realm of expectation. Jeremias rightly observes in *poimēn*, 496, that the shepherd discourse "reaches its climax in v. 16. Jesus' office as Shepherd is not restricted to Israel; it is universal." (Köstenberger, 2002:70) The text therefore becomes a great missional pointer in the Forth Gospel.

John purposefully selected, arranged, and presented his material with a goal in mind (see 20:30-31). One can detect a salient motif for mission in the writing. The Gospel of John offers Jesus' commission to his disciples. There is arguably ample evidence in the fourth Gospel that the word "disciple" is used of any believer and not exclusively referring to the "twelve" (Käsemann 1968:30-32). We can, therefore, aver that the commission referred to in John would apply to the community of believers and empower the whole church, not just its apostolic leadership. Kaysar (2001:371) observes the mission of the church in two passages where Jesus refers to the mission given to his believers where Jesus likens their commission with his own:

"The first occurs in Jesus' prayer in chapter 17. In the second part of that prayer (vv. 6-19) Jesus prays for those who have already come to believe in him, and in verse 18 says of them: 'As you have sent me into the world, so I have sent them into the world.'"

The second passage appears in Christ's second post-resurrection accounts appearance (20:19-23). Christ suddenly appears to his fearful disciples locked

behind doors and says to them: "Peace be with you... as my Father has sent me, so I send you" (10:21).

Of significance to this study is the impetus Köstenberger (2002:70) gives to missiological application of this text when he contends that the statement in John 10:16 is one of a few sayings by Jesus recorded in this Gospel that clearly refer to the future mission of the exalted Lord through his disciples (see 4:34-38; 14:12; 17:20; 20:21-23; 21:15-19). Thus, John 10:16 is part of a web of references by Jesus during his earthly ministry to the Gentile mission.

The context of John 10:16 from the surrounding verses is revealing. Köstenberger (2002:70) correctly observes that the pericope of John 10 is intricately linked with the preceding chapter, John 9 (see 10:19-21), and the earlier part of chapter 10 is polemically directed against the Pharisees who are questioning Jesus (see 9:41-42). Sloyan on his part, links the two chapters when he elaborates: "John begins his next chapter ten, with a meditation spoken as if by Jesus uninterruptedly from his accusation of guilt in 9:41: "but now that you say, 'we see', your guilt remains" (1988:1). Despite the apparent sudden change of topic and imagery between chapters 9 and 10, Jesus had not changed the audience he was addressing, as can be seen in 10:1-21, and from the conclusion of chapter 9. On this point, Whittacker (1970:241-60) argues that at John 9:1, Jesus was still in Jerusalem in the second month period between the Feast of Tabernacles and the Feast of the Dedication (10:22). Whittacker (1970) opens for us the relationship between 10:1-21 and the incidents at the Feast of the Dedication afterwards (10:22-31). It is Sloyan (1988) who affirms this link in 10:26-27, using Jesus' own words at the Feast of the Dedication. Further, Guilding (1960:94-97, 104-106) argues that all the regular readings on the Sabbath nearest to the Feast of Dedication were concerned with the theme of the sheep and the shepherds. In particular, Ezekiel 34, which is the most important Old Testament background passage, served as the reading from the Prophets at the time of Dedication in the second year of the cycle.

The excommunication from the local synagogue of the formerly blind man following his healing, forced Jesus to respond to Jewish religious leaders'

arrogance with the discourse of Chapter 10: 1-21 at the temple. About this, Brown (1966:390-91) notes that 10:1-5 contains parables about the gate, the shepherd and the sheep, and the allegory in 10:7 ff explains the parables. The gate is explained in vv. 7-10; the shepherd is explained in 10-18 and the sheep are explained in 26-30.

The parables in 10:1-3a point to a proper way of approaching the sheep, and that is through the gate. The explanation of the parable in vv. 7-10 would indicate that the real point of the parable is that of entering through the gate, thus attacking the Pharisees on the ground of being thieves and bandits who avoided the gate. (Brown 1966:393) The reference in vv. 10:22 to the Feast of Dedication points to the bad high priests of Maccabean times who were truly thieves and bandits. This is indicative that Jesus roped in the Sadducees as well as the Pharisees in his statement.

In vv. 3b-5, the parable emphasizes a close relationship between the sheep and the shepherd. Here Brown (1966:392) contends that a wealth of OT background may be suggested, for instance:

The figure of the true shepherd of the flock who leads the sheep out to pasture reminds us of a symbolic description of Joshua (who bears the same Hebrew name as Jesus) in Numbers 23:16-17: Appoint a man over the congregation (LXX synagogue)...who shall lead them out and bring them in, that the congregation of the Lord may not be like a sheep without a shepherd" (Mic. 2:12-13).

Other Evangelists give credence to this point. For instance, Mark 6:34 suggests that Jesus thought of his ministry in terms of Numbers, where he felt compassion on the crowds that came to him because they were like sheep without a shepherd. The individual knowledge that the shepherd has of the sheep when he calls them out by name (10:3b) parallels the individual care for the sheep in the parables of the lost sheep (Luke 15:3-7).

The explanation in 10:11-13 of Jesus as a model shepherd who knows the sheep intimately echoes the intimacy of the parable 10:3b-5. His commitment to the flock, his willingness to die to protect his flock, is compared to hired hands. Arguably this was an address to the Jewish leaders, the Pharisees, who instead of properly caring for the man born blind threw him out (9:34). They

are to be identified in the metaphor with the "thieves and robbers" in 10:1 and following, which contrasts vastly with the good shepherd who will lead his flock to safe pasture, and the sheep who would recognize the voice of their true master (Burge 2000:299).

Brown (1966:394) identifies the line of priestly rulers and politicians from Maccabean times until Jesus' own day as false shepherds, thieves, and robbers who came before Jesus. He concludes: "And the Pharisees too had soiled themselves in the political power struggle in the Hasmonean and Herodian periods." According to Burge (2000:299), it was imperative for Maccabeus to drive out the Syrians and some of the high priests of that time, like Jason and Menelaus, because they had committed sacrilege in aiding the Syrian desecration of the Temple (Josephus, *Antiquities*, 12.7.6-7:316-325; 1 Maccabees 4:36-59).

Jesus made this an occasion for recalling God's promise of judgment on the irresponsible religious leaders of Israel (9:39-41; compare with Ezek. 34). For their failure, God promised that he would take way the flock from the shepherds, and put them under the model shepherd. He knows the flock as they know him, for he states: "I know my sheep and mine know me" v. 15. God's intimate knowledge of his people is proclaimed in the OT (Nah. 1:7) and in the NT (1 Cor. 8:3; Gal. 4:9; 2 Tim 2:9). To the formerly blind man, Jesus goes beyond the physical and uses the occasion to give him spiritual illumination (9:35-38). He is one of the "scattered children of God" in Jesus' eyes, whose, physical descent from Abraham avails nothing, if not accompanied by faith (John 8). Jesus shifts from the parables to a different aspect of his teaching that there are "other sheep that do not belong to this fold" (v. 16) thus introduces the Gentile mission (Brown 1966:396).

Thus Jesus shows both spiritual discernment and a thorough knowledge and understanding of applicable biblical tradition. Köstenberger (2002:75) points out that "Jesus is able to relate relevant scriptural motifs both to himself and to his opponents at that decisive time in the history of God's people." Jesus, therefore, becomes the decisive bridge between OT and NT traditions in his own person, work, and teaching. He anticipates his impending death on the

cross, well aware of its substitutionary significance (John 10:11, 15, 17-18; compare with 15:13) as a pivotal salvation-historical event. Jesus contrasts his own faithful "shepherding" with the Jewish leaders' responsibility and projects the prospect of the Gentile mission, clearly a message of judgment as seen in Romans 9-11.

Jesus' teaching in John 10 involves more than the conflict with the Jewish religious establishment. When he mentions the "other sheep not in this fold", (that is, Judaism; see 10:1) Jesus transcends the immediate context of the temple event, blind man's healing and the Pharisees' opposition, and focuses on his intent to lead his "other sheep".

The passage of John 10:1ff is a symbol-laden discourse used by Jesus to communicate his message. As far as the statement of John 10:16 is in its "image field," Jesus is able to relate familiar scriptural imagery to his own prophetic utterance, which is pregnant with theological implications for his audience, both on a national and on a personal level. John 10:16 forms an integral part of the "Shepherd discourse." Köstenberger (2002:71) maintains that it is not merely a missionary-style digression, but a concluding and supplementary statement that is of great significance for the entire discourse.

This is why Köstenberger (2002:71) avers that: "The passage is similar, though not identical, in import to John 11:52, in which John points out that Jesus' death would lead to the gathering of God's scattered children, and not only the nation of Israel into one." However, John's editorial comment in 11:52 betrays hindsight and when he refers to a universal gathering of the scattered children of God (but see John 12:32). Therefore, according to Köstenberger, Jesus' statement in 10:16 is historically fixed in a context where the prospect was the exalted Lord's uniting of two kinds of "sheep" into one "flock" (2002:72).

The impending reality of the inclusion of the Gentiles into the new messianic community together with believing Jews, a fact too painful for many Jews of Jesus' day to face, is presented by Jesus not explicitly but in slightly veiled form. It is unlikely the disciples and Jesus' other audience at the temple courts conceived of the Gentiles being alluded to in this discourse. Yet it is implausible

to imagine that Jesus intended to educate them on this point, which they missed (Carson 1982:59-91). Nonetheless, the researcher supposes the audience may have understood "this fold" to mean religious righteousness in Judaism, whether they were of Jews or the proselytes made of worshipers from the Gentile world. This, therefore, would influence their understanding of who the other sheep were in Jesus' remark. There is no reason to dispute that they saw "this fold" vis-à-vis "other sheep" from a perspective of ritual soundness and therefore acceptability for worship. The excluded people are in this case put in a box of those ritually unfit for worship, irrespective of whether they are Jews or the proselytized within the range of "other sheep", together with the Gentiles far away. It is probable that they had not thought of the Gentiles as other sheep. If they had, their minds would have been on proselytes also, converts to Judaism who had become worshipers.

It was the apostle Paul and Barnabas whose confrontation on this issue, at the first Church council meeting in Jerusalem (Acts 15), made the church admit Gentiles without passing through the Jewish platform. Surprisingly, the leaders had no specific teaching of Jesus cited to justify their position on this issue of Gentiles. This raises the question whether Jesus really taught plainly that Gentiles and Jews were equal heirs of the Gospel promises. Yet Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman serves as a clear indication of Christ's teachings or at least modeling.

Through the records of the Evangelists, it is not explicit what "other sheep" meant for Jesus, but it is certain he said that he was sent first to Israel (Matt. 15:24, Mark 7:24). He also believed that what he was interpreting was the correct Jewish understanding of the scriptures. Therefore, those who were yet to recognize his teaching even from the Jewish community were reasonably "other sheep". So when he talked of "this fold", he was pointing to his followers specifically, who could possibly be outsiders or Jews. John graphically depicts this when he showed how the Jews were the ones who kicked Jesus' followers out of the community (John 9:34). We can infer that the "other sheep" that are the outsiders for John are simply ones who are outside of the community of Jesus' followers.

Conspicuously absent in his record is any saying of Jesus linking his mission to the Gentiles also. This is amplified in the encounter of Jesus with the Syrophoenician woman when he moved across the border into the country of "Tyre and Sidon" (Mark 7:24).

The Syrophœnician woman asked Him to cure her daughter, and he is reported to have said to her, "Let the children first be filled," adding that children's bread should not be given to "dogs." His action besides his words gives no indication that Jesus regarded non-Jews as having any claim to his ministry. Yet in Matthew 15:24 Jesus stated categorically to the woman, "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." This is consistent with what he had said to the disciples in an earlier passage: "Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (10:5, 6).

One cannot fail to recognize that these are instances of keen focus on the Jews, but they do not explicitly convey more than that: Jesus regarded his mission as directed in the first instance to the Jews. There are many indications that both Matthew and Luke believed the Gentiles were also to be included in the redeeming purpose of Christ. For instance, Matthew and Luke quote prophecies about the Messiah being a light to the Gentiles (see Matt. 4:12:2; 14:16; and Luke 2:32). Also in Matthew, the Roman centurion was commended for his faith (8:10) as was the Samaritan leper in Luke 17:19. The example of the Good Samaritan is held up for imitation in Luke 10:37 and the saying, "Many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob", is in Matthew 8:11, as well as in Luke 13:28 in a different context. Mark also ends his Gospel with the command to preach to all nations, what scholars have pointed out as the commission in Mark 16:15, similar to Matthew in 28:19. It should not escape our observation that these instructions not only appeared at the end of their gospel, but were woven into the gospel story, leaving no doubt that focus on the nations also represented another aspect of Jesus' teaching (see Matt. 24:14, Luke 24:47).

At the heart of Jesus' message in John 10:16 is a "paradigm shift" with regard to the Jews place in God's plan: considering themselves to be safely "inside the

fold," they all of a sudden find themselves "out in the cold," outside of God's redemptive sphere, replaced by select "other sheep" (that is, Gentiles). We can deduce that Jesus in these words announced the mission of shepherding his church made up of both Jews and Gentiles, which he would soon inaugurate. At the time John was writing this vision had become a reality, that the "other sheep" together become the Messianic community, the church.

4.3.4 Missiological understanding of the passage

Shepherds in Palestine at time of Jesus who had a large flock kept them in different sheepfolds. Kenneth O. Gangel (2000:193) identifies the complete multi-flock sheepfolds in old Palestine, and relates them to this metaphor, thus pointing out the importance of the sheep knowing their shepherd's voice. Yet, while thinking about "other sheep, not in this fold", he states what seems to be the most obvious meaning of the metaphor, namely as referring to the Jew/Gentile divide, the Gentile believers who would become a part of the Lord's people as the disciples preached the gospel in Acts.

This researcher found a parallel in the method of keeping flock within the Somali community in Garissa, among whom even today's shepherds keep their flock in various folds. Therefore, multiple folds would not be unique to Jesus' time; it's an age-old practice by pastoral communities to keep their livestock safe. In this text, Jesus claimed his position as a shepherd with a large flock, which he had come to lead. The flock existed in multiple sheepfolds scattered across the world.

Jesus' mission in the fourth Gospel of saving the world through his life is obvious in John 10:16, as he projected himself as the owner of the flock, which is probably in several other folds that his present listeners knew little of. When he pointed to this flock he meant those on the margins including both Jews and Gentiles; their religious background or faith did not matter. They were all his.

Those who listened to this metaphor on the temple premises probably imagined that he spoke of Jews from the diaspora because Jesus spoke also about the marginalized in the community of worshipers, the likes of the man born blind, the lepers and outcasts on the edges of the Jewish community. The

"other sheep" Jesus refers to surely include those on the margins of their society, as well as the Gentiles whom Jesus will call. These will hear his voice, and he will lead them as he has described in the analogy of the shepherd.

The suggestion in 10:16 that there are "other sheep" calls for a reflection on the exclusivity of the flock of Christ today. The other sheep are members, but they are outside the fold. Jesus' desire to see "one flock and one shepherd," expressed here certainly has ramifications for us today. Burge points out: "At the very least, it suggests that there are *unexpected sheep* that must be considered a part of the fold—sheep that the present fold does not know and might not recognize" (2000:300).

We must be cognizant of the influence of "other folds" in what becomes of the "other sheep". Often shepherds would brand sheep in their care that are, therefore, in the fold, though the sheep may not necessarily belong to them. That is, the fold could also host the flocks of different shepherds. They would, therefore, risk falling into the hands of strangers, who are neither their owners nor shepherds.

C. K. Barrett observes concerning John's Gospel that, "John was written in the context of the Gentile mission" (1978:379). Those who hold this view consider Christianity as the fold that replaced Judaism. The Christian Jewish leaders of the early church are not deemed to have made a clear distinction between Judaism and Christianity or gone a good distance to avoid returning to the synagogues (Sloyan 2009:132).

Concerning the care of the flock, it is possible that the same shepherds were not providing the care the sheep needed. "The hirelings are shepherds of the sheep, which means leaders of Christian groups, perhaps of Jewish Christian churches" (Sloyan 2009:78). This necessitated the shepherd's mission to bring the suffering sheep under his great care.

The other challenge is how the sheep would be identified as belonging to him. Jesus clarifies how he would identify his own and how they would come into his care. He does not distinguish between those who belonged to the Jewish community and were therefore between the covenant people and those

outside the commonwealth. Instead, it says they will respond to his invitation. Jesus lays out ways to invite "other sheep" to belong to his fold. He, like any other shepherd, knew his sheep and they would be known by their response to his voice. This idea here is not only that the Gentiles will respond to his voice and belong but also the Jews who do not recognize his voice would not belong. To join the flock, it was vital that the sheep be acquainted with the voice of their shepherd in order to be led in and out, and benefit from the shepherd's benevolence. Gengle articulates it this way when he said, "in multi-flock pens, it becomes all the more important for sheep to understand their master's voice" (2000:193). They will hear his voice as Cornelius did, indicating that in every nation there will be those he calls, who will accept his call (cf. Acts 10:35; 14:17; 17:27; 28:28).

But the passage contemplates a wider application: "Them also I must bring, or lead, to be ones of my own." They have been scattered abroad, but they will respond to his love. According to Westcott, the Shepherd has a relationship with them and is determined not to bring them to one place or enclosure—to express such a thought we should have had, $\sigma \nu \alpha \gamma \alpha \gamma \epsilon \nu$ but not $\alpha \gamma \alpha \gamma \epsilon \nu$, (chapter 11:52) or $\alpha \rho \sigma \alpha \gamma \alpha \gamma \epsilon \nu$ (74-85)—but to bring them into a personal relationship with himself.

Whatever theory is held, it is stated that the other sheep "will heed my voice" (v. 16). This contrasts sharply with those addressed later in the chapter (10) in the words: "But you do not believe because you do not belong to my sheep" (10:26); the gathered group is envisioned to resemble those who now believe: "My sheep hear my voice" (10:27).

Besides becoming one flock, which is achievable under Christ, (Boice, 1999:770) how the flock would identify and follow the voice of the shepherd is of great importance. William Barclay (1956:74-75) illustrates this point through the story of Egerton Young the first missionary to the Red Indians of Saskatchewan, Canada. Egerton shows how the Indians received a new revelation of the love of God. Upon hearing of the Gospel an old chief said:

"When you spoke of the Great Spirit just now, did I hear you say, 'Our Father'?"

"Yes, I did," said Young. "We know Him as Father because He is revealed to us as Father by Jesus Christ."

That is very new and sweet to me", said the chief. "We never thought of the Great Spirit as Father. We heard Him in the thunder; we saw Him in the lightning, the tempest and the blizzard, and we were afraid. So when you tell us that the great Spirit is *our Father*, that is very beautiful to us". The chief paused, and then, as though the glory of it were even then breaking over him, he asked, "Missionary, did you say that the Great Spirit is *your* Father?"

"And," said the chief, "did you say that He is the father of the Indians? "Yes", said the missionary.

"Then," said the old chief, like one on whom the light had now burst, "you and I are brothers."

This researcher finds helpful the conclusions drawn by Köstenberger (2002:96-97) on John 10:16, that Jesus was a faithful interpreter of the Hebrew Scriptures and rightly appropriated himself the messianic Shepherd imagery. He emphasizes that Jesus contribution is one of interpretation of: "Scriptures in their totality yet with sensitivity to the developing biblical theology in the Pentateuch, Psalms, and the Prophets and with reference to himself" (p. 96).

Köstenberger continues to say that Jesus understands himself in the text as the "eschatological Davidic messianic 'shepherd'" (p. 97). His vision was for his followers to congregate on the basis of his substitutionary death on the cross, and consequently, include his Gentile sheep into the new messianic community of John 10:16.

This text has profound significance for missiological understanding, for it presents Jesus both as a Jewish Messiah and the universal Savior of the world. This fact is grounded on the fact that "John's Gospel was designed to appeal to the cosmopolitan population of Asia Minor of his day and to strengthen the Johannine churches against Jewish opposition" (Köstenberger 2002:97). John in this text upholds the vision of a community united by faith, which

Köstenberger claims to consist of believers in Jesus who are the legitimate heir of Hebrew scriptural traditions and messianic expectations, and faith in Jesus the Messiah, the good shepherd par excellence, thus the covenant community. Jesus therefore, echoes the prophecy of Ezekiel on himself, which is recorded in John's Gospel: "And there will be one flock one shepherd.

4.4 How the verse and metaphor inform TSM's missiology

4.4.1 The come paradigm

All knowledge is dynamic including missiological knowledge. Consequently, new thinking emerges and practices evolve shaped by contextual realities or experiences and reflections. Therefore, to explicate a mission understanding emerging from the John 10:16 text and in the practice of TSM, this researcher uses the concept of paradigm and paradigm shifts over other concepts, like Karl Popper's (1963) *Conjecture and Refutations*. Popper believes all knowledge of all types grows through a process of having problems, conjecturing solutions to those problems, and then refuting those conjectures based on the discovery of new problems (1963:291-326). Through this process we "evolve" our explanations and they improve.

This approach, though plausible, has hardly been used by missiologists, for which reason, it will not be used. But because many mission scholars have previously used the paradigm concept to explain missiological knowledge and ensuing shifts, the researcher has chosen to use it to describe how, when TSM shifted its focus from the verses in Matthew 28 and Mark 16 to the verse in John 10, they discovered a new approach to mission, which they call the "Come Paradigm."

While it is beyond the scope of this study to propose a new paradigm for world mission application, this study nevertheless explicates this peculiar mission paradigm found in TSM and suggests that it may be interrogated, and if found sound, should be recommended for wider application.

The language of paradigms and paradigm shifts entered theological discourse in the 1980s, prominent proponents among these being Bosch's paradigm theory of mission. Bosch's (1991) six paradigms include:

- 1. The Apocalyptic paradigm of early Christianity
- 2. The Hellenistic paradigm of the patristic epoch
- 3. The Roman Catholic paradigm of the Middle Ages
- 4. The Protestant Reformation paradigm
- 5. The Enlightenment (modern) paradigm
- 6. The developing Ecumenical (postmodern) paradigm

Bosch derived these eras from earlier work by Hans Kung (1987:157) who, using a historico-theological approach for the subdivisions of the history of Christianity advanced an understanding of Christian faith based on the six eras. Bosch noted that such a format of subdivisions was not original to Kung. They already existed in the missiological literature (see Neill, 1964). Nevertheless, Bosch (1991:183-184) imbued Kung's eras with a distinctive interpretation of Christian mission. Kung advanced that each of these periods revealed a particular understanding of Christian faith. His innovation was to inject these subdivisions with the concept of paradigm shifts, which had been earlier developed by the physicist and science historian Thomas Kuhn (1970).

Kuhn defined a paradigm (or a fundamental understanding) as "the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community" (1970:175). Specifically, Kuhn shows that scientific revolution is achieved when existing fundamental understandings are overturned or overtaken by rival understandings in the field of natural science. He recommends using a historical approach in physics; thus, the scholar gets engrossed in the process of the shift from one framework to another (1970:84). According to Kuhn, this transition from a paradigm in crisis to a new one, from which a new norm is thus established, is not incremental nor an extension of the old paradigm. On the contrary, it lays a new foundation for the field, a reconstruction that alters some of the field's most elementary theoretical generalizations as well as many of its paradigm methods and applications.

While Kuhn's theory was devised for a natural science application, clearly its value has transcended the history of science and found relevance also in the social sciences, where it has been widely applied, although with some reservations (Barnes 1982; Eggert 1998:9). There are particular misgivings

when it comes to applying this concept to theology mainly due to the material difference in the fields of natural science where the thought was developed. While there exist helpful similarities between natural science and theology, there are recognizable key differences. In theology, unlike natural sciences:

New hypotheses and theories emerge as a result of a highly complex and generally protracted replacement of a hitherto accepted model of interpretation or 'paradigm' by a new one. They arise from a 'paradigm change' (not a sudden 'paradigm switch'!) in a long process that is neither completely rational nor completely irrational, and is often more revolutionary than evolutionary (Küng, 1989:7)

Moreover, Bosch (1991:186) notes that, in the natural sciences, the new paradigm usually replaces the old paradigm definitely and irreversibly, but in theology, old paradigms are not easily replaced. People tend to commit to multiple paradigms concurrently. In its construct, theology relates not only to the present and future but also to the past, to tradition and to divine revelation. Theology therefore must be contextual and relevant, yet should be subjected to the critical scrutiny of scriptures (Bosch 1991:187).

Nevertheless, even though both Kung and Bosch recognized the limitations of Kuhn's theory (Fuller 2000), they acknowledged that Kuhn's work still has certain usefulness in its application to theology (Küng, 1987:162; Bosch, 1991:185). Bosch (1991:184-185) finds value in Kuhn's view in so far as it is a "working hypothesis" to aid in the understanding of the eras in the discussion. He recognizes that there is "a growing awareness that we live in an era of change from one way of understanding reality to another".

By using Küng's six subdivisions based on Kuhn's theory, Bosch conceptualized the broader mission process as fundamentally changing from one era to the next, and having an "effect on our understanding of how Christians perceived the church's mission in the various epochs of the history of Christianity" (1991:183).

More recently, Bevans and Schroeder (2004:265) for example, employed a similar approach in discussing the contextual theology of mission. They gave the following outline of mission history:

- 1. Mission in the Early Church (AD 100-301): individual Christians in a Variety of Situations
- 2. Mission and the Monastic Movement (AD 313-907): from Constantine to the Decline of the T'ang Dynasty
- 3. Mission and the Mendicant Movement (AD 1000-1453): Crusades, Preachers, Nuns and Mongolian Christianity
- 4. Mission in the Age of Discovery (AD 1492-1773): Conquistadors, Prophets, and Gurus
- 5. Mission in the Age of Progress (AD 1792-1914): Civilizers, Evangelizers, and Volunteer Societies
- 6. Mission in the Twentieth Century (AD 1919-1991): The Emergence of World Christianity

Bosch's conceptualization, covering two paradigms, namely the Modern Paradigm and the Postmodern Paradigm, together with Bevans and Schroeder's (2004:265) ages of Discovery and Progress, provide a relevant model for this research on the elucidation of the "Come Paradigm". A brisk look at the two eras reveals how they shaped mission thinking and practice.

The Enlightenment or Modern era began around the seventeenth century, and was the result of several events, which took place in reaction to the Church's authoritative stranglehold over society. This was especially evident during medieval times. Events during the Renaissance, Reformation and certain revolutions prompted people, predominantly in Europe, to question the church's dominant position (Venter, 1992:40). Bosch (1991:264-267) highlighted several views of this period that had an impact on mission thinking in Europe. The Enlightenment was characterized by an intense belief in progress (see Usher and Edwards, 1994:9), which resulted in the discovery and development of new lands (territories), consequently ushering in the colonial system to civilize the natives (Lewis, 1999:73, 209-218). Missionaries became agents of the civilization process when they followed in the wake of colonization in an attempt to bring the Christian gospel to non-Christian nations (Neill 1964:140).

Since the Enlightenment was the age of reason (cf. Usher and Edwards 1994:9, Lemmer 1998:19), during which the human mind was perceived as the only independent authority in all areas of life, phenomena needed to be explained in rational terms. All problems, therefore, could be solved by science and

reason. Scientific knowledge was viewed as factual, neutral and value-free, while religious knowledge was seen as a subjective experience. The belief in the teleological was substituted by a cause-and-effect understanding of reality (Matzken 2000:1). Enlightenment thinking regarded humans as autonomous, free individuals. Several Enlightenment ideas radical (e.g. its anthropocentrism) generally ran counter to Christianity. Christians responded to the Enlightenment's challenge in the form of, among others, pietism and several evangelical awakenings. (Booth 1968: v, vii, Neill, Anderson and Goodwin 1971:485, Warneck 1979:76-78)

These Enlightenment ideas invariably influenced missionary thinking and practice (Ashley, 1980:28-29; Ashley, 1982:49-58). Bosch (1991:274) refers to the entire modern missionary enterprise as "a child of the Enlightenment".

Missionary movement from the sixteenth to the twentieth century saw Europeans move to other regions of the world espousing the "GO Paradigm": a mission understanding defined by going from home to foreign fields based on verses from Matthew 28 and Mark 16, as previously noted. Europe was viewed as a natural center from where resources and information and wisdom flowed to other parts of the world, which were considered "the mission fields". This notion was articulated in the Edinburgh 1910 world mission conference, which laid out a vision of the world missionary movement for the proclamation of the Gospel, as the core of the missionary enterprise. The assumption of Western superiority was built in the conviction that God had chosen missionaries to "bring the Christian light to heathen countries", an idea known as Manifest Destiny (De Kock, 1996:39).

The Twentieth Century saw the emergence of a critique of the Enlightenment era (Usher and Edwards, 1994:2, 8), which has resulted in the postmodern discourse. The Postmodern era emerged from within the Enlightenment. A definition of Postmodernism is amorphous since there are many variations. The irony in the postmodern position—that knowledge cannot be systematized into a singular, all-encompassing framework—works against attempts to come up with a definitive meaning. Regardless of this difficulty, Edwards and Usher (1994:7) suggested that Postmodernism is "an umbrella"

term for a historical period, a condition, a set of practices, a cultural discourse, an attitude and a model of analysis."

Rationalism, which was a strong pillar of the Enlightenment era was rendered too narrow in the Postmodernism era and needed to be expanded (Steyn 1997:154), thus calling for the realization that scientific principles and theological facts cannot be defined absolutely.

Enlightenment ideas of reasoning along linear, causal lines as well as notions of universality, validity, and certainty (cf. Usher and Edwards 1994:10) were replaced with the recognition that knowledge is partial, local and specific (De Kock 1996:10). Postmodernism deals with facts and values in a contextual manner since they are influenced by social and cultural factors, contrary to Enlightenment ideas, in which facts are considered objectively. A community's perceptual frameworks and language, therefore, construct reality. Postmodernism recognized that not all problems are solvable. Ideas about progress and improving populations by forcing cultural norms on them were replaced with ideas about uplifting and developing communities, particularly in previously colonized countries.

There were certain strands that characterized the shift to the postmodern era, and that shape mission in the Twentieth Century. A more liberal approach toward mission was considered during the early Twentieth Century (Neill 1964:450-454) beginning with the second World Missionary Conference in Jerusalem in 1928. This conference advanced that conversion should be replaced by co-operation and tolerance, and attempts should be made to "Encultrate" and contextualize mission thinking and practice.

The final aim of this liberal view was "the emergence of the various religions out of their isolation into a world fellowship in which each will find its appropriate place" (Neill 1964:456). This stance embodied a direct challenge to the Enlightenment idea of thinking progressively by advocating for and proposing notions of social justice, the recognition of others' practice of Christianity, reconstruction, and development.

Although the Enlightenment and the Postmodern eras are historically and culturally distinguishable, they also overlap (Lyotard 1987:15). For this reason, Bosch observes:

New paradigms do not establish themselves overnight. They take decades, sometimes even centuries, to develop distinctive contours. The new paradigm is therefore still emerging and it is, as yet, not clear which shape it will eventually adopt. For the most part, we are, at the moment, thinking and working in terms of two paradigms. (1991:349)

Bosch's sixth and final paradigm can be referred to in various ways: "ecumenical," "relevant," or "postmodern" (1991:368–519). They also include "Mission as the Quest for Justice" (p. 342-348), "Mission as Contextualization" (p. 358-367), and "Mission as Inculturation" (p. 379-388), out of which he diagnoses thirteen components in an "emerging ecumenical missionary paradigm" (1991:368). While Bosch emphasizes ecumenical trends or world Christianity as the main features of mission in the postmodern era, Bevans and Schroeder (2004:265), in their final section under the title "Mission in the Twentieth Century: New Models of Church and Mission", considers as the main players the African Initiated Churches and Mission, other Indigenous Church Movements, and Pentecostalism and Mission.

Both in the Enlightenment and the Postmodern eras, mission was understood from a similar GO Paradigm: missionaries went to the uncivilized world or to the unreached peoples. It was understandable that the church developed a mission understanding that laid emphasis on "go" from the biblical texts, the most famous being "Go and make disciples" (Matt. 28: 19), "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel" (Mark 16:15) and also John 20:21: "As my father sent me, so send I you". Hence the overarching framework of mission was in the word GO. Despite the six-era categorization of mission paradigms, Bosch's own explanation of world missions shares these texts. For instance, Bosch's utilizes Matthew 28:18–20 to represent the whole of what Matthew is seeking to communicate missiologically (Bosch 1991:56–83). Making disciples is the action of mission within Matthew's Gospel, which has an emphasis on going

from one community to another. Matthew supports the belief that making disciples is missional fulfillment.

In addition to the foregoing, Bosch introduces a different understanding from the apostle Paul. Bosch believes that Paul's missional theme involves God's invitation to join the eschatological community (1991:172), which is the Church in the world. He describes it as "the interim eschatological community" and relates to how Paul understood *ekklesia* (p. 165). Paul's main focus of mission, according to Bosch, was based on the creation of a reconciled community: "The Church is called to be a community of those who glorify God by showing forth his nature and works and by making manifest the reconciliation and redemption God has wrought through the death, resurrection, and reign of Christ" (p. 168). In other words, for the church to be missionary, it needs to integrate into the world and not run parallel to it. According to Bosch, "it wasn't until after the Second World War that the essential orientation of the church toward the world was being embraced more widely in Protestantism" (1991:502).

According to Bosch after becoming a part of the eschatological community, a believer would naturally fulfil God's mission (1991:172–178). So, after Jesus' ascension, the church was left here on earth, clearly not the Kingdom of God, to remain as a sign and instrument, even a sacrament, of the Kingdom of God. It engages in Kingdom work for a Kingdom agenda. Therefore when the Church grows towards being a new creation, which glorifies God by its life and holiness, it automatically bears witness to the world. This makes the church "missionary by its very nature through their unity, mutual love, exemplary conduct, and radiant joy" (1991:380).

Bosch picks up and expands these ideas in expounding the theme of the missionary Church as the first element of the "emerging ecumenical missionary paradigm" operating in the postmodern era. Bosch, therefore, avers that the Church needs to be distinctive in order to be missionary, so that "the church can be missionary only if its being-in-the-world is, at the same time, a being- different-from-the-world" (Bosch 1991:308). It is precisely for the sake of the world that it has to maintain its holiness and identity in Christ.

He argues that the emerging ecumenical paradigm offers us the only way out of the impasse, which polarizes us in our mission between those who are doggedly persevering with their affirmation of revealed truth, and those who identify with the Postmodern in too uncritical a way and find themselves letting go of the absolutes.

Although the paradigm for mission appropriate for a postmodern context ought to focus on a concept that embraces both, there is a handicap in the insular nature of the Church, the Eschatological community. Unless there is an intentional outreach outside the orbit of the Church, their witness will remain unnoticed. If Christian witness must be made available to those on the margin and in other faiths that would not normally interact with Christians, a different paradigm will be needed that will minimize the handicaps of the Go approach. This researcher considers the Come Paradigm found in TSM as a response.

4.4.2 Biblical basis for the Come Paradigm

The text of John 10:16 and the surrounding verses in chapter 10 provide the impetus for the Come Paradigm. This text points out the Shepherd's unequivocal intention to also lead the "other sheep" not in "this fold". It implies his presence among the people not yet his followers, for the express purpose of saving them. As described earlier in the study, he owns them as well. The Lord recruits his disciples to fulfil this very mission. Because Jesus sent his followers, it is commonly understood that missions means going. But if the risen Lord is already among the other sheep and already working to bring them in, it is logical to also see that missions means responding to Jesus' call to come join him. Thus, we find the Come Paradigm as found in TSM.

Jesus speaks the "Come" first to his disciples as a prerequisite for mission (Matthew 4:19, John 1:39, 1:43). Here the Lord sets his missionary mandate for which he conscripts the first disciples. The shepherd will task his disciples with finding the "other sheep". When Jesus claims in John 10:11, "I am the good shepherd," he "calls" us to be shepherds with him. So we "come" to him. As under-shepherds, they do not own the sheep; they guide the sheep and take care of the sheep. The duty of the disciples would, therefore, be to echo the

shepherd's voice, to draw them out, since they are his and would recognize his voice: "My sheep hear my voice and they follow me" (John 10:27). Jesus says in John 10: 41, after going to the place where John the Baptizer had baptized, many "came to him." It is Jesus who knows his sheep, and through his missionaries, the other sheep will hear his voice and come to him. Therefore, as understood by TSM, the Lord is inviting the present disciples to come and join him to lead his sheep. This is the Come Paradigm.

The two Lucan commissions (Luke 4: 18-19 and Acts 1:1-9) also reinforce this paradigm. The mission theme of Luke-Acts, as explained by Bosch, may be summarized by Luke 4:18–19 (1991:100–1). Forgiving one another, serving the poor, as a "witness" all comprises of Luke's model of mission. Bosch represents Luke's missional model as organic: "in a sense, they are not really called to accomplish anything, only to point to what God has done and is doing". (1991:116) Greater clarification is the emphasis of mission in Acts 1:8, which indicate the transformation of the lives of the disciples into witnesses where the Gospel had not reached. They were called to be witnesses in everwidening circles, but they were not ordered to 'GO'. In this commission of the apostles for mission (1:6-8), Jesus spoke to his disciples about the Kingdom of God and the coming of the Holy Spirit. Jesus was affirming what the prophets also said. As John Stott explains, when the Messiah will establish his kingdom, God will pour out the Holy Spirit, indeed the spirit of God will make the rule of God a present living reality (Isaiah 32:15 ff, 35:6, Ezekiel 11:19, Joel 2:28-29). God will through his Spirit transform the disciples to be His witness and expand the Kingdom to where he intended it to be. This will be done once the Holy Spirit comes and will continue to his second return (See Stott 1990:40-44).

The disciples were to be heralds of announcing what Jesus had achieved at his first coming and summon people to repent and believe in preparation for the second coming. Stott (1990:44) states that they were to be his witnesses to the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8) and to the very end of the age (Matt. 28:20), which also constitutes a major theme for Bishop Lesslie Newbigin:

The church is the pilgrim people of God. It is on the move - hastening to the ends of the earth to be seech all men to be reconciled to God, and hastening to the end of time to meet its Lord who will gather all into one.... It cannot be understood rightly except in a perspective, which is at once missionary and eschatological. (1953:25)

We today have no option but to perpetuate mission until these two requirements are reached which Jesus taught would coincide only when the Gospel of the kingdom had been preached in all the world as a testimony to all nations; only then will the end come (Matt. 24:14, Mark 13:10).

Luke, as John does in John 10:16, describes the character of the citizens of the Kingdom to be inclusive. The church should be "spiritual in its character (transforming the lives and values of its citizens), international in its membership (including Gentiles as well as Jews) and gradual in its expansion, (beginning at once in Jerusalem and then growing until it reaches the end of both time and earthly space)." (Stott 1990:44)

Therefore, when the Spirit comes in power, the long-promised reign of God, which Jesus had himself inaugurated and proclaimed will begin to spread. This is why John Taylor (1972) was persuaded that all the work of mission is the Holy Spirit's work.

The word "come" in the paradigm is drawn from Acts 16:9, where Luke marks as of especially significant Paul's crossing from Asia to Europe. Paul is compelled by a vision (16:9-10) to cross immediately from Troas to Macedonia. It is a vision of the Macedonian man urgently beseeching, "Come and help us" (Acts 16:9). The mission is therefore initiated by the vision of God's Spirit; God used a dream of the people in the target community to invite Paul and his team to "Come and help" them. The help they seek is understood as preaching among them to bring them to faith. As Campbell Morgan observes, this invitation "was not in the mind of Paul, but was evidently in the mind of the Holy Spirit" (Stott 1990:258).

Similarly, when Peter was given the keys of the Kingdom he was called to open the doors for the Gospel to the Gentiles. The Gentile Cornelius sent for Peter having been instructed by the angel of the Lord (Acts 10:1-8). Conrad Gempf

observes in an essay on "The God-Fearers", that Cornelius was a good family man and devout, his godliness being expressed in generosity to the needy "to Jewish causes" and in regular prayer to God (see in Stott 1990:185). Furthermore, the fact that Cornelius is called "God-fearing" in verse 35 means that Cornelius was religious and a seeker of God. Thus, because Cornelius was seeking God, the angel tells Cornelius, "Send men to Joppa to bring back Simon called Peter" (10:5), the Spirit of God sent the Gentile for Peter (v.20), the holy angel told him "Come to his house" (v.21), and Peter asks Cornelius and not God, "May I ask why you sent for me?" (v.29). All these events develop the idea that it was the invitation to come that lands Peter at the doorsteps of Cornelius to preach the good news to the Gentiles.

The foregoing discussions underscore the point that Paul's mission to Europe (Acts 16:9) and Peter's mission to the Gentiles (Acts 10), did not spring from the Church's initiative or obedience to the "Go" understanding of mission, but from a call by the Holy Spirit from within the yet-to-be-reached. In Paul's case there was no actual person calling him to come, but a vision or a dream. In Peter's case, real people, dreams and angels were involved in the invitation. In both instances the call was from within those yet to accept him and was understood to be the Lord's invitation to "Come". These examples from scriptures ought to inspire today's disciples involved in mission to keenly discern by very careful observation and listening to the voice of God calling from within the society and from people of other faiths.

4.4.3 Message in the come paradigm

The goal of mission has to be the proclamation of the gospel message relevant to the context, as we see in the examples from scriptures. Paul's preaching at the Areopagus in Athens and Peter's at Cornelius' house shared basic similarities, particularly the core message of the life of Christ, his death, and resurrection, the goal of which was to echo the voice of the shepherd for the sheep to heed and follow. We would, though, zero in on Paul's example since it gives more similarities to our mission context. Paul's focus at the Areopagus discourse was on Christ's life, death and resurrection, yet he had to bring it to a skeptical audience with decorum and sensitivity to the context. The

Areopagus debate led him not to apologetics, but the proclamation of the Gospel.

Paul (Acts 17:22b) addresses the Athenians by affirming their piety, which he confirms by noting their numerous objects of worship, and particularly the altar dedicated to an "unknown God" (v. 23a). The apostle defines God (vs. 24-25), as the sole creator of the universe (v. 24a), and was emphatic that God needs nothing because he is the source of all things (v. 25b). Paul describes how God and humanity relate (vs. 26-27) and establishes that from one man all human beings were created. It is God, he says, who created the nations of the world and placed them within their present boundaries (26), and he avers that all this was so that humans should seek God (v. 27a) who is not far away (v. 27b).

Paul then brings this discussion closer to the Greek context using Greek Philosophers (vs. 28-29). The apostle (v.28a) explains how God is close to us humans with a contextual example. He says, "some of your poets have said" (v. 28b). The line he then quotes from a Greek poet supports the creator-created relationship earlier mentioned (vs. 25b-27). The climax of Paul's message found in verses 30-31 contrasts two eras: the past in which God was willing to forgive human ignorance, and the present, which is a time for universal repentance (v. 30). He injects the gospel story of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ and explains that God has appointed Jesus as a judge and set a day for the final judgment. Mission in this pattern would follow how Lesslie Newbigin famously described the Church as the "hermeneutic of the Gospel" (1989:222). The church imbued with the gospel story allows it to shape the surrounding community and become its "plausibility structure". On the other hand, the church steadfastly and confidently lives out that story in the marketplace of ideas, and witnesses to the Lordship of Christ in every dimension of life.

4.4.4 God in the come paradigm

God is among the "other sheep" to redeem them. He identifies them, as he did the blind man (John 9) or Cornelius, who was devoted to God and served him (Acts 10), in the ways not known to us. God knows them, even though they live among rebellious people (1 Cor. 18:10). Paul is told "I still have many in this city" (Acts 18:10) and a good number are "groping" or searching to find God as the Athenians were (Acts 17:27). Paul, not ready to challenge the folly of the Athenian worshippers, based his address on the "Unknown God", and so entered the world of their understanding. In short, there is overwhelming evidence of God's general revelation, for God has never left himself without a witness among all peoples of the world (Acts 14:17). As the Lausanne Covenant of 1974 states: "We recognize that all men have some knowledge of God through his general revelation in nature..." (Article 3)

The Athenian case is a perfect example of God's general revelation in religions that are unlike Christianity and Judaism. The worship, including sacred texts, attests to this fact. For instance, the Islamic textual materials include references that reveal an appreciation of general revelation. God is recognized as the creator God: "Among His Signs is this, that He created you from dust; and then, behold, ye are men scattered (far and wide)!" (Sura Rum, 30:20) More specifically God is recognised in Islam as the creator of man: "And among His Signs is this, that He created for you mates from among yourselves, that ye may dwell in tranquillity with them, and He has put love and mercy between your (hearts): verily in that are Signs for those who reflect". (Sura-Rum, 30:21) Islam also recognizes that God is the sustainer of the world:

Behold! In the creation of the heavens and the earth; in the alternation of the night and the day; in the sailing of the ships through the ocean for the profit of mankind; in the rain which Allah sends down from the skies, and the life which He gives therewith to an earth that is dead; in the beasts of all kinds that He scatters through the earth; in the change of the winds, and the clouds which they trail like their slaves between the sky and the earth; (Here) indeed are signs for a people that are wise. (Sura -al-Baqara, 2:164, see also Sura 6:99)

There is a lingering belief among most evangelicals that Christians do not worship the same God as Muslims. This belief played out at Wheaton College, one of the America bastions of evangelicalism. It led to the suspension and eventual removal of Dr Larycia Hawkins on account of her statement that "Christians and Muslims worship the same God" (*Christianity Today*, 2015:12).

The event opened a debate that interests this study. In the debate, some theologians including Miroslav Volf and Kelly James Clark defended Hawkins' assertions that Muslims and Christians worship the God of Abraham, although Muslims worship him not from the Christian point of view. They ruled out any possibility of Muslims worshiping a different God since there is only one God. There can be no other God to be worshiped. They roped in the Jews in this debate, arguing that it's conceivable that Jews and Christians worship the same God, even though we disagree on the doctrine of Trinity (Clark, 2017). The point they postulate is that no true monotheism can hold that more than a singular one Being exists. This is the predicament Tennent alludes to when he stated: The real difficulty lies not in identifying the ultimate referent of the word 'God', but knowing how to respond to the dizzy array of predicates about God that sometimes seems contradictory." (2007:31)

Volf clarifies the debate in his book, *Allah: A Christian Response*, by asking: "The issue is, rather, this: Is the object of Christians' and Muslims' faith and love the same?" (2011:33) He claims that Muslims and Christians who embrace the normative traditions of their faiths refer to the same object to the same Being, when they pray, when they worship, when they talk about God. He avers that the reference is the same, but concedes that the description is different. His admission, however, that the goal of the book was to use his convictions about God to foster peaceful coexistence possibly diminished his capacity to debate the issue. Volf (2011) concedes that his position is a political and not a theological one (p. 14), also indicating that, "deeds reveal which god we worship" (p. 119). This is clear from the approach he suggested:

Hence we need a third approach. It consists of comparing the content of what Christians and Muslims say about God and determining whether the descriptions of God are sufficiently similar for us to claim that they speak of the same object when they refer to God. In the subsequent chapters, I argue that this indeed is the case. (2011:89)

The objectivity he describes in his approach can be challenged on the grounds of the subjectivity of individuals' experience. What the religion teaches can influence the faith experience. In comparing the similarities, we will need an

independent standard with which to judge likeness. Our biases will push us to fit them into our understanding of God.

In opposition, other evangelical thinkers such as Albert Mohler, Scot McKnight, and former Muslim Nabeel Qureshi refuted the claim that Muslims and Christians worship the same God. Their opposing argument is founded on the grounds of the conception of the God in Christianity and Islam. For instance, Qureshi (2016:109-116) dedicates time in comparing the central Christian doctrine of God with Islam such as the Fatherhood of God (against S. 112-1-4; 5:18); the Triune God (against S. 5:73); and the Son-ship of Jesus (against S. 112:3). They argued that since Christians' and Muslims' concepts of God are so different they couldn't be the same being. Christianity emerged from and fulfills Judaism, therefore giving Judaism continuity. They therefore conclude that Christians and Jews worship the same God, unlike Islam that rejects Christian and Jewish revelation (Qureshi, Mohler and Mcknight, 2017).

However, in the opinion of this researcher, the "other sheep" would be found among Muslims also, they too would gravitate towards God just like we would. Instead of harping on dissimilarities in our understanding of the character of God, we should congregate around shared beliefs. A good explanation of shared beliefs among Christians and Muslims is found in the position taken by the Roman Catholic Church in the Second Vatican Council document *Nostra Aetate*:

The Church regards with esteem also the Moslems. They adore the one, God, living and subsisting in Himself; merciful and all-powerful, the Creator of heaven and earth, who has spoken to men; they take pains to submit wholeheartedly to even His inscrutable decrees, just as Abraham, with whom the faith of Islam takes pleasure in linking itself, submitted to God.

The import of this statement is twofold: First, it seats the Muslim people together with Jews and Christians in the worship of the God of Abraham. This significantly points to their common source of worship. Sacks further observes:

Islam and Christianity borrowed much from Judaism - its belief in one God and its sacred scriptures in the case of Christianity, its stories and

prophets in the case of Islam. Yet they did not borrow Judaism's most significant feature: Its distinction between the universality of God as creator and sovereign of the universe, and the particularity of the covenant, first with Abraham, then with Moses and the Israelites. (2015:189)

Beyond the specific doctrines of Christianity and Islam, our commonality is emphasized by the fact that God has a special covenant with all humankind. This is well narrated in the book of Genesis, also known as the story of two covenants. The first is between God and humanity as seen in the covenant made with Noah, and the second is between God and Jacob's children, which is the covenant with Abraham. God unconditionally affirms both, the former as a reflection of his image and the latter as a reflection of his care for his children (Sacks 2015:197).

Acknowledging the truth of these covenants and our common rooting in Abraham will increase our capacity to perceive God's image in those whose faith is not same as ours, and therefore accept that they too can have a unique relationship with God very different from ours. We can infer that the "other sheep" bear the image of their shepherd. Clarifying this very thought further, former Archbishop Desmond Tutu asserts:

Surely it is good to know that God (in the Christian tradition) created us all (not just Christians) in his image, thus investing in us all with infinite worth, and that it was with all humankind that God entered into a covenant relationship, depicted in the covenant with Noah when God promised he would not destroy his creation again with water. (2011:7)

What Tutu implies here is that if everyone belongs to God, they are equally belonging to Christ, and therefore are all sheep of one flock and the one owner/shepherd even though we are not of the same fold. Embracing this truth takes away from us the tendency to compartmentalize God in our tribal thinking and the idea that a community has a monopoly on a divinity with whom they not only have special relations, but who also favored one rather than the other. Paul Hiebert argues that this worldview obscures the belief in the supreme God, even though the tribe held this belief (2008:108).

One cannot argue with the fact that everyone God created has an affinity towards him. When Jesus said, "my sheep know me" it is indicative that the "other sheep" also yearn to come under their shepherd and owner. The Apostle Paul, addressing the Athenians, gives profound insight into our createdness when he says, "That they should seek God, and perhaps feel their way toward him and find him. Yet he is actually not far from each one of us" (Acts 17:27). In this text, Paul shows everyone's ultimate yearning in creatively seeking after God, and regardless of who and where we are, God the shepherd is within our reach. Paul's phrase "not far" may help explain why we may never describe God in the same way without a shared context. What was true of the Athenians, who described God in their unique poetry, became true of African American theologians in their description and perception of God. Bishop Henry McNeil Turner asserted in 1829:

We have as much right biblically and otherwise to believe that God is a negro, as you buckra or white people have to believe that God is a fine looking, symmetrical and ornamented white man...Every race of people since time began who have attempted to describe their God by words, or by paintings, or by carvings, or by any other form or figure, have conveyed the idea that the God who made them and shaped their destinies was symbolized by themselves, and why should not the negro believe that he resembles God as much as other people? (Williams and Dixie 2003:103)

Turner here explains how context determines our perception and definition of God. In other words, Muslims and Christians are bound to define and understand God from a particular position and it is possible that one's perception may change. We must not ignore the fact that Christians and Muslims do have some significantly divergent beliefs about this supposedly same God they worship. This, though, may just be a question of perception and our experience of divine revelation.

The theological presuppositions of the first African scholars of religion accepted the assumption that there is continuity between African Religions and Christianity. According to Bediako (1993:372), Mbiti's assertion of "the African pre-Christian heritage" as *praeparatio evangelica*, "preparation for the

gospel" is "the most enduring paradigm" in his writings. In Mbiti's opinion, the African religious experience and heritage is truly a preparation for the gospel.

African Religions (ARs) also have a general revelation of God, but the difference with the ARs is that the proof of an ultimate God is not in titles of the creator; but rather in the inference that is made and the references available in songs and proverbs and riddles (Taylor 1963:75). Through them, a deep sense of a permeating presence is revealed: "If you would tell God, tell it to the wind, God in front: he is in the back". (Taylor 1963:75) For African Religion, praise names are frequently used rather than the proper name. For example, God's omnipresence is recognized in the idea of he who is met everywhere, and he fills all, or the farewells such as, "Go with God", or "Stay with God".

Despite the underlying conviction that God is, and is everywhere, it is usually accompanied by a knowledge that such a God has gone away. John V. Taylor observes: "the African myth does not tell of men driven from paradise, but of God disappearing from the world." (1963:76) According to Taylor "Man projects his inward sense of the lost presence and fixes God in the sky. The pervasive Spirit becomes the remote and unknowable creator, the first cause, and the owner" (1963:76). The transcendent God is the one who, in Africa, man has made in his own image. The God whom all along Africa has guessed at and dreamed of is one who is always and wholly present for every part of his creation. His transcendence too has been spirally conceived. It must be looked for in the quality of his love, his presence. In his sovereign will he created the universe by committing himself to it. The absolute difference between himself and all others is that his very nature is to give himself totally while remaining inexhaustibly himself (Taylor 1963:193).

In the African Religions, the question is not about the existence of God, rather the sense of the presence of God, which takes a variety of forms and appears mysteriously, illustrated in what Irenaeus observes, "as they who see the light are within the light and perceive its brilliancy, so they who see God are within God as they behold his splendor." (Taylor 1963:194)

In missiological terms, these African Religions have been a real *praeparatio evangelica*, preparation for the gospel. Mbiti emphasizes that African traditional religiousness can become an enrichment for the Christian presence in Africa (1970b:437) and a crucial stepping-stone towards the Ultimate light ([1969] 1975:32). African Religions and other religions are conceived of as preparatory and the essential basis in the search for the Ultimate (Mbiti [1969] 1975:277). Mbiti, therefore, maintains that ATR(s) "should be regarded as a preparation for the Christian gospel; African religious background...has a great deal of value in it" (1970b:432). Christianity does not destroy African Religions. Christianity rather comes to say YES to African Religions, and to enrich, to fulfil and to crown African Religions (Mbiti 1970b:436). As such, Christianity will have become an agent of fulfilment in the sense that it will not destroy African Religions *per se*, but it will have superseded them by bringing upon them the other dimensions of religion which they lack and which is not opposed to the traditional religiousness.

God's general revelation is also observed in Hinduism, when Lord Krishna in Bhagavad Gita, chapter 15, says "That Light which is residing in the Sun and which illumines the whole world, and that which is in the moon and in the fire - know that Light to be Mine." Raymond Panikhar, justified this idea in the *Unknown Christ of Hinduism* "in the footsteps of St. Paul, we believe that we may speak not only of the Unknown God of the Greeks but also of the hidden Christ of Hinduism" (1964:137). Although he concedes that Christ would save bona fide Hindus not by Hinduism, or through the sacraments of Hinduism, but through the mystery that comes down to him through Hinduism (1964:54).

While agreeing that there is one God, Stott clearly refutes the idea that humans attain salvation other than through Jesus Christ, that converts who turn to Christ from a non-Christian religious system usually think of themselves not as having shifted the worship of one God to another, "but as having begun now to worship in truth what the God they were...trying to worship in ignorance, error or distortion" (1990:285).

However, many Christian scholars caution against making similar inferences to Islam. There has been a great reluctance among Evangelical missionaries and scholars to embrace Islam in the same way Mbiti embraced ARs, although a major difference needs to be noted that ARs have no prior connections to Judeo-Christian traditions. Islam, on the other hand, claims to have its roots in Judeo-Christian traditions.

The remarkable story of Ahmed Ali Haile written in *Teatime in Mogadishu*, justifies the assertion that Islam prepares people to receive the gospel. In this profound example Haile shows a shift in perception, which allows him to acknowledge and respect Islam because it prepared him for the Gospel, and therefore validates his upbringing in it:

As a Muslim, I really wanted to know God. In Jesus, I met God as my loving heavenly father. I yearned for the assurance that my sins were forgiven. In Jesus, I knew my sins were forgiven. I longed for assurance of eternal salvation and now in Jesus, I know that heaven was my destiny. I am grateful for the ways Islam prepared me to hear and believe in Christ. (Haile 2011:88)

When we refute that there is one God being worshiped by all his creation, we deny the faith we seek to propagate, defend and keep pure. If God is one, then he is the only God of all his people, whether or not they acknowledge him as such. Missionaries and Christian witnesses must be willing to leverage the general revelation among all peoples of the world, especially those of other faiths. In the Come Paradigm, God who is present among the world's people is drawing the Church to come and be witness by proclamation of the Good news of the life, death and resurrection of Christ.

The notion of the Come Paradigm is captured well in C. S. Lewis', *The Silver Chair (1953)*. In it Aslan wants to save the lost Prince Rilian of Narnia and tasks children from outside Narnia. Jill Pole first entered into the World of Narnia with Eustace Scrubb when they were trying to escape from bullies at their school. Obviously, Jill thought, "it was we who asked to come here", by chanting for Aslan, a chant, which even Eustace was not sure, would work. Jill is both surprised and frightened when Aslan the Lion appears at the moment she wanted to have a drink from the stream. Jill does not trust him and asks

him to go away as she drinks, because she does not want him to watch her while her back is turned. She is further surprised that the Lion had a task for her and Eustace:

"Please, what task, Sir?" said Jill.

"The task for which I called you and him here out of your own world." This puzzled Jill very much. "It's mistaking me for someone else," she thought. She didn't dare to tell the Lion this, though she felt things would get into a dreadful muddle unless she did.

"Speak your thought, Human Child," said the Lion.

"I was wondering - I mean - could there be some mistake? Because nobody called Scrubb, and me you know. It was we who asked to come here. Scrubb said we were to call to - to Somebody - it was a name I wouldn't know - and perhaps the Somebody would let us in. And we did, and then we found the door open.'

"You would not have called to me unless I had been calling to you," said the Lion." (Lewis 1953:18-19)

Then Aslan charged: "(...) I lay on you this command, that you seek this lost prince until either you have found him and brought him to his father's house, or else died in the attempt, or else gone back into your own world". (Lewis 1953:19) In the same way, Aslan calls and tasks the children in Narnia, so Christ calls and tasks the missionary. In the Come Paradigm, Christ has initiated mission to the unreached people and is inviting Christians, to join him in this task. Christ has his people in all the peoples of the world. He is in the world pursuing them, to bring them into his fellowship. They have an innate ability to hear and relate to him. He is not distant or remote, but is both manifest and latent among them.

The missionary's task, therefore, is to echo the Lord's voice that invites the unreached people to follow Christ, by speaking the gospel in an understandable way to their recipients. The missionary represents the Lord by substituting for the Lord in flesh. In this way, the missionary becomes his witness: one who received the story of Jesus and has made it his own story so that those who watch and hear him would be hearing and seeing the Lord himself. This is the meaning of being his witness among the unreached peoples.

This call is not beyond the reach of missionaries, for Christ enables them to be witnesses by the working of the Holy Spirit both inside the missionary transforming them to be like Christ, and in the community to enable it to receive his message. The Come Paradigm is manifested through incarnation, what Jesus means when he says, "as the father sent me, so send I you" (John 20:21). Further, the Gospel writer says, "and the word became flesh and dwelt among them (John 1:14). This paradigm is also manifested in cross bearing. Jesus says, "If anyone is to come after me take up his cross, (Luke 9:23). Also it can be seen in weakness as well. Jesus says, "Learn from me for I am meek and lowly". (Matt. 11:29)

4.4.5 How come paradigm improves the Enlightenment and Postmodern understanding of mission

The Come Paradigm does not describe mission as a command to Go, and therefore as a geographical movement, often to remote places, cultures or religions, to the other's space, but as an invitation to Come into that space God occupies among the unreached and discover God and what he is doing, and thereby becoming Christ's witness enabled by the Holy Spirit. The Come Paradigm requires openness to admit that Christians have no monopoly on God. Others, particularly Muslims, also worship God, though inadequately, necessitating the preaching of the Gospel amongst cultures and religions. Which could act as levers to open doors for a clearer understanding of God. This challenge manifests itself in the missiological debate on whether Christians and Muslims worship the same God.

Most significantly in terms of this research, in the Go Paradigm, mission by nationals is made invisible, as nationals do not cross national borders or sometimes leave their own cultures to serve as missionaries (see section 4.6 of this thesis). Conspicuously, the witness of converts among their own people often goes unnoticed, and they are hardly regarded as missionaries. While in the Come Paradigm, nationals and converts are included, since the emphasis is on the invitation to be witnesses. Therefore, this leads to a redefinition of mission fields, no longer in geographical terms since in a globalized world we

find the unreached peoples within our societies. It becomes necessary to look at mission in terms of fellowship with Christ and those outside the fellowship.

The Go Paradigm that developed during the Enlightenment period viewed the world through an either /or logic. This led to dichotomy and a perception of the world in a binary way: light or darkness, God or demons, home fields or mission fields, civilized or heathens and any other variation. It was difficult to think that others can share God with them once thus branded. Drawing from the law of contradiction, which states that no other can both be and not be and the law of the excluded middle --- "everything can either be or not be" (Russell 1912:40) --- missionaries in the Enlightenment era faced untold contradictions in the doctrinal position of God. They affirmed that there could be only one God, yet it was difficult to acknowledge that others not like them shared this God.

The Come Paradigm resolves the challenge of dichotomy resulting from the binary view of the world: we can now see light in darkness, find good in what had been judged evil, and God in unexpected places. Further, it settles the conflict of God, who is almighty and omnipresent, yet "not present among certain peoples", God creator of all, yet not being God of all, for God creator of all is everywhere. This paradigm relies heavily on the dialectic logic of "both/and", more than the prevailing "either/or" logic the Go Paradigm depended on.

The use of paradigms and paradigm shifts in discussing the changes in mission has laid the framework for a fresh understanding of the mission context. The historical changes from Enlightenment into the postmodern epochs impacted how mission was understood and practiced. Responding to these changes the emerging ecumenical paradigm experienced difficulties in addressing the excesses of the Enlightenment or Postmodern eras in mission through the Go Paradigm. New models were needed to deal with the challenges. The Come Paradigm as demonstrated by TSM addressed and suggested solutions to the shortcomings in the Go Paradigm. The Come Paradigm has pointed a way to conduct mission among other faiths, therefore addressing the need of proclamation of the Gospel in humility and with sensitivity to their unique

characteristics, without neglecting the concern for humanitarian interventions.

There cannot be come without go, for anyone who goes from one point comes to another. Therefore both the Go and the Come are tied together and are two sides of the same coin. This study argues not about these words, but for the understanding the idea of being sent. The Go Paradigm is also authentically developed from scriptures.

Even having postulated another paradigm, one cannot imagine having invented a new approach, as one would a new truth. Christian Truth is firmly established, and our task is one of re-discovering this truth through doing contextual missiology. The reason for doing contextual mission is explained by Rowan Williams: "It is sound theology to say that there are things we shall not know about Jesus Christ and the written word unless we hear and see what they do in ever-new contexts" (See Walls and Ross 2008:xi).

In the next section, we will explore the influence of this paradigm on TSM mission in Garissa and Tana River districts of Northern Kenya, as well as how it is informing missiology today.

4.5 How the metaphor "other sheep" impacted TSM mission policies

The proclamation of the Gospel has been the focus of Western missionary enterprise from the emergence of world mission movements like Edinburgh 1910 to the more recent "AD 2000 and Beyond Movement" prominent among its leaders being Luis Bush, whose goal was to bring the entire world under Christ. A great premium was placed on reaching all the remaining unreached people groups and thereby making them part of the church. This is known as the World Evangelization, and it was what shaped the vision of TSM at the start of its mission campaign, thus well articulated in TSM's strategies and goals. The original attempt ended in failure! As has been previously noted, the basic framework involved holding open-air meetings also known as "crusades", and proclaiming the Gospel of salvation, the assumption being that those who would respond to the altar calls, the preacher's invitation to the congregation

to come to the altar for prayers, would join the church of Christ. The focus was to win Muslim souls in the region for Christ, and to introduce God, as we know Him through Christ, to the Muslim peoples.

From the testimonies of the pioneer missionaries, the earlier meetings held among the Somali people using this approach met with great rejection. The team was stoned and equipment broken, and the missionaries fled for their lives. The question was, why would there be such violent resistance? The mission group had believed they were taking God to "the unreached people", the Somalis. This thinking, however, makes up a narrow and misleading view of mission. Besides these contextual factors, the study and adoption of John 10:16 changed how TSM carried out its mission to the people of the region. It was out with the public crusade, and in with incarnational mission, a long-term community-building mission. The text provided a different understanding, that even those who were stoning missionaries were the Lord's "other sheep" that did not yet know his voice. They too would respond to the shepherd if they were patiently taught to hear him.

From this text, TSM developed three principles by which they sent their missionaries, and by which they continue to send missionaries. These principles were introduced in section 3.2.2 and briefly earlier in section 4.4.4 The principles will be described here within the context of TSM's understanding of Come Paradigm emerging from John 10:16.

4.5.1 Incarnational missionaries

The Incarnational mission involves the emptying of ourselves, the "decentering" of the self, which puts privilege and status to one side, takes on the form of a servant and reaches out in unconditional love. Christopher Duraisingh states, "An adequate understanding of the practice of mission today involves: a decentering of self, a courageous border crossing, and empowering of multiple, even contesting, voices within a shared communion." (2002:188)

In TSM Strategy Paper (1995:5), the explanation of incarnational mission is as follows:

We believe that incarnation is at the heart of the Christian faith. Taking Jesus Christ as the model, we see that He came into the world as a servant, his ministry unfolding in poverty, weakness, and obscurity. In the same way, we too must learn to give up power privileges and social positions, which are our natural dues. We acknowledge that any mission must, like Christ's, begin, proceed and end in great renunciation—a sacrifice made to the standards of the people we serve. Therefore, qualities like our mobility, comprehensiveness, efficiency, speed, and success are not the main measures of missionary strategy.

When TSM adopted this view in the light of John 10:16, there was a change in TSM's perception of the unreached communities in Garissa and Tana River districts. The incarnational approach allowed the missionaries to affirm the communities rather than deny their religious reality. The missionaries learned the local languages and even adopted elements of the community's cultures. They began to learn the community's religious beliefs, to understand and seek to know the community's experience with God, and to find out how to introduce the Gospel to them within that religious matrix.

As one of our most committed missionaries put it, "We thought we brought God, but when we reached here, God met us among the Munyoyaya" (Wakhu, 1992). All TSM missionaries rented houses from locals and were quite at home among strangers. This was the arena of God's mission, and it demonstrated that he loved the world so much that his living Word in the person of Jesus "became flesh" and "pitched his tent in our midst" (John 1:14). TSM missionaries take it upon themselves to en-flesh God's word and allow it through their lives to dwell among the community they serve. The challenge they had was to enter the experiences of the Munyoyaya, Somali, Orma or Wailuana. The incarnational approach to mission, therefore, brings us alongside people, to work with them rather than for them, with sensitivity on how not to be visible.

4.5.2 Cross-bearing missionaries

TSM regards its missionaries first as followers of the shepherd. If they are to call others to follow the shepherd they should be ardent followers and the most familiar with his voice. The earlier experience of persecution made it

clear that lives could be lost in the process. This was exemplified in the Lord's giving his own life for his sheep, as shown in the parable of the shepherd.

TSM's understanding of the cross-bearing missionary is expressed thus:

The cross is the prescription of the only way of life promised to all who follow Christ. Jesus Christ made the fellowship of the cross an integral part of what He offers each would-be disciple. So, besides the promise of His rich blessings, we who follow Him in service should look forward to suffering and death in the here and now. The cross is neither attractive nor easy, secure nor comfortable, convenient nor strategically efficient, nor is it economical or self-fulfilling, but it is a guarantee of suffering at the hands of those to whom it is a foolish and obnoxious stumbling block. (TSM strategy paper, 1995:5)

Anyone visiting the training center for TSM missionaries will see the motto "Training to Die", boldly proclaiming the call to bear the cross: "The cross is the prescription of the only way of life promised to all who follow Christ. Jesus Christ made the fellowship of the cross an integral part of what He offers each would-be disciple." (TSM Concept Paper, 1997:5) It takes those who have truly heard the voice of the shepherd also to lay down their lives.

In 1994, there was a wave of persecutions targeting Somali converts to Christianity and missionaries in Garissa. Most missionaries opted to head to safer areas. This included one TSM missionary. However, piercing questioning from a convert reminded him of the cross. In response, he asked himself, "How can I be inviting them to a faith that I am not prepared to die for?" He pondered. The passage of the shepherd in John 10 has influenced the policy of TSM, and its staff strengthened its resolve under such dire circumstances as the 1994 persecution and threat to life.

4.5.3 Weak missionaries

There is a great temptation to come to the poor with solutions, without first becoming vulnerable and walking a mile in their shoes. John 10:16 shaped TSM's missionaries' understanding of not only entering the context of their potential converts, but being ready to lay down their lives for them. Unlike other mission groups in the region of research, TSM missionaries appeared at the door of the unreached people with no grand programs, no steady financial

support and no material help to solve the myriad of problems they faced. TSM missionaries instead presented themselves as gifts to the people.

TSM expresses this concept as follows:

Here, we are to be marked by personal vulnerability and selfless giving instead of striving to maintain personal powers. We are aware of many things: that our nature craves and clings to power for as long as it is possible, that we are privileged people and that privilege demands that it be protected and that it is only power that can protect it. Yet our weakness and vulnerability offer the best strategy consistent with incarnational and cross-bearing principles. (TSM Strategy Paper, 1995:4)

Fortunately, a number of TSM missionaries were professionals in their former lives, and so they willingly offered to volunteer their services where such services were really needed, but the community was the means of gaining acceptance into the communities. As a result, a school was opened in Kipao among the Orma, by former teachers now turned TSM missionaries, and agricultural projects were started among the Munyoyaya in Madogo by trained agriculturalists now TSM missionaries.

John 10:16, is the motto of the mission and has been an influential biblical text that continues to influence and shape how TSM relates with the unreached people groups and how it approaches the task of mission among them. That Come Paradigm has emerged out of such reflection should give confidence to Christian witness among other faiths, the Good Shepherd who owns the sheep, is already present amongst the unreached inviting us to bear witness and reveal God's love.

4.6 Towards a working definition of mission concepts

Having discussed the text of John 10:16, we may now explore how it leads to a contextualized definitions of missions and missionaries.

Basing our definition of mission on the biblical data is fraught with the danger of defining the concepts too broadly to distinguish its concise meaning, or too narrowly as to exclude essential components. Nevertheless, we still have to build the concept from the entire Scripture. Breadth is preferable to brevity in

our context, to allow for Andreas Köstenberger's advice, "A tracing of mission in the entire Bible requires flexibility concerning the definition of mission." (1999:359)

Besides drawing from scriptures the context of mission has a profound effect on our conclusions. National missionaries working in Garissa and Tana River districts have shown broad understanding and therefore will color the definitions of "mission" and a "missionary" arrived at. In this act Rowan Williams (Walls and Ross 2008:xi) sees contextual mission not only as the bearing of good news in a context, but "it is the willingness to hear good news as the word goes abroad and is embedded in culture after culture."

Therefore, the position on mission by the leading Kenyan churches—the Roman Catholic and Anglican Church of Kenya and TSM provides sufficient understanding that should lead us in finding working definitions.

4.6.1 The Catholic Church of Kenya

Matthew 28:18-20 has featured prominently in traditional mission practice as well as missiological reflection. This passage, popularly known as the Great Commission, is understood to instruct Christians to "Go into the world and make disciples of nations". This idea has guided the Roman Catholic Church in Kenya into mission thought and practice.

The Catholic Church has for a long time been involved in missions in the area of our study. Many nationals were sent alongside foreign missionaries. What inspires their involvement? Cardinal John Njue of the Roman Catholic Church in Kenya invited national Christians and the church to get involved in missions when he said:

We have to examine ways and means whereby we are able to implement our mandate in the Great Commission. Evangelization, which is by essence missionary, is not only a vocation but also a grace proper to every Church. We then must be prepared to respond positively to these requests now and in the future. (*Ecclesia*, 1995:29)

The tone and urgency of the call can be detected in Cardinal Njue's writing when he pointed out that "Africans have to be missionaries themselves" not only for Africa, but for export. He sees the Kenyan Church as raising

missionaries without borders. He observes that by Christ's will, the church, which is by nature missionary, is also called to play her role in God's plan of salvation (*Ecclesia*, 1995:29). On account of this, the Kenyan Roman Catholic Church has sent missionaries abroad and received missionaries as well. Going by the Cardinal's statement, the church is poised to be a key player in mission:

The gift of vocation is still abundant, and to enhance it, the Church has to embark on a more systematic local missionary awareness. Missionary formation is the task of the local church, assisted by missionaries and their institutes, personnel from the young churches. (*Ecclesia*, 1995:75)

For this reason, the Roman Catholic Church in Kenya is a missionary sending church with their missionaries serving in the area of this study even when it is clear that it is still by far a missionary receiving Church. It should be noted that Kenyan Catholics responding to mission are normally absorbed into the established orders, which are not national in framing. Most of these orders take either a *Sacramental mission* approach to Gospel communication with its roots in the Augustinian tradition and theology, or the *Trinitarian mission*, which as a concept means that the engagement in mission is a participation in his continuing work of creation (Taylor 1972).

4.6.2 The Anglican Church of Kenya

The Anglicans in Kenya (ACK) share their understanding of mission with the rest of the Anglican Communion, as being primarily God's mission (*Missio Dei*). This understanding of mission is holistic as affirmed within the *five marks of mission*. According to Walls and Ross (2008:xiv), these are the following:

- 1. To proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom;
- 2. To teach, baptize and nurture new believers;
- 3. To respond to human need by loving service;
- 4. To seek to transform unjust structures of society;
- 5. To strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and sustain and renew life of the earth. (Walls and Ross 2008: xiv)

The five marks of mission initially provided a general guideline that the Anglicans have continued to use to grow in their understanding of mission.

This notion, though, did not seem to satisfy the aspirations and desire of the Bishops at the 2008 Lambeth Conference, most of whom wished mission would inspire the expansion of the church: "to develop a worldwide vision and strategy of church planting, growth and mission" (Lambeth Indaba, 2008:13).

Thus the standing committee of the Anglican Consultative Council, a body tasked, among other things to advise the Anglican Communion on the organization and structures of the Communion and to seek to develop common policies with respect to the world mission of the Church, is working with the Primates of November 2008 to set up an Evangelism and Church Growth Initiative. (ACC-14.02, 2009:2)

In domesticating this resolution, the Anglican Church of Kenya also refocused its understanding of mission, from the broader *five marks* to a more specific one on evangelism and the Church. Evangelism stays at the center of mission in the Anglican understanding of mission. The Anglican Church in Kenya following this approach has missionaries serving in the area of our study.

This approach defines mission in terms of action, or rather what missionaries do in the world they have gone to. The proclamation of the good news, the teaching, baptizing and nurturing, the responding, the transforming and safeguarding these confine mission to the task of and action by the Christian community within the unreached peoples' domain. Evangelism is seen as communication of the good news. It assumes a significant ability of the missionary for its success in convincing the unreached to believe. The challenge with this approach is evident where there are prohibitions on missionary activities.

4.6.3 The Sheepfold Ministries

TSM's initial approach to preaching borrowed heavily from the African Enterprise (AE) one. The AE had been acclaimed as the best possible way of doing missions in Africa's post-missionary era. It focused on the proclamation of the Gospel systematically in cities, hoping that this would impact the rural areas surrounding the cities. In stating: "I believe Africa will become the fulcrum of world mission in the twenty-first century," AE founder Michael

Cassidy (African Enterprise, 2017) had in mind continual citywide, door-to-door proclamation of the Gospel in partnership with the local church. This model had been preferred to other open-air "crusade" approaches. Their elaborately stated mission "—to evangelize the cities of Africa through word and deed in partnership with the Church—is replicated by Africans doing evangelism and missions who already understand their local cultures and speak their fellow citizens' languages. The model should impress on how nationals are at the center of fulfilling the great commission. It comprises:

- 1. Evangelism—--preaching the Good News of the Gospel via citywide missions.
- 2. Reconciliation——ministering healing to those who have experienced the trauma of war and violence and teaching people who have experienced conflict to reconcile and work together for their common good,
- 3. Community Development—teaching the poor practical skills through which they can earn a living and equipping them to run their own business and teach others how to develop economic self-sufficiency,
- 4. Leadership Training——equipping pastors and laypeople to think biblically and live out their faith in their place of work and influence. (African Enterprise, 2017)

The challenge to its basic tenets was exposed by the case study of Peragia. Ministry conducted in the cities did not percolate to the very rural areas of the country, which is why there still existed unreached people. Despite years of elaborate evangelization of Kenya this way, the outlying districts remained untouched and insulated from Christian witness. There was also no room for speaking into the minds and hearts of people from other faiths and particularly Muslims. The barriers erected by worldviews, by cultural, religious and contextual differences, distorted the message to listeners with no Christian background.

When TSM began working among Somalis in Garissa in 1988, they modeled their ministry on the AE style. This led to the rejection of the message, and the violence that ensued injured participants. Although the model embodied both proclamation and social action, it did not stand the scrutiny of effective communication in missions to Muslims.

TSM differs from the Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and the majority of other mission agencies by its understanding of mission from a Come Paradigm. This view stands in sharp contrast to the "Go Ye" understanding that depends on Christians going to the unreached and purporting to bring Christ along. The understanding that Christ initiated the move to reach the unreached and was inviting TSM missionaries to join in on the work has had a particular influence on the attitude of TSM missionaries towards the unreached people: the latter are the Lord's own "sheep" that he died for. The Lord has been seeking for them and is among them. TSM understands that their task is to be witnesses for Christ who through their own lives and voices were to allow Christ to invite the unreached people to himself. This is why for TSM missionaries the cross of Christ is not only the message to be communicated but also the pattern of life to be lived in the world of the unreached people. These two positions have shaped TSM's mission's strategy so that church planting is perceived as inviting the people to join them, the missionaries, in the worship of God. Their cross-cultural learning is intended to enable the missionaries to enter into another world and inject new and different ways of thinking into the community, so that way the distinct voice of the Lord would be heard attracting his sheep. The belief among TSM missionaries that both the missionaries and the recipients of the Gospel mutually belong to the Lord, has been worth noting. TSM workers do more of the same things like other missionaries, in terms of transformational activities, which include community development, evangelism, and discipleship of the other unreached, yet they cultivate close proximity to the people they are reaching. (TSM Strategy Paper, 1995)

In light of Bosch's mission as kingdom expression, Wright's biblical stories of God's people as mission formative stories, the understanding that mission means making disciples and TSM's understanding of mission as invitation to be witnesses from inside, a working definition of mission can be formulated as follows:

Mission is being present in a world yet to accept the lordship of Christ, as a witness for Christ, inviting those who heed to belong to Christ.

Being present alludes to intentionality and relocation to the places where Christ has not been accepted as Lord, which presupposes incarnation.

Witness implies not just a person communicating the story of Jesus, but being the one who has entered and made it his/her own story, and is ready to live, thus communicating by word and deed and through the mystery of signs and wonders.

Inviting to belong refers to the invitees being made part of Christ Kingdom community, to be a people under his divine care now and into eternity. This transcends church planting.

Note that the definition does not depict the unreached peoples as those who do not know Christ, thus suggesting that there are some who have an incomplete knowledge of Christ. Nor does it define mission as the task of communicating the Gospel or making disciples of the unreached peoples, even though these are included. This definition also lacks the geographical and cultural specificities common among evangelicals' definition of missions.

4.6.4 Who is a missionary?

The term "missionary" was for a long time used to mean a man from the West or North sent to the South. Men are the ones who did mission. They did mission work and the women worked with women and children. This aspect created a hierarchy of work so that there was mission work, which was regarded as more powerful and higher than the women's work, which was less powerful. Three things were identified with this form of definition of a missionary: he was an expatriate man; he determined the mission work; and women and children were appendages to mission.

"Missionary" has also typically been used to refer to the Christian workers reaching people in foreign countries with the gospel. There is always a temptation to look at a missionary from nationalistic, ministerial, and origin perspective, an understanding that many have had in Kenya. This could possibly be because foreign missionaries made little effort to promote missionary service among nationals. Pheko, quoting Dudley Pate of Africa Inland Mission, illustrated this point when he stated:

What a pity that so few Western missionaries taught the churches they planted that the same God who brought them to Africa wanted African Church to take the gospel to other cultures and continents. The result of this deficiency in teaching and expectation was a church without a vision for mission...The idea that Africans could and should take the gospel to nations near and far by crossing cultural, linguistic and geographical barriers, was poorly understood and sometimes absent altogether. For most African believers, missionary work was what white people did. (Missionafric, 2005:329)

This idea of the male Western missionary is so deep in the psyche of the national church and missionary community that even when some become missionaries, the most preferred terms used to describe them would be "evangelists", "local Christian workers", "Kenyan pastors" and "Church planters". The perception that being missionaries means being foreign obscures the national missionaries' identity. It is faulty and takes away the burden for nationals to become missionaries themselves.

Aside from this traditional definition, there are those whose understanding of a missionary is based on their involvement. Kane (1982:14) illustrates this view when he states:

In the traditional sense the term "missionary" has been reserved for those who have been called by God to full-time ministry of the word and prayer (Acts 6:4), and those who have crossed geographical and or cultural boundaries (Acts 22:21) to preach the gospel in those areas of the world where Jesus Christ is largely, if not entirely, unknown. (Rom 15:20)

The involvement of the person is crucial in this definition of the "missionary". It defines a "missionary" as one involved in "all that God sent his people to do in the world," which includes telling people about God in a way they can understand. It is helping the people to have access to a local worshipping community and the Bible in their own language; alleviating hunger and minimizing diseases; freeing others from torture, oppression, and war; and making disciples of Jesus. In short, it includes wanting the whole world to receive the benefits of being part of the kingdom of God, and wanting God's will to be done on earth as it is done in Heaven (Gaukroger 1996:50). Therefore one is a missionary when he does these activities. This definition

locates the activities in an unfamiliar setting, implying a cross-cultural context, therefore drawing a distinction between where these activities take place in the Church where Christ is already known and accepted and in the "world" where they occur cross-culturally. Consequently, one is a missionary because he/she is sharing the Christian message in almost exclusively non-Christian communities. Thus they will be cross-cultural missionaries, ones who cross boundaries, linguistic, geographical or societal in order to be a witness for Jesus Christ (1996:51).

There is also a critical element we must include in defining a missionary, apart from the task they do, and the fact that they are crossing cultures. It is a personal sense of vocation and Christian maturity. As previously noted, Overseas Missionary Fellowship declared that the two foremost and basic requirements that a missionary candidate ought to have are a personal sense of vocation or calling and spiritual maturity. A personal sense of calling or "a missionary call" in this sense can be described as a deep personal conviction of God's purpose for a person's work in missions (Lane 1990:13). Spiritual maturity, on the other hand, can be described as walking with the Lord, and covers all the other qualities that follow from it. Spiritual maturity is developing a walk with the Spirit of God and following the Spirit's leading. This is an essential part of a missionary calling. (1990:14)

To avoid being perceived as illusionary, others must attest to this sense of personal calling. It is very important that this claim of calling is confirmed by the local Christian community like the church and or a mission agency. The group that affirms this calling would be responsible as senders. They would give orientation to the candidate before being sent and supported during the service. The affirming group safeguards the ones responding to a missionary call, but will not be required in their service to cross a geographical, linguistic or cultural barrier, but rather work within their own culture. Those in this category include converts who are called and sent to work among their own people.

Therefore, a working understanding of a missionary is:

A missionary is one with a calling to Christian vocation, and who intentionally becomes available and is sent to live as a witness for Christ in a world where He is yet to be accepted as Lord.

According to this definition, then, a missionary is one who must demonstrate intentionality, a calling, preparation and a willingness to be sent as a witness, preferably cross-culturally.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to establish a biblical basis for TSM's mission thinking that informed its practice by conducting an extensive analysis of TSM's theme text of John 10:16. Consequently, the exegesis of this text has provided answers to questions deemed helpful in this study. It explained the metaphor of the "other sheep", and informed contemporary missiology to the extent of addressing some contemporary missiological questions, including the question "do Christians and Muslims worship the same God?" The study affirmed that there is only one God of all peoples of the earth, though understood differently. This understanding has in a way impacted the mission's approach of TSM in the Garissa and Tana River districts in shaping its policies and missionary attitudes. The study of John 10:16 has also led to contextualized definitions of missions and missionaries. These definitions emphasize the importance of being present in the world of the unreached as a witness for Christ, inviting them and heeding that they belong to Christ. This is to be carried out by the one with a calling and who is available to be sent to be present.

The "Come" Paradigm explored in this chapter illustrated TSM mission thinking and practice further demonstrating its value to TSM. The study has argued that the over-emphasis on expatriates in mission flows from the embracing of the Go Paradigm with a particular reading of passages like Matthew 28:19-20. The emerging paradigm as articulated here should be probed further to determine its claim as a possible mission paradigm.

TSM here shows that an effective mission framework can be developed from non-traditional mission scriptures.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The final part of this study will summarize and collate earlier findings of the work of TSM missionaries in Garissa and Tana River districts. The researcher enumerates general characteristics and trends emerging from the study, thereafter exploring the effective ministry model observed in the work of TSM missionaries. Several missiological implications are then formulated, together with their application in missions to Muslims with emphasis on general missions strategy and training in northern Kenya.

5.1.1 General characteristics and trends

In order to extrapolate how the findings may affect missions in northern Kenya, it is important first to identify and describe the major missiological trends observed in the course of this study. These trends will give rise to issues or missiological implications, and the choices they present us with. For a clear understanding, the trends will be set in the context of recent missions history.

What were the emergent characteristics and trends of mission in the study?

5.1.2 Missions mobilization among nationals

Missiologists of the 1970s and 1980s were both eloquent and vague in their predictions that Christians from the majority world (nationals) would dominate missions. In what Andrew Walls called "the massive southward shift of the center of gravity of the Christians world" (1996), there was a significant missiological vision to follow. He gave voice to the unique perspective earlier postulated by Maurice Sinclair (1988) and later Michael Nazir Ali (1991). Despite that, they were all vague on how this would be fulfilled. It was the mission mobilization movements that gave the hope of this coming about. In our study of the work of TSM's story, the role of FOCUS Kenya's Commission

conference in mobilizing university students for missions has been repeatedly cited as of great significance in causing TSM to engage the people groups of Garissa and Tana River districts. The mobilization for missions was not only taking place in the universities. Over the past forty years, global missions mobilizing movements such as the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization got involved through its conferences in Africa. The Manila 1989 and AD 2000 movement conferences, specifically GCOWE 1997 held in Pretoria South Africa. GCOWE 1997 birthed MANI, a continental mission mobilization organization and FTT 2000 mainly Kenyan. MANI had its first meeting in Jerusalem in March 2001 and FTT 2000 started working immediately after GCOWE concluded

FTT 2000 (Campbell, 1997) in Kenya has also enabled national churches to develop visions for the evangelization of unreached people groups both within the country and outside. In 2000, thirty seven African countries launched National Initiatives coordinating forums to mobilize churches and ministries for national and global evangelization (MANI, 2015). Kenyan churches, living up to the challenge, sent out workers as missionaries to engage unreached people groups, a sharp departure from what they had often done. Often those sent to minister had served as chaplains to Christians living and working among the unreached without engaging the unreached peoples.

As a result, there is a better understanding of the call for missions and world evangelization and awareness of the unreached people among the nationals leading to openness to the challenge of missions. This is evident in the numbers of missionaries responding and being sent out as this study has shown.

5.1.3 Rethinking the definition of "missionary"

Since being called a missionary has become a "holy good", Christians working in the two districts have often been referred to as missionaries irrespective of whether they are or not. Equally, people doing church work, or serving in religious institutions in the area have also been called missionaries.

From this study, we have seen that being a missionary requires intentionality of service to a people group in the region. Our case study demonstrates the point. What one does or which organization one belongs to does not make one a missionary; a missionary is a person who has an intention and has received a call. Even though this definition is growing among the Christians, the word "missionary" conversely carries a negative connotation among the unreached people. Being called a missionary can be less than helpful in these sensitive environments. It can be seen that TSM workers who serve in the two districts never officially carry the title "missionary" in their fields of service. To a large extent they were described by the role they played. They were only known as such by their sending agencies and home churches.

5.1.4 Creating mission's infrastructure

This study has explicated the importance of mission's infrastructure in ordering mission. The Kenyan church in its current construction cannot effectively do cross-cultural ministry, particularly and more so in the context of the unreached people. There is an obvious need to develop separate vehicles to do this. The success of TSM as a national mission agency spoke to the churches of the need to set up mission's infrastructure to deploy her members who have recognized the call to mission. To avoid creating churches of immigrant workers presently existing among the unreached people, sending is to be done properly. For this reason, churches have partnered with national mission agencies, or developed missions departments to act in lieu of sending structures.

What inspired William Carey in 1792 when he published *An enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (1792), a document which led to the formation of The Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), also inspired the formation of The London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795 and Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799 in the UK (Murray 1985:4). Though the "means" to reach the unreached in Kenya are not formed in these exact terms, there exist structures nonetheless within the denominations or in churches whose function is to enable those called to missions to reach their destination. They are formed to help in selection,

orientation and training, deployment to fields, support during service and assist at the exit.

5.1.5 More women serving in missions

More women than men have been accepted and sent to the unreached people in this region. For instance, TSM sent 41 women missionaries against 31 men, and this was despite the perceived negative view of women and their capability both in African culture, where the missionaries came from, and the Islamic culture where they were to serve. The more challenging "square peg in round hole" was how women were to become missionaries to groups whose religious practices and thought had low regard for women on matters religious. The perception that women lack the ability to be religious instructors among Muslims is clearly shown when Rosemary Sookhdeo avers, "This deficiency of the woman in intelligence, religion, and gratitude prevents her from exchanging secular or sacred ideas or participating in religious related activities." (2008:41)

The national church has not always done better than average on the matter of including women in service, despite the fact that women play such an indispensable role in all that African churches do. This view notwithstanding, the study has revealed that women are increasingly serving as missionaries. They are becoming a key solution to the challenge of ministering to Muslim women and children in contexts where contact between male and female not family members are frowned upon.

5.1.6 Dawa: Islamic mission

Kenya of the 1980s and 1990s saw an intense revival of Islam Dawa among Muslims in the area of our study. Most of these communities had held onto Islam merely as their identity, but now outside influences sparked an interest in the communities to redefine their experience of Islam. Islamic mission in Africa focused on strengthening Muslim communities, particularly those that were perceived not to be strongly Islamic or were more likely to convert to Christianity. The stronger communities like the Somali in Garissa were handy in this mission for Islam in the region. Islamic mission agencies became

instrumental in reshaping the brand of Islam practiced in the region. Using "foundational networks of madrasas and orphanages mainly in the Muslim dominated northeast and the more mixed coastal areas" (International Crisis Group, 2014:7), the areas have seen a growing acceptance of the Wahhabi brand of Islam. This trend has fomented tensions within and outside Muslim communities. The newer *ulamas* (scholars and religious authorities) have been politically assertive and impatient with the older Muslim leaders keen to maintain the status quo. This has also revised most Muslims' perception of non-Muslims. The new perception of Non-Muslims is more religious. Non-Muslim neighbours are considered infidels.

These developments have shifted ground in the mission context, too. There is a new sense of competition between Christian and Muslim charities doing services to the communities. This calls for special mission approaches on the part of Christian agencies. Islamic organizations are also offering humanitarian aid to non-Muslims as an incentive to convert them.

5.1.7 Missionary approach: Bridge-building to other religions and cultures

The public proclamation of the Gospel had been synonymous with missions and evangelism in Kenya. Most post-colonial preaching and missions were done with an emphasis on open-air preaching and altar calls, personal persuasion for people to make the decision for Christ, and preaching in weekend challenge meetings in schools. The desired goal of the proclamation had been the individual's decision for Christ.

TSM had to make a drastic shift in their whole approach to preaching among Muslim peoples. They adopted an approach that will not cause rejection of the message; this is, it is communicated in a non-offensive way to the local community.

The commitment to bridge building by nationals in their preaching of the Gospel has led to an eclectic approach, and one that avoids open confrontation with Muslims. Christian mission to Muslims has seen the development of an array of concepts for engagement, which include dialogue, contextualization and common ground, among others, constituting basic grist for a missiological

application today. These are seen to help missionaries and even nationals scale the barriers --- including religious, cultural, social and ethnic --- in order to reach the doors of the unreached people so that the gospel can be received. Peragia's case study is very explicit on this point.

5.2 Effective ministry model

This section seeks to answer the question, "what makes a national mission agency effective?"

The scope of this study is to discover the work of national missionaries in the region. It therefore sampled one agency, TSM, with the widest reach to make inferences for analysis. If the goal of communicating the gospel is achieved, then an inference can be made of the effectiveness of the model. It is therefore possible to adduce an effective model of ministry without employing comparative analyses of different missionaries. Therefore, gleaning what made TSM effective can help us grasp the idea of what makes a mission effective in this context.

This study highlighted the pillars upon which TSM's effectiveness leaned, therefore, it would be reasonable to stretch these principles as recommendations for the model of ministry development.

Also in juxtaposing two contrasting models for the same area, the researcher was able to distinguish the most effective model. TSM uniquely applied both models of ministry at different times to different effects.

TSM had to radically change from its initial AE model of evangelism (see 4.6.3 above) to a more appropriate model that would offset the hiccups of religious, cultural, and geographical differences that exist even between nationals and the unreached people. This is what they call the incarnational model, already discussed in this study. Of importance though are the three dimensions to TSM's idea of the missionaries they are sending, as noted in the previous Chapters 3 and 4, they are: incarnational, cross bearing and weak missionaries. From TSM's approach one can glean principles for effective ministry in contexts similar to the area of our study, but we shall only highlight three.

5.2.1 Mission is pioneering

For the unreached and hidden people to be reached by the Gospel, Christian missions ought to include pioneer mission. Despite years of elaborate evangelization of Kenya and Africa, the outlying districts remained untouched and insulated from Christian witness. This study elaborated how the text of John 10:16 got TSM discover the necessity of pioneering in places where Christian witness is absent. Blogger Christopher C. Chapman views pioneer mission this way:

Missions are carried out among people that have no chance to hear the Word of God until the missionary comes. In order to be involved in pioneer missions, one must be part of bringing the Gospel to a people group, or groups, that have not heard and are not likely to hear the message of the Cross. (Chapman, 2012)

Put differently, pioneer mission is bringing the Gospel to unreached groups of people. Pioneering involves living and proclaiming the gospel in a culturally appropriate manner among unreached people groups with the goal of planting the Church where it does not exist.

Mission hoping to make an impact in a context similar to our study area ought to purposefully mobilize pioneers to work among unreached people groups. They would in essence be both strategic and systematic in their entry and exit strategies. The mission will thus not be shy to deploy and their staff will not be shy to accept an appointment in risky and potentially dangerous areas.

5.2.2 Missionary team

Pioneer gospel work calls for people with determination, conviction, and stamina. Individuals with strong personalities are often attracted to missionary service among unreached peoples. Missions also seek such to enlist, but working in a pioneer context calls for team ministry. TSM found value in sending its workers as teams into pioneer situation. And where they had lone missionaries they encourage cooperation of their staff with other mission agencies (see the case study section 3.3.4)

A missionary team can be understood as a collection of people working together for a common goal. In the broadest sense, all missionaries working in an organization comprise a team. In the most focused sense, a team can be those who live in the same area working together towards the same ministry goal with the same ministry philosophy.

The researcher concurs with the International Mission Board (IMB) explanation of how their mission has exemplified this concept in the statement:

In the New Testament, disciples on missions most often serve on teams in which different people have different roles and responsibilities. Beyond this biblical precedent, Scripture points to strong personal, practical, and pastoral reasons for disciples on mission not to serve in isolation from others. Even evangelistic reasons exist for disciples to exalt Christ in the context of Christian community. Consequently, we believe it best for IMB missionaries to serve on teams in which different people have different roles and responsibilities in the missionary task. (IMB, 2016)

Missionaries serving where there are no Christians often need a team instead of church fellowship. Such teams make the identifiable group of disciples, who meet together, care for each other, and share the task of making disciples and multiplying churches among unreached peoples. In the field, the teams would not be homogeneous, but can be made up of people from the same mission. The findings of this study have shown the tendency by TSM to send missionary teams or allow them to forge teams once in the field. It is logical to approach missions as a team when ministering to a community whose culture and religion are both expressed in universality and communion beyond their villages. A missionary team is free to create and define a team structure according to its context. There can be teams within teams. Teams can be multiagency. They meet for prayer, teaching, accountability, vision, and fellowship.

5.2.3 Transformation principle

The ideals of TSM missionaries was transformation on the society they served (section 3. 2 ff). Transformation has always been a holistic word because it implies a new situation in every dimension of a given context. Those practicing

holistic missions intentionally seek to create positive transformation in multiple areas of a person's life.

These ideals cannot be reached without an integrated approach, which seeks to establish conditions where wholeness of life may be enjoyed. Every activity that serves the people presents a ministry opportunity. People are touched when they feel loved, while speaking relevant words of truth points them to God and to experiencing the supernatural intervention of the Holy Spirit.

Anglicans gathering at the Lambeth conference of 1998 laid great weight on the goal of mission to build transformed and transforming communities. The conference insisted that the aim of God's mission was the transformation of every dimension of society, the created order as well as to transform individual lives:

Therefore calls our Church to build on what has been achieved in the Decade of Evangelism by working for a transformed humanity, transformed cultures, a transformed mission for the Church, and transformed relationships with other Christian communities. This will require a fair sharing of God's resources of personnel and funds. (Lambeth Conference, 1998 Resolution V.4 b)

In developing a missions approach, therefore, we should ensure that it is multi-faceted, alleviating spiritual, emotional and physical poverty. Within holistic missions, we recognize Jesus' presence and verbally point people to Him, whether through a "spiritual" activity or a "physical" act of compassion.

The researcher opines that should these principles be included in a mission model, a huge impact would be made in ministry among the unreached people. TSM exemplifies them in their incarnational model.

Incarnational missions are not just a theory to be argued. Understanding the incarnational model only as involvement in social action besides proclamation is misrepresenting the thought. The manner of proclamation and social action gives life to the approach "as my father sent me". Ministers lack credibility in such context, if they will not divest themselves of their own culture and worldview and "put on the flesh" of the new culture. In Peragia's, and TSM's understanding of incarnational missions, we have some leads. The

proclamation model has alienated rather than drawn Muslim communities to our message. Missions to Muslim people must take into great consideration this approach to break down the barriers.

5.3 Missiological implications

There are possibly more implications that can be drawn from the study for mission scrutiny. For this study four should suffice.

5.3.1 What should our priority in missions be?

The priority mission should take has been a subject of intense discussion over the years. As nationals, we are also being confronted with the age-old question that ecumenical Christians of the past century faced, and more recently the evangelical Christians in the west faced: "Should missionaries give priority to proclamation of the Word or to social activism on behalf of the poor?" There is a risk of cherry picking the appealing aspect of the gospel and mission and ignoring the other, ending up with something far from ideal. Critics of "the Cape Town Commitment" (Wright, 2011) make this as their main ground of contention, that acts of kindness can be a bottomless pit, and having done these may not amount to "Christian mission" (Strezer, 2012).

Even though many in mission circles are in consensus that mission includes both proclamation and demonstration, the question of priority between the two remains moot. But this study has revealed that there is one fundamental element that should determine priority that is yet to be included in the matrix: permission to minister. Without permission of entry into Muslim communities, entry into the hearts and lives of Muslims, neither proclamation nor action on behalf of the poor would happen, let alone bear fruit.

Missions must seriously consider how missionaries enter into the unreached peoples' space. The invitation to "dwell among", "be part of", and "become part of" the people should be the basis of Christian witness among Muslims.

5.3.2 How should we engage with faiths?

The gulf between Christians and the unreached peoples they witness to must be bridged before meaningful conversation about faith can occur. This cannot happen without genuine permission being given or curiosity raised in the recipients to seek to know more about Christian faith. Becoming man was not the goal for the Lord, but that was a vehicle to enter the world of humankind in order "to serve and to give his life as a ransom", thus saving humankind. This argument is evident in TSM's incarnational missional approach, which does not regard entry as an end in itself.

Since the task of missions leans heavily on building bridges, the task comes with two risks. The first risk is coming short, despite efforts made, of translating the hard work of seeking to understand other worldviews into relating meaningfully to the people who hold them. Second is the risk of overdoing the pursuit of dialogue beyond acceptable biblical limits, thus diminishing the pursuit of religious truth and experience of any one of these religions.

This researcher urges missionaries to determine the core message and use it as a map for determining engagement, otherwise they will find it challenging to run on a straight course between these extremes.

5.3.3 The challenge of resurgent Islam

The Islamic presence and its resurgence in Africa pose a grave threat to individual Christians, and in some places to the very existence of the Church. The rising tide of Islam is a major concern to budding national Christian missions. This is because of the pressure from Islamic extremists as well as competition from Islamic institutions that can undermine Christian mission by making their continued witness doubtful or in danger of termination. Today Christianity may be the largest religion in Africa and a great source of missionary personnel. But a resurgent and increasingly militant Islam will erode this advantage through persecution and oppression, which will make missions impossible.

This trend poses two challenges: First, the Church under pressure may be more concerned with survival than with her mission outreach. Second, the mission fields will get more and more hostile, because of formidable

competition for the unreached regions. These factors may make doing missions even more difficult.

5.3.4 The urgent need for expanded infrastructures for mission

Another major challenge threatening the success of mobilization movements throughout Africa is the lack of follow-up to thousands responding to the missionary call. Thousands respond to the missionary call from mobilization, but soon come to a dead end. There are no avenues open for involvement in mission, since only a few mission agencies exist for nationals. Those that operate are so poorly resourced and lack the capacity either to absorb candidates or retain them in service. At the end of Commission'88, organized by FOCUS Kenya in 1988, TSM was formed in response to the challenge because there was not mission agency ready to send nationals to the unreached. From the case study, we saw how the availability of TSM, a sending agency, enabled Peragia to fulfill her call to missions. Thus a serious effort must be made to create a number of mission agencies to enable the nationals to fulfill their call to missions.

As this research affirms, the most effective way to conduct mission in the region where other faiths and different cultures exist is through mission agencies. The reality among nationals is that the number available is far too few. Mobilization efforts will be counterproductive if the capacity of the few national agencies already in operation is not enhanced. Moreover, this improvement of capability should strengthen those already serving by providing increased stipends and ministry resources to the community.

5.3.5 Mission mobilization

Those interested in mobilizing nationals for missions should consider working on Christians' maturity in their walk with the Lord. Possibly there are fewer national missionaries today, not for want of compassion or commitment, nor lack of information, exhortation, statistics or pressure, but for lack of passion for Christ. When people have intense passion for Christ it propels them into missions. In other words "there is only one foundation for a church's existence and for mission involvement: Jesus Christ. The goal of pastors and mission

fanatics alike is singular, helping people to grow in their love for Christ" (Dearborn 2013:8).

5.4 Input on strategy and training for missions to Muslims

Evidence suggests that missions in Muslim areas in Kenya and around the world will increasingly become prohibitive. With Muslim mission agencies focused on making their communities exclusively Islamic, there are indications that there will be unprecedented competition for the hearts of Muslims. Of much concern is the determination some Muslims have to eliminate or prohibit Christian activities in Muslim communities by directly banning them or by matching Christian charitable activities by their own. Consequently, missions focusing on ministry among Muslims must be creative, sacrificial and flexible as in the example of Peragia in this case study.

Having looked at the implications, the following issues must be taken into account while considering missions strategy.

5.4.1 Maximization of Christian presence

There is a need in developing mission strategies to maximize Christian presence among the Muslims, so that Muslims have greater exposure to Christianity. Muslims have been effectively insulated from Christianity. Where and when they come into contact with Christians, Muslims often do not experience positive Christian witness. Christians must be intentional about making contact with Muslim communities. When national missionaries live close to Muslim communities they have the opportunity to erase misconceptions arising from ignorance of Christianity, which continues to influence Muslim thoughts about Christians. This approach assumes that Christians are acquainted with the basics of Islam and the issues that divide Christianity and Islam.

5.4.2 Long-term outlook

An effective strategy in Muslim communities is one whose plan stretches over a long term. Given the depth of differences between the Muslim and Christian cultures and faiths, pioneer missionaries need to clear up the prejudices and stereotypes. They also need time to reverse engraved worldviews.

5.4.3 Permission for the Gospel

The initial contact national missionaries make will determine whether "permission" is granted to preach the Gospel. Strategists ought not split hairs over whether missionary should to go by proclamation or through social activities. What counts will be the way they are introduced to the society. They must be sensitive to the context. The researcher recommends they engage in those activities and programs the host values and not in what the mission values. Where possible, missions should enhance and enrich government or community projects.

5.4.4 Bridge building

Strategies designed for the unreached people should be cognizant of their religious background; missionaries are not entering into a *tabula rasa* of religion. The unreached have religious traditions, which they value deeply and are not ready to abandon. Missionaries should build strategies on this understanding and thereby help to establish common ground and translate the Gospel appropriately.

5.4.5 God is in pursuit

Effective strategies must recognize the direct involvement of God in missions. He both turns the hearts of Muslims to follow him, and leads his servants to bear witness to the Gospel. Mission strategies must be planned and implemented with the belief that the Lord is calling people in the community to follow him, and will be doing this work alongside his servants. God working alongside his servants is of extreme significance.

5.4.6 Consideration for mission training

Mission training for Islamic contexts should be founded on three domains: the cognitive, affective and psychomotor, traditionally understood as: head, heart and hand (see Sills 2016), which incidentally are highly overlapping. A person's intellectual convictions will tend to color his attitudes and incline him

to certain kinds of behavior. Missionary training, though, should integrate the three domains, to train the affection, which is appreciations, loyalties, devotions and aspirations, without diminishing intellect and skills. The researcher makes this recommendation based on the case study, drawing from the way the missionary was trained.

The trends, issues, and predictions made here should all be at the heart of missionary education and preparation. Missionaries selected to serve among Muslims must clear the twin hurdles of communicating in a different culture and particularly to a Muslim worldview. Thus they must receive appropriate and relevant training prior to commencing service. Collins' basic list of competencies amplified this point: a missionary has to learn how to witness to those of different cultures and needs cross-cultural communication, cultural anthropology, linguistics, Church history, and other missiological studies before going to the field (1986:35). For example, training ought to help missionary candidates know how to respond respectfully to ways Muslims typically misrepresent Christianity.

For missionaries to maintain sufficient contact to influence change, they will need pre-field and ongoing on-the-field training. This researcher concurs with Bloecher's inference that pre-field training for missionaries is absolutely necessary to keep them on the field longer. Besides, he notes that agencies which require higher theological and missiological training for their missionary candidates have a higher missionary retention rate when compared to those which do not (2005:232). Zeal or understanding the challenge of missions is not sufficient to carry missionaries in the long term.

Mission agencies recruiting for Muslim areas need a thorough selection to help missionaries to focus and minister effectively. This process will be a guardrail preventing dropouts. Agencies recruiting missionaries to serve among Muslims need a special dedication to screening their candidates, because as Kane notes, they want to get the best caliber of missionary and to reduce the number of dropouts (1975:59).

5.5 Conclusion

This study has shown that missionary practice of TSM has had mutual impact on their missionaries and the people of Garissa and Tana River districts in a variety of ways. Introduction of services in areas of educational, health and agriculture that were introduced to help transform the communities were received, and in some instances this involved changing of age-old practices for modern ones. The presence of missionaries helped the people develop a better understanding of Christianity than they initially had.

Historical description of context aided in the analysis and appreciation of the fact that TSM missionaries faced serious challenges in being missionaries and that Christian witness in the region was maintained through their work. The study has exposed how the interconnectedness of the people of the two districts to each other on one hand, and to their kindred and kith in the Horn of African countries of Ethiopia and Somalia on the other, shaped and continues to influence the social and religious environment of the region. The importance of the social changes occurring in the region, and what that portends for religious practice and missionary activities among the peoples of the region should concern us.

This is the background against which TSM missionaries responded to the call of God to go out as missionaries. They were prepared for service through TSM and sent to serve unreached peoples, Muslims in the case of this study. The research has revealed that they were committed and made great sacrifices to be present in the communities. Their labor of love was marked by sacrifice just like the Lord's own ministry. In studying TSM the researcher has settled the questions of nationals taking part in missions. TSM alone sent 81 missionaries in these two districts of study. Of interest is that 41 of those sent were women. This research provides what the researcher hope will be more documentation of the work by nationals.

The context of the national missionaries' service remains challenging, although it has brought out the best in them. The social, political and religious atmosphere explained in this research creates one of the most challenging

places for Christian missionary work. That TSM missionaries served and continue to serve 30 years on should provoke further inquiry into reasons for this longevity and success.

The researcher sees a potentially grim picture for the region and the continent due to the increasing rise of religious extremism. Therefore, attention should be paid to the recommendations of this study.

The case study in this research is pivotal in the findings of the research. It reveals the innovation and quality of missionaries from a very close range. It links the present work of nationals to the foundations laid by the early missionaries from Europe. Peragia enters about 90 years later to the place which Wakefield and the Methodist mission were forced to vacate, the Orma village Golbanti-Kipao, and lived to fulfill the dream of Ludwig Krapf.

This research has shown that the participation of TSM was not on the fringes of missions, but led by God as they showed innovation in their approach. This is informed by the contextual missional reflection found in TSM.

This study has also discussed in chapter four the Come Paradigm representing TSM's understanding of mission emergent from its reflection, reality, and praxis. The paradigm focuses on how the agents of mission, through whom God works, were sent to be witnesses enabled by God's Holy Spirit. This approach shows a different understanding of "being sent", expressed by an invitation to come, join in the Lord's own task of finding the "other sheep". The practice of this approach was showed in the case study of Peragia. The study also pointed out that Christians have no monopoly on God. Others, including Muslims the subject of the study, also worship God though inadequately, necessitating the appropriate preaching of the Gospel to them. The paradigm is not predicated on a geographical or culture-religion movement, per se, although both movements may be involved. Mission by nationals, which was obscure, can now be explicit since there is no passport needed for one to serve as a missionary. Besides, the witness of converts among their own people can here be recognized as mission to their credit although they have not crossed a cultural barrier. Therefore, this study has demonstrated a unique missiological understanding, confirmed by the practice of TSM missionaries, which should be probed further to establish its claim as a valid mission paradigm. Only then can it be acknowledged and celebrated as one contribution by nationals in mission.

The study confirms the hypothesis that TSM missionaries participated in mission in the Northeastern region of Kenya not only as accidental participants, but also as an integral and deliberate, proactive mission organization with an innovative approach to mission. Further, recommendations emergent from the analysis of the missional impact TSM had in the communities in Garissa and Tana River districts are valuable in mission to the "unreached peoples" and can be useful in other regions of the African continent.

Peragia's story, the case study, makes a case for more stories of national missionaries to be documented and appreciated. This should help bring about a shift from the focus on the foreign missionaries supported by a contextual, yet selective, missiology governed by a mission approach that emphasized going to foreign lands.

This study has shown how TSM evolved a relevant, effective, and contextual missiology that differs from their (TSM's) initial mission theory and practice, which was adapted from the earlier generations.

5.6 Recommendation for further research

This researcher has been encouraged by the quality of life and service of TSM and therefore, national missionaries. The study has triggered an interest in the amazing and sometimes daring stories of the work of national missionaries, which the researcher hopes will interest more scholars to document and analyze for the benefit of continued missions work.

The proportionately small number of national mission national agencies is concerning. It will be interesting to study and establish why there are so few against a background of the greater awareness of needs and availability of missions candidates. Such study should recommend what it will take to run mission agencies successfully among nationals.

The research did not make an evaluative analysis of the effectiveness nor a comparative evaluation between nationals and foreign missionaries. An evaluative study on the effectiveness of national mission should be done to help improve the practice of missions both for the nationals and missions.

There was mention of Christian converts from Islam in this study. It should interest scholars to study the methods of discipleship national missionaries employed to keep them Christian in that majority Muslim context. Of further interest would be the character this Christian community assumes. Such study should help develop principles of discipleship for converts from Islam to benefit many other areas where this challenge presently exists.

With the growing number of Muslims in the continent coupled with religious hostilities targeted at Christians, there are predictions of the diminishing influence of Christianity, as we know it today. How Christians are to maintain their witness, as a minority, should be matter of great scholarly interest. National mission agencies like TSM should benefit from such study, since their recruitment of missionaries and deployment to the fields of service would be far different then from what it is now. Besides, questions about the church's survival, how missions is to be carried out remain a major concern.

APPENDIX A

TSM LIST OF MISSIONARIES SERVING IN GARISSA – TANA-RIVER FROM 1990 TO 2017

Garissa

Somali – 1990 - pioneers were Francis Omondi and James Wakhu.

1991- Francis and James moved to Madogo to focus on the Munyoyaya.

1991 - James moved to Faza

1992 - Sarah Walobwa moved to Nairobi office

1992 - 1996-Pamela Maureen Steeves served in Garissa

1995 - 1999 - Meshack and Rose Okumu served in Garissa

1996 - to present, Francis and Anne Omondi are serving in Garissa

1999 -1993 Wilfred and Audilia Lumumba served in Garissa

2000-2006 - Alex and Christine Sewe served in Garissa

2001-2002 Joseph and Martha Matolo moved to Faza from Garissa

2001 - Elly and Carol Gudo moved to Nairobi from Garissa

2001 - 2003-Lydia Wanjiru went back home from Garissa

2001 – 2002-Mercy Wanjiru went back home from Garissa

2001-2004 - Eliud Masinde CMT moved to Madogo from Kiunga, Lamu

2014 - 2016 - Micheal Tanui served in Garissa

2015 - to 2017 - James Kingori served in Garissa

2014 - to present - Drusilla Nyambura serves in Garissa

Dadaab

2010 - to present - David and Alice Wambua Serves in Dadaab

Madogo

Munyoyaya – Tana River 1991 pioneers - Francis Omondi and James Wakhu

- 1992 1995 Francis/Anne Omondi then moved to Garissa to present
- 1995 2005 Peter Kigotho
- 1997 2001 Eliud Masinde moved to Mulanjo then to Garissa CMT
- 2000 2006 Julius and Mary Irungu
- 1998 1999-Jimmy Otieno
- 2000 Paul and Peninah Ndambuki
- 2004 2006 Harun and Judy Wangombe
- 2008 to present Fred and Hellen Oginde,
- 2014 to present Peterson and Milkah Njue

Mororo

Malakote - Tana River

1993 - January, pioneers-Judy Wanjiru Nduati Susan Kitheka

1993 - 1996 Catherine Wanjiru Kimani went to Mororo, but to focus on the Munyoyaya. November 1993 Catherine Wanjiru Kimani and Pamela Limbe worked together till September 1994 Pamela Limbe got married and joined the husband in Wajir leaving Catherine alone who served alone for two years namely 1995 and 1996. She got married in December 1996. Then the field closed.

Mulanjo

- 2001 Munyoyaya Tana River pioneer Eliud Masinde
- 2001-2003-Paul and Peninah Ndambuki
- 2001 2004 Dorcas Muthoni
- 2001 2003-Mollen Akinyi
- 2011 to present Felix and Tabitha Masinde
- 2004 2016 Philip and Julia Kebbo
- 2017 Geoffrey Olali Sakwa.

Bura

Chewele 1993-1997 - Malakote - Tana River -

Pioneer - Judy Wanjiru Nduati

1994 - 1996 Pamela Seda

1997 - 2005 - October Amos and Mildred Wamukota

1997 - 1998 James Maina

1997 - 2011 Charles and Grace Maingi

2002 - Evelyn Akoth Ogolla

2007-2014 Peterson and Milkah Njue

2015 - to present Henry and Evelyn Asakah

Kipao

Orma-Tana River - Pioneered in 1994-2000-Peragia Wangui Maina

From 1995 - 2001- Rose Ogolla-

2000 - 2001 - Julia Ayanae

From 2001-2002 - Mollen Akinyi and Evelyn Ogolla

From 2002 – 2008 - Eunice Konyando and Nancy Nduku

2009 - 2010 - Gideon Muthui

2009 - 2010 - Joshua Wambua

Closed 2010 having hosted 9 missionaries

Garsen

-Orma –Tana River - pioneers1995 – 2012 - Peter and Mary Masai

2000 - 2005 - Alfred and Alice Orina

2006 - Josephat Muteti

2006 - to present - Zakayo and Nancy Kimani

2012 - to present - Millicent Njeri Njeru

2014 - to present - Moses Bwakali (9)

APPENDIX B

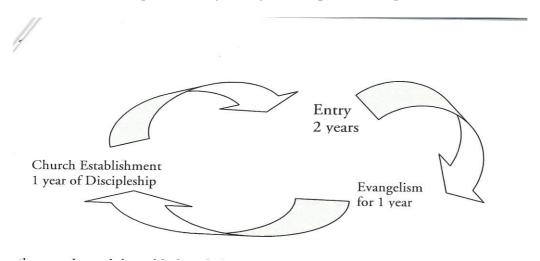
QUESTIONNAIRE USED DURING THE INTERVIEW OF PERAGIA CASE STUDY

- 1. Tell us about your testimony, of how you came to know the Lord.
- 2. How and when did you sense the Lord calling you into mission work?
- 3. Did you have any unique encounter? Please tell us how it happened?
- 4. How did you come to know about The Sheepfold Ministries, and how were you convinced that this was the place you wanted to serve in missions?
- 5. How did you find the training in Missions at The Centre for Missions Training?
- 6. Were there any convictions that were stamped or confirmed during this training period? Please share.
- 7. In which mission field were you first posted?
- 8. What did you do in the field as part of your mission work during your time of service?
- 9. Did you encounter any conversions in this first Field? If yes, please share the testimony.
- 10. Did you serve in any other mission fields? If yes, please specify which fields, the timeframe you served, what you did in these fields.
- 11. What would you say was the major impact of your ministry during the time of service to:
 - a. You as a person
 - b. The people you were serving

APPENDIX C 1

SPIRAL EVANGELISM

FIGURE 5 Showing the four-year cycle in spiral evangelism



KEY:

Two years Entry

The first two years of a missionary in a new field are spent learning culture and language, prayer and intercession. Activities include: Language learning, Culture acquaintance, living among the people using local housing. This is the bonding period.

One year Evangelism

In the second year the missionary begins evangelism, he/she is able to identify the felt needs of the community. Friendships have been built. Activities such as relief, school, and medical projects are undertaken to help needs in the community. A lot of visitations are done at this time.

One year Discipleship and Training

This is the stage when church planting is done. Converts are given an opportunity to share their faith and train in skills they can use to lead worship. Here communal worship is done with the converts. The missionary has times of Bible study and prayers with the converts.

APPENDIX C 2

COURSES OFFERED AT CMT

BIBLICAL STUDIES

B101	- Bible	survey
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- B110 Biblical foundation for missions
- B120 Biblical foundation for social ethics
- B111 Exegesis
- B112 Ecclesiology basic doctrines

HISTORICAL STUDIES

- H201 General history of missions
- H210 Trends in world missions
- H220 Mission movements in Africa

CULTURAL STUDIES

- C310 Principles of cultural anthropology in missions
- C320 Contextualization
- C330 Cross-cultural communication
- C340 Cross-cultural church planting and evangelization
- C350 Language learning techniques
- D400 Discipleship
- D410 Leadership
- D420 Spiritual warfare
- D430 Counseling

SPECIALIZED STUDIES

- E510 Non-Christian religions
 - a) Islam
 - b) African traditional religion
- E520 Tent-making in restricted access areas
- E530 Basic infrastructure in mission

E540 - Principles of research- unreached peoples

MISSIONARY IMAGE

- F601 Calling and response of a missionary
- F602 Gifting of a missionary
- F610 Discipline and work of a missionary
- F611 Interpersonal relationship and community life marriage and family
- H900 Project management
- G700 Fieldwork for 4 months
- P800 Practical studies
- P801 Agriculture in arid areas
- P802 Tailoring, carpentry
- P810 Medicine in missions
- NB Classes go on for five months, during which we have four full days in a week, six hours each day.
- Thursday is a day of prayer for all: Classes are suspended and time is spent in intercession, personal edification, and waiting on God for guidance.
- Weekends (Saturdays): agriculture is done on the school farm.
- Each student is assigned roles in a local church in the environment for training, where they are actively involved during the training period every Sunday.
- Training at CMT (1-year 6 months class 4 months practical class)
- Candidature and internship of 1 year.

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