

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter aspects of AFAM theology, religious social structure, missionary motivations, demography, and social psychology will be examined to determine what factors, if any, help to explain the small AFAM missions involvement.

Author's Theoretical Model

The core value of AFAMs, both churched and unchurched, appears to the author to be survival. A distinction is made between "churched," on the one hand, and "evangelical Christian," or "born again," using Barna's definition of "evangelical" (below, this chapter), on the other. Apparently AFAMs are concerned to hold on to material resources individually, and at the church and denominational level to keep material resources within the AFAM community, in order to help it survive. The mindset of "we are the needy" is explained by this assumption.

By stating the overall explanatory theory early in the study, it can better be compared with previous findings and

constructs, and referred to more easily. In large measure the theory encompasses the dissertation findings.

With the breakdown of the AFAM family, such as has not occurred since families were torn apart both in Africa and at the American auction block, the mindset of survival is easily understandable. With minorities gaining economically all around them, with Hispanics closing in on them as the new largest U.S. minority, and the incarceration and homicide rate of AFAM males, this is also understandable. Further, today's AFAMs are but four generations removed from the last AFAM generation in American slavery. Oral tradition in the AFAM community is strong. Major U.S. civil rights were gained only within the last generation.

Abraham Maslow's six-level hierarchy of motivations begins with the "physiological" level, which is survival. His next level is "security and safety" (*Microsoft Encarta 97 Encyclopedia*, s.v. "motivation"). This appears to be, according to some AFAM missionaries who have participated in the research, the first generation of AFAMs who have really had the opportunity to experience the "American Dream" (see chapter four for examples). Those who have moved beyond survival in the AFAM community appear to be oriented toward

security and safety, neither of which is particularly descriptive of IC missions. This level two is but a simple extension of the desire for survival, and is considered to be part of the core value of survival. But the core value is shifting toward security, as affluence increases.

Theologically, the New Testament describes a primordial decision facing each human being--whether that individual will serve God or Mammon, which is the power of money (Matthew 6:24; Luke 16:13). Greed is considered by God to be idolatry (Colossians 3:5)--a spiritual issue--the consequence of a fundamental decision to acquire that which can be seen and that which can satisfy the various lusts of the flesh, "the lust of his eyes and the boasting of what he has and does" (1 John 2:16, NIV). Indeed, John saw that, "If anyone loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him" (1 John 2:15, NIV). Nothing can provide for the lusts of the flesh as can the god Mammon. If indeed giving to the work of Jesus Christ is an indicator of spirituality, giving is a direct repudiation of trust in Mammon, and a direct act of worship of the living God. Yes, there is the matter of sound teaching to instruct true believers in proper doctrine, giving among them, and Christian maturity comes, when it does, as a

process. But fundamentally, the location of our treasure betrays the location of our hearts (Luke 12:34). Christianity is a religion of the heart, as well as the head.

These doctrines are conformable to the testimony of pastors of AFAM churches, as reported later, that forty percent of those churches are liberal. Classic theological liberalism is in fact disbelief in fundamental Christian doctrines such as these:

The fundamentals themselves are usually identified in terms of five essential truths: 1) the inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible; 2) the deity of Christ and his virgin birth; 3) the substitutionary atonement of Christ's death; 4) the literal resurrection of Christ from the dead; and 5) the literal return of Christ. (Schaeffer 1982, 350)

Philosopher and theologian Schaeffer would lovingly and firmly say to liberals, and the rest of us:

Historic Christianity, biblical Christianity, believes that Christianity is not just doctrinal truth, but flaming truth--true to what is there, true to the great final environment, the infinite-personal God. Liberalism, on the other hand, is un-faithfulness; *it is spiritual adultery toward the divine Bridegroom*. We are involved, therefore, in a matter of loyalty--loyalty not only to the creeds, but to the Scripture, and beyond that to the divine Bridegroom--the infinite-personal divine Bridegroom who is there in an absolute antithesis to his not being there. (Schaeffer 1982, 356)

The author's "theory of survival/security" is in agreement with major tenants of the theology of the AFAM

church, at least the traditional AFAM church. Loritts has noted what he has termed a "theology of survival" in the AFAM church. Not many visits to AFAM worship services are required to hear how God has helped believers to "wake up this morning"--which is survival. He is praised for keeping those there "in their right mind." Many of the hymns attest how God provides, such as the song, "He is able," which speaks of deliverance from the "fire." The "theology of Providence" is prominent, emphasizing God sustenance in life. Certainly none of these expressions are criticized. Thankfulness is characteristic of a Christian (1 Thessalonians 5:16-18). What is noteworthy is that thanks for life itself is an emphasis. By contrast, a typical White service stresses neither survival or Providence, even though a "prosperity gospel" is sometimes taught in both Black and White churches.

What then, engages the lives of AFAMs who have moved far beyond trying to meet physiological, security and safety needs, and indeed have flaunted security and safety needs? Some descriptors are identifiable, such as will be noted in the analysis of individual survey questions in chapter 4. But the author would posit that Christ has "filled all their vision," and meets in Himself all the six levels of needs

described by Maslow, and indeed, more. The ability to both describe the current AFAM situation and to predict the responses of AFAM IC missionaries will be investigated in chapter 4.

Diagram Explanations

Figure 1 diagrams components and inter-relationships of components as they relate to the core value of survival for the church. Overlapping circles denote related phenomena, and arrows denote inter-relationships. The current situation stands in the shadow of slavery--the sin of Whites, and liberal theology is also a negative White legacy.

The AFAM church stands close to personal survival, giving a sense of importance and providing encouragement, community, and spiritual nurture. The church is still the dominant AFAM institution. Indeed, it is something of a protective hen, gathering its young beneath its wings. Church resources are kept largely within the AFAM community, and expenditures for other people groups discouraged. The historic and now accelerated breakdown of the AFAM family heightens the sense of urgency. Many seem to find security within the material realm. The focus is upon personal survival and growth, but those who do succeed are subject to

community sanctions for having "made it." Risk is discouraged, since survival itself is seen to be at risk (Hiebert 1998b).

AFAM pastors have usually not been training in evangelical institutions, sometimes due to racism, and have little apparent interest in CC missions. Their success is measured in their local community.

Giving is withheld, except to the nuclear and extended family. The local church receives a small proportion of personal spendable income, as will be seen.

Figure 2 diagrams the core belief of the AFAM IC missionary, as hypothesized. They are secure individuals, willing to stand against their own culture to obey the Great Commission. They have already had a measure of success before they come to the field. They still favor going to Black and Westernized nations, and some experience pressure to work among AFAMs. They are risk takers--conservative in their Christology--having truths and a Master, for whom to live and die.

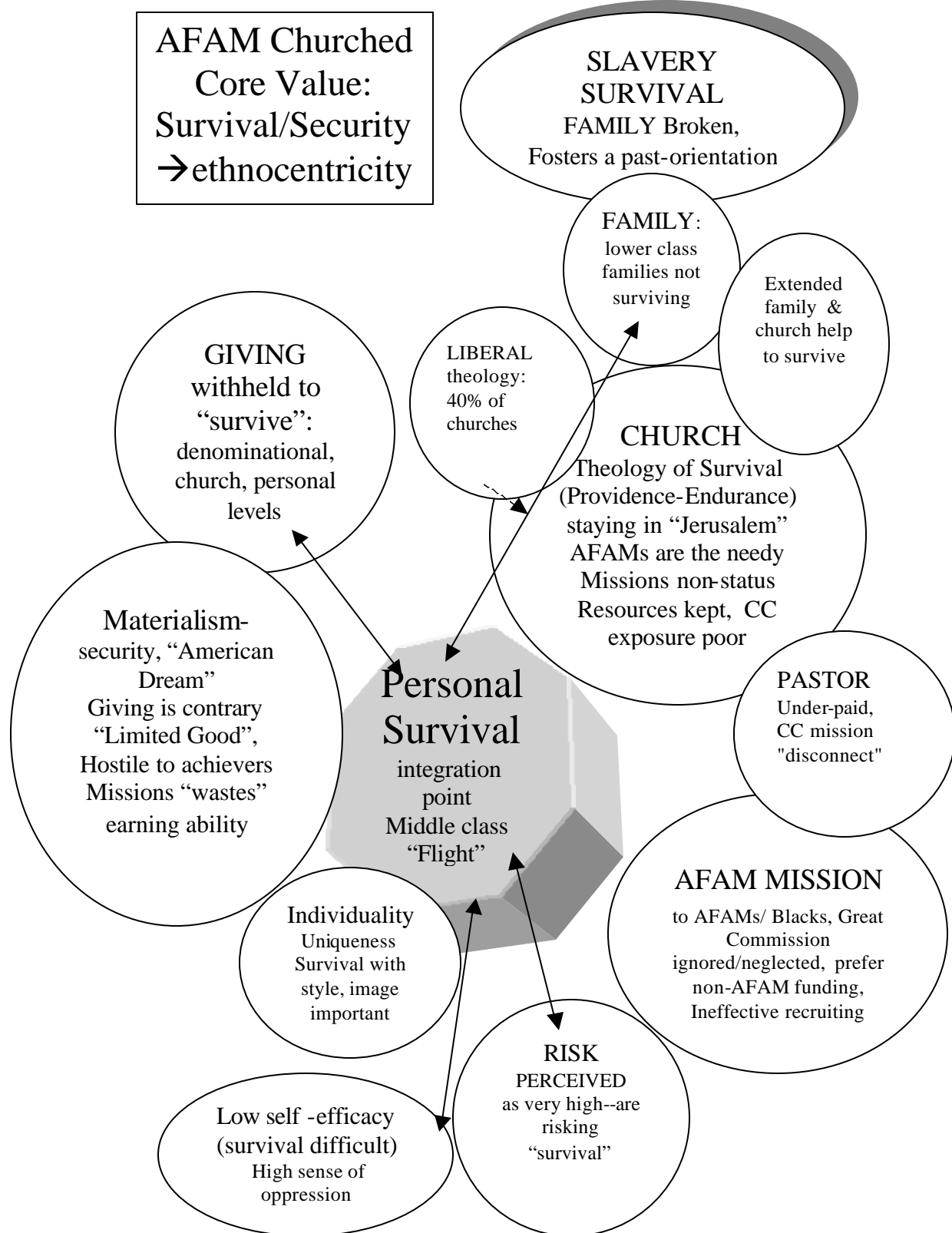


Figure 1. AFAM Churched core Belief: Survival → ethnocentricity

AFAM IC Missionary Core Value: CHRIST

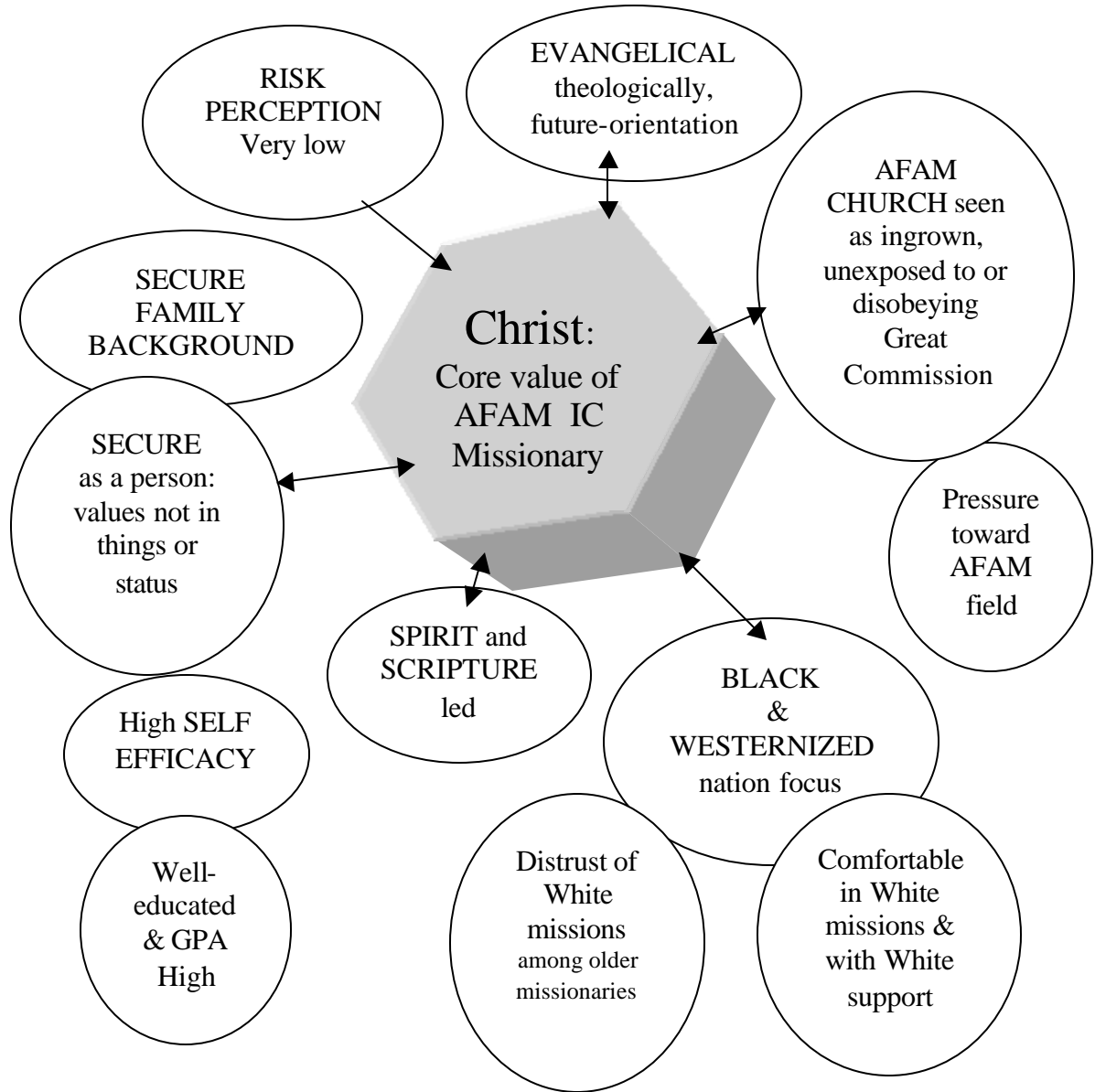


Figure 2. AFAM IC Missionary Core Value: CHRIST

A Historical Perspective

The longitudinal perspective upon the research question at hand is found in the over two-hundred-year history of AFAM IC missions.

A three-fold division of AFAM IC mission history was offered by Sandy D. Martin: (1) the "colonization phase," from the late eighteenth century to the Civil War; (2) the "independent organizational phase," from the Civil War to World War 1; and (3) the modern period since then, marked by fewer AFAM IC missionaries from Black denominations than the independent phase (Salzman, Smith, and West 1996, 4:1817-18).

Colonization Phase, Late 1700s-1865

During the American slavery period, both pro-slave and anti-slave forces supported AFAM emigration to Africa, in order to Christianize Africa (Harr 1945, 130). The line between emigrant and missionary was often blurred. For example, James M. Priest went to Liberia in 1843, serving forty years until his death, under both the American Colonization Society and the (White) Presbyterian Executive Committee of Foreign Missions (Seraile 1972, 199).

The earliest AFAM missionaries served in White mission boards, as did the majority (Jacobs 1993, 22) [Jacobs thinks

about half] of all AFAM missionaries to Africa (Seraile 1972, 199). The famous Lott Carey was sent by the American Baptist Missionary Union to Sierra Leone in 1821, together with the short-lived White missionary Collins Teague, although Carey had formed the African Missionary Society in 1815 (Seraile 1972, 198; Hughley 1983, 8). Carey wanted to spread the Gospel, but he also said:

I am an African, and in this country, however meritorious my conduct, and respectable my character, I cannot receive credit due to either. I wish to go to a country where I shall be estimated by my merits, not by my complexion; and I feel bound to labor for my suffering race. (Seraile 1972, 198)

Not surprisingly, multiple motives operated. Carey eloquently voiced the motive of racial affinity, Africa being the focus of most AFAM IC effort.

The issue of discrimination by White missionary boards surfaced after 1900, with the Jim Crow Reconstruction era, when Black rights were rescinded in the South. Before 1900 White mission boards did not appear to discriminate against Blacks by not deploying them. By 1855 all U.S. Methodist missionaries to Africa were AFAM; of thirteen Presbyterian missionaries in Liberia in 1868, twelve were Black; and all nineteen *Southern Baptist* missionaries in Liberia in the late 1850s were Black (Seraile 1972, 199-200).

The indigenous Black church formed in the latter 1700s, as anti-slavery ardor waned in evangelical churches and as White racism was sensed (Salzman, Smith, and West 1996, 4:1815). Then the Second Great Awakening (1790-1825) incited both home and foreign mission Black denominational activity (Salzman, Smith, and West 1996, 4:1815). However, Black mission society resources were meager (Harr 1945, 96, 132). The Black church was trying to survive, so engaging in African evangelism was difficult (Harr 1945, 11).

AFAM IC missionaries were welcomed into White missions during the colonial phase partly because they were perceived to be more resilient to African diseases. This notion surfaced around the mid-1800s:

West Africa, where so many of the societies began their work, was labeled the "white man's grave" because of the frequency with which white missionaries died or were invalidated home. Partly because of this difficulty of survival, the mission boards searched for an alternative, and the use of American Negroes entered their thinking. A majority of these white boards, at one time or another in their early history, considered and sometimes sent American Negroes as missionaries. (Harr 1945, 12)

Harr himself studied the longevity of both Black and White Presbyterian missionaries to Africa from 1837-87. Of his survey of the ten men and women of each race with the longest ministries, he found the average length of Black service to be

20.7 years; that of Whites, 18.9 years (Harr 1945, 119-21). White mission organizations eventually realized the rough parity, although experiments were still going on in 1897 (Harr 1945, 30), so this incentive to use AFAM IC missionaries eventually evaporated.

The Independent Phase, 1865-1914

A parallel development to the widespread employment of AFAM IC missionaries in White mission societies was the activity of Black foreign missions.

The period from 1865 to 1914 was a time when the Black Church had its greatest impact on organizing and structuring the lives of Black Americans. Through the church came social cohesion, self-expression, recognition and leadership. Self-respect and pride were stimulated and preserved.

In this period of identity recognition among Black Christians there also arose the second most significant period of foreign mission outreach since the pioneering era of Lisle, Carey, and Coker. The Black denominations began to see their responsibility to partake in fulfilling the Great Commission and did something about it! (Hughley 1983, 30)

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church in 1844 became the first AFAM denomination to form a foreign mission board (Roesler 1953, 24). It worked in the Caribbean during this period and the AME Zion denomination (notably, Andrew Cartwright c. 1876) labored there--also in West Africa (Hughley, 1983, 13-14). The National Baptist Convention,

U.S.A., Inc., whose noted missionaries W. W. Colley (c. 1875), and contemporary J. H. Priestly served in West Africa, fielded twelve missionaries to Liberia from 1880-95 (Hughley 1983, 15). The Azusa Street Revival (1906-09) launched Black and White Pentecostal world missions from Los Angeles (Salzman, Smith, and West 1996, 4:1817).

The Modern Period, 1914-Present

Early in this period various influences converged to discourage AFAM IC missions.

Foreign Colonial Resistance

Resistance from African colonial governments hindered AFAM missionaries trying to get to their colonies, especially after 1920. The status quo looked good enough, a status threatened by AFAM missionaries, representing Blacks who had advanced educationally and politically (particularly between 1865 and 1873) far beyond their African forbears. J. E. East, of the National Baptist Convention [Black], expressed this view in 1925 (Harr 1945, 40). Harr noted:

While the American Negroes were generally as efficient as any of their white contemporaries, they experienced disadvantage in dealing with some governments, even a Negro government such as is found in Liberia. . . . White officials in Rhodesia and the Congo were even more lacking

in sympathy than were the Liberian and Portuguese West African governments. (Harr 1945, 27)

Illustrative is the South African government's requirement in 1925 that a White must head the mission if a Black AFAM missionary wanted to obtain a steamship ticket (Harr 1945, 40). By 1926 the African colonial government barriers were not so much legislative as obstructionist (Harr 1945, 94).

The Belgian government from 1920 was reluctant to admit AFAM missionaries, due to the Garvey Movement ("Africa for Africans"), claimed the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society [White] (Harr 1945, 61). The Belgian colonial government in the Congo had earlier encountered the AFAM Southern Presbyterian missionary William H. Sheppard. Sheppard claimed that by 1917, 15,000 Congolese were in churches and 160 were in ministerial training, due to mission work (Seraile 1972, 199). Revival had spread through his mission station, with 730 professions of faith in 1903 alone (Harr 1945, 51).

In 1900 Sheppard found that the State rapaciously collected tribute from natives through soldiers of the cannibalistic Zappo Zap tribe [Sheppard said, "You can trust them as far as you can see them--and the farther off you can see them the better you can trust them" (Williams 1982, 143)].

He appealed not only to the Congo Free State, but also to King Leopold of Belgium (Harr 1945, 52). Sheppard in 1909 was indicted for the "slander" of Belgian rubber company officials, was tried and found innocent, but conditions improved through world press opinion (Harr 1945, 53). Belgium had reason to fear African Americans who could and would expose injustices.

White American mission boards *circa* 1920 were, further, pressured by colonial powers to recall AFAM missionaries to Africa (Jacobs 1982, 20). In sum,

During the forty-year period between 1920 and 1960, few black American missionaries not already in Africa were assigned there by white boards. . . . By 1945, white boards generally agreed that blacks served better as missionaries in Asia and Latin America. However, after 1960, white boards again used a number of blacks as missionaries to Africa. (Jacobs 1982, 22)

Roesler in 1953 found that of the twenty-seven I.F.M.A. missions which responded to a survey, *none* had an AFAM in their mission at that time, although some had had AFAMs previously (Roesler 1953, 39-40).

White Missions and AFAM Missionary Advancement

As was mentioned, White mission agencies began to see no compelling health advantage to sending AFAM missionaries.

. . . it can be noted that the boards ceased sending American Negro personnel. Why did that happen? . . . Certain convictions came to be the property of the societies after they had started sending American Negro missionaries. As the years passed, the societies concluded that there was no proof that Negroes of American origin could withstand the climate. Moreover, it was difficult to find the Negro personnel which was adequately prepared to meet the standards of the boards. Then again, sometimes apparently for no particular reason, the sending of Negro missionaries was discontinued. The societies simply quit sending them, hardly aware that they had ceased doing so, and in certain cases blissfully unaware that they had ever sent them. (Harr 1945, 130-31)

The Race Factor in AFAM Missions

Race has been the dominant underlying issue in virtually all AFAM IC mission history. The first AFAM missionaries, such as George Lisle, Loyalist emigrant missionary to Jamaica in 1782(?) (Trulson 1977, 1), who later sent fifty missionaries to Africa, and Lott Carey, who left for Africa in 1821 (Hughley 1983, 5-8), had to obtain their personal freedom from slavery before proclaiming freedom in Christ. As has been noted, some AFAM sending denominations and even churches were born out of protest against the White church. Richard Allen, a founder of the African Methodist Episcopal denomination in 1787, "cited the need at an early point in his ministry for more evangelical attention to African Americans" (Salzman, Smith, and West 1996, 4:1815).

The denomination arose as protest against segregation (*The World Book Encyclopedia*, 1984 ed., s.v. "African Methodist Episcopal Church")

A historical perspective on recruiting sheds light.

Harr did find obstructions among some White agencies, but added:

Let it be understood at this point that not all of the negative aspects of the problem which have appeared as board action can be classified as deliberate board policy, for there have been times when government and other factors completely out of the control of the mission boards have dictated policy which whould [*sic*] certainly not have been chosen by the mission boards themselves. (Harr 1945, 11)

In 1883, it appeared that the [White] Protestant Episcopal church in Africa tried to retain White control of certain mission activities (Harr 1945, 22).

The many international debates by White churchmen chronicled by Harr on the lack of AFAM missionaries, together with the difficulties of finding "qualified" candidates, highlight the race issue. After 1920, race worked against AFAM missionaries, due to colonial power. Harr concluded with four observations on the race issue:

First, American Negroes have carried the racial tensions found at home, to Africa, to the detriment of relationships particularly between missions and governments. Second, and closely allied to the first,

some severe and easily visible racism has developed between peoples of the same racial stock but of varying cultural background. Such issues as developed under those conditions have been more difficult to handle and to adjust than if the issues found rationalization at a point where sponsoring people were of different racial stocks. Third, intimations have been given in certain areas that white and black missionaries did not get along when on the same field. White missionaries were jealous if a Negro secured prominence. Negroes resented any signs, imaginary or otherwise, of discrimination on the part of the whites. The unhappy situation did not lend itself to constructive missionary work. Fourth, different criteria for measuring efficiency have been used in relation to whites and blacks. Consequently the Negroes have been at a disadvantage, for they have had to be superior individuals to succeed in an ordinary situation. (Harr 1945, 132)

As Harr showed, racial problems did not always have their genesis among Whites.

The Southern Presbyterian Church in 1953 claimed for missionaries at one Belgian Congo mission station "absolute racial equality," but had a "cast-steel understanding that no steps were ever to be taken that would lead to intermarriage between the races" (Roesler 1953, 98). This is an oxymoron. Perhaps it may be considered unfair to measure an earlier generation by standards that probably are not even widespread today. Cultural standards are not the arbiter--biblical ones are, and they should be applied impartially and humbly. All are descended from Adam and Eve (Genesis 1-2). God punished Miriam with leprosy for attempting to humiliate Moses because

he married a Cushite woman, presumably Black (Numbers 12:1-12). That presumption is certainly challenged. J. Daniel Hays, who has extensively investigated the Cushites, wrote:

Two lines of evidence demonstrate that the Cushites were black people with classic negroid [*sic*] features. First, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman art presents the Cushites as black. Second, numerous ancient literary texts also refer directly and indirectly to the black skin color and other negroid features of the Cushites. (Hays 1996a, 272)

The word "Cushite" is used twice in Numbers 12:1, probably for emphasis. Throughout the ancient world this term carried strong connotations of black ethnicity. Ancient readers would visualize a black woman from the region south of Egypt. Jeremiah referred to Cushites' skin without any explanation (Jer. 13:23), implying that his readers associated "Cushite" with black skin. The ethnicity of Moses' new wife was stressed and then opposition arose within his family. The most logical explanation is to associate these two as cause and effect. (Hays 1996b, 399)

The temptation always exists to place cultural norms over Scripture.

Racial hostility has included the Black missionary in a variety of ways.

After 1900 Jim Crowism, lynchings, and disenfranchisement became a way of life for black Americans. Not surprisingly, mistrust and hostility were directed towards black missionaries. No longer were white mission boards full of praise for blacks. (Seraile 1972, 200)

The Southern Baptist Convention

George W. Sadler, speaking for the Southern Baptist Convention in 1945, referred to the "strong Baptist Negro church of the South and the consequent absence of Negro constituency in the 'white' churches," when stating that it was not the policy of the SBC to send AFAM IC missionaries. He did say that the policy would probably be reviewed after WW II (Harr 1945, 21). However the SBC had sent AFAMs to Africa as early as 1855 (Harr 1945, 20). Gordon, citing Harr, noted that the Southern Baptists in 1949 had a policy against using AFAM missionaries (Gordon 1973, 271), although by 1953 they were accepted (Roesler 1953, 38). Sadler, apparently earlier in 1953, stated that the appointment of Blacks by the SBC Board,

. . . would be a source of embarrassment to the missionaries on the field already under appointment due to the prejudice carried over from their residence in the South. (Roesler 1953, 97)

Other Independent Missions

Although the Sudan United Mission had used AFAM IC missionaries in Africa in 1910, in 1945 they stated that they would not accept such candidates (Harr 1945, 34). Edwin Thomas of the United Lutheran Church of America in 1945

reported that there would probably be an objection within the church at that time to integration of the mission force, particularly in the South (Harr 1945, 33). Although there was no policy, he doubted that his church would begin to send AFAM missionaries, even if they were promising candidates (Harr 1945, 33).

For various reasons, The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM), Gospel Missionary Union and Sudan Interior Mission (now SIM) did not accept AFAMs in 1953, according to Roesler (Roesler, 1953, 39). The AFAM IC missionary James T. Robinson stated:

Among the most important reasons why we have been so slow to respond to this modern call from the "Macedonias of Asia" was the resistance of the Colonial governments which were in control of mission areas, the refusal of our government to make a strong effort to support the requests, the attitudes of our mission boards which were not different from the general cultural pattern, the social pattern of our American race relations and our church structure, and the discouragement on the part of many Negroes who felt they were not wanted. Consequently, few applied. Some of the first Negro missionaries (these were only a few) were failures and our boards took the easy way out and never worked hard at the task of recruiting others. Unhappily, it must be recognized that the attitude of many missionaries in the field was either negative or hostile to the sending of Negroes. (Roesler 1953, 101)

An e-mail message from Ken Lloyd of SIM USA on December 15, 1997 stated that SIM-USA's first AFAM

missionaries joined in 1959. The experience of SIM-USA is illuminating:

We are actively recruiting AFAMs and our U.S. Director, Larry Fehl, has relationships with the leaders of the Destiny Movement and other AFA pastors. Special efforts have been made to recruit out of the African American community, but there has been slow progress.

It seems that one of the myths back in the 1950s was that African Americans would not be well received in Africa. However in our limited experience this has not been true in most cases. There was the reality that many African Americans struggled with their identity in Africa since they were not Africans culturally but rather African Americans. In my opinion this varies from person to person depending on their own self perception and acceptance. This is true for every missionary candidate.

TEAM was unaware of any policy against accepting AFAMs due to race, in an e-mail from the New Members division of TEAM of November 20, 1997. Roesler, who serves with TEAM, was e-mailed for clarification, but no reply was obtained, perhaps because it was not received.

The independent mission societies were even less willing to accept AFAMs than were denominations in 1953 (Roesler 1953, 37-39). Interestingly, Roesler wrote, "The denominations that have used and are using Negro missionaries the most are those that would be classified as 'liberal' in their theology" (Roesler 1953, 43). Such policies are long remembered.

So perfectly adequate historical justification exists for Hughley to enquire of White mission boards in 1983, "Would your mission be willing to actively recruit Blacks?" To Hughley's surprise, of the thirty-six evangelical mission boards which answered the survey, thirty-eight percent (fourteen) reported that they were already actively recruiting Blacks, and fifty-one percent (nineteen) were willing to recruit them. Another three missions said that they recruited regardless of the candidate's race (Hughley 1983, 51). A thirty-seventh mission did not answer the question. Even if we presume that to be a negative response, ninety-seven percent of the missions were willing to recruit Blacks, based upon self-reporting. This was not a huge, nor random, sample of missions, but the consistency of the response leads one to believe that this attitude prevailed in 1983.

Why the sea change in the attitudes of these White missions? In all probability the level of consciousness of racial inequalities in American society was raised by the Civil Rights Movement, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and in particular, by Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968).

King's challenges to segregation and racial discrimination in the 1950s and 1960s helped convince many white

Americans to support the cause of civil rights in the United States. (Robert J. Norrell, "King, Martin Luther, Jr.," in *Microsoft Encarta 97 Encyclopedia*)

Extremely unlikely today would be any evangelical Christian mission categorically rejecting AFAM IC missionary candidates. Additionally, all the mission boards responding said that they would give assurance that they would evaluate a Black candidate as fairly as they would a White candidate, and over half claimed that they were already doing so (Hughley 1983, 54).

Hughley also asked the missions,

What reason would you give as to why Black Americans seem to be not as actively involved in world (foreign) mission as, for example, white Americans? . . . The following points were seen as some of the more significant and were given as choices for the respondents: (a) lack of information regarding the need, (b) too much emphasis on community (home) mission involvement in the Black Church, (c) lack of a strong biblical theology to give a solid base for world missions, (d) poor recruitment efforts on the part of white foreign mission boards, and, in case they could think of other reasons, (e) other. (Hughley 1983, 63, 49)

The first choice by the white mission agencies (37 percent of them) was "d" (Hughley 1983, 49). They may be commended for candidly admitting the problem. Mark Bradley, Director of Mission Personnel of Overseas Missionary Fellowship, said in an e-mail message to the author in August 1996 that missions need help in this effort. "Knowhow" and "people resources",

both AFAM field representatives and "gate keepers" opening doors into the Black community, are needed. AFAM missionaries are wanted. The White boards did not go where the Blacks are, namely to schools and churches where Blacks predominate. In fairness, how often have they been invited?

A former AFAM IC missionary to Irian Jaya, J. C. Upton, concurs with the admission. He believes that part of the reason for AFAM under-representation in IC missions is that most White agencies do not go to Black churches, ministers' associations and national denominational meetings (Upton 1996).

Loritts thinks racism is the *greatest* reason for the lack of AFAM IC missionaries:

The big problem is this whole suspicion and the rootedness of racism. That is an insidious thing down to the core and fiber, and so it just feeds on that suspicion. I think that is the biggest issue. You know I've been back and forth on the continent of Africa back through the years numbers of times and in private many of my African brothers will tell me, no matter what country it's in, they articulate a suspicion of motives, and that kind of thing. The Black church here, because of a truckload of history, always wants to know, "Well what really is the real deal?" Is there some control piece in this? Are you selling out by joining a predominately White Christian organization? And so I would say . . . probably [this is] the hardest one to overcome. (Loritts 1996, 2)

In fact, racism must die, both among Whites and Blacks, to end this historic impediment. The Promise Keeper

movement, with its open focus upon racial reconciliation and the identification of racism as sin, is historically significant. Probably never before in America has a White Christian organization of such influence so openly condemned racism, worked so hard to eradicate it, and made it a *cause célèbre*.

The "Southern Baptist Convention Resolution on Racism, Resolution on Racial Reconciliation," however, approaches the stance of Promise Keepers:

Whereas, Racism has divided the body of Christ and Southern Baptists in particular, and separated us from our African-American brothers and sisters; and
Whereas, Many of our congregations have intentionally and/or unintentionally excluded African-Americans from worship, membership, and leadership; and

.
Therefore, be it RESOLVED, that we, the messengers to the Sesquicentennial meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention, assembled in Atlanta, Georgia, June 20-22, 1995, unwaveringly denounce racism, in all its forms, as deplorable sin; and

.
Be it further RESOLVED, that we apologize to all African-Americans for condoning and/or perpetuating individual and systemic racism in our lifetime; and we genuinely repent of racism of which we have been guilty, whether consciously (Psalm 19:13) or unconsciously (Leviticus 4:27); and

Be it further RESOLVED, that we ask forgiveness from our African-American brothers and sisters, acknowledging that our own healing is at stake; and

Be it further RESOLVED, that we hereby commit ourselves to eradicate racism in all its forms from Southern Baptist life and ministry; (Southern Baptist Convention 1995)

A more thorough expression of repentance--the above excerpts are less than half the paragraphs--can hardly be imagined, and represents, at the very least, a determination to break with the past. The S.B.C now has over 2,000 AFAM congregations in the Convention, as stated in a letter to the author on January 31, 1997 from David Cornelius, the AFAM SBC Director of African American Church Relations. The spirit of the resolution gives great encouragement that the Holy Spirit is reviving the Church. The door is open to AFAM missionaries in the SBC, two of whom have returned a survey. Better by far is to confess racism, than to excuse it for cultural reasons.

Loritts, in an interview by the author, called for more than openness among White missions:

There's a lack of trust there, from the Black perspective in terms of White mission agencies . . . there's historically certainly been a lack of an aggressive, in a right sense, posture by these agencies to intentionally, aggressively go out and recruit and to establish meaningful relationships cross culturally.
(Loritts 1996, 1)

He wants mission agencies to intentionally pursue AFAM candidates.

The need for trust will probably not be satisfied by an official policy of openness to AFAM missionaries by White mission organizations, but rather by the time-consuming and

time-maturing development of friendships between White mission representatives and AFAMs, particularly AFAM pastors. Those relationships are fostered by trust established with AFAM community "gatekeepers"--those known widely enough to vouch for the White recruiter.

Bill Thomas, AFAM missionary to the Congo, articulated the need for relationship and fellowship:

I do not believe that the major mission societies are going to be able to encourage many young Negroes to "sign up" for overseas work until they [Blacks] have become part of the regular fellowship of the churches at home, for, after all, if you are not happy about my worshipping in your church with you, you would not be happy about my working with you on the mission field. (Hillis 1969, 24)

Given the shortcomings documented by Hughley, and with the input of the AFAM expert panel consulted before the final survey was constructed, it would be expected that problems vis à vis White mission organizations and Blacks are not yet remedied. However the author, even after consulting with the above panel, with which the racism issue ranked second in importance behind lack of exposure to IC ministries, did not anticipate that Blacks would still seriously question White mission board racial attitudes today and did not consider this issue important. This was the last of the topics addressed in data analysis. Candidly, the author wanted desperately to get

beyond this issue, and indeed had little patience with those who would not.

AFAM IC missionaries are asked for their evaluation of the efforts of AFAM denominational missions. Question 15 concerns AFAM mistrust of White missions. The supposition is that mistrust would be low, with a consequent mean above 2.5. Question 33 grades efforts of White missions to aggressively recruit Blacks, with the anticipated outcome that they would be given a poor grade (mean above 2.5). Question 29 asks if White missions are racist to the point of not accepting AFAMs today. The expectation is that they would not be considered so racist, with a mean below 2.5.

The verdict of history on racism in White missions and other conservative Christian institutions, as outlined in this chapter, must be returned "guilty." But historical postures are radically changing, as demonstrated in Hughley's study, and by the SBC stance. How long it will take for AFAMs to trust such institutions is uncertain, except that memories are long.

AFAM Missionary Education

Mentioned above is the issue of inadequate AFAM missionary preparation, as perceived by White boards. Harr,

who did exhaustive research in the primary historical documents of mission agencies in his dissertation, summed up this issue:

All through the long history of the problem [of few AFAM IC missionaries] has run the idea that one of the difficulties in the way was that American Negroes were not prepared, and facilities were not provided by which they might become prepared to do an adequate missionary service as required by sending agencies. (Harr 1945, 103-04)

Are mission educational requirements too difficult?

In 1843 the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. wrote:

Very few qualified coloured missionaries can be obtained. It is also the judgment of the missionaries already there, and of others who have examined the question with most care, that in the present state of the missionary work in Western Africa at least a portion of white men are indispensable. As far as qualified coloured men can be obtained, they ought by all means to be sent; and there is cause of thanksgiving to God, that two such men have just been sent out. The principal labour of evangelizing Africa must devolve on her sons, either natives or those born in other lands. (Harr 1945, 29)

With slavery still practiced, such a situation does not appear strange, and when qualified Black men were located, they were sent. In 1848 the same church added that Blacks were "handicapped" in obtaining adequate preparation for missions (Harr 1945, 31).

Note the candid admission that facilities were not provided for such missionary qualification. Evangelical

Christian schools until recent decades have not trained many AFAM students.

Then doctrine plays a larger part in the lack of Negro missionaries than we would like to admit. There is no lack of Negro congregations, but how many of these churches are evangelical? This leads Negro song leader, evangelist and author Bill Pannell to observe: "You can check the yearbooks of major Christian Bible colleges and liberal arts schools and I am sure there will be less than 100 Negro [sic]." (Hillis 1969, 24)

Among the fifty-six Christian independent, interdenominational schools responding to one of Roesler's surveys, there were a total of 128 AFAM graduates in the previous *ten* years, only eight of whom were missionaries still on the field in 1953 (Roesler 1953, 52-56). However, two schools with large AFAM populations, Carver Bible College of Atlanta, Ga., and Baptist Seminary of Cleveland, Ohio, with a combined enrollment of 318 students, had *no* AFAM graduates in 1953 who were on the mission field (Roesler 1953, 57-58). This is most probably not the case today. So the *opportunity* for evangelical biblical training does not *necessarily* result in AFAM missionaries, unless those programs at that time were deficient in mission education, which is not assumed, or the schools were too young at that time to have missionary graduates. At the least, under-representation does not seem

to be fully explained by the absence of evangelical biblical training.

AFAM theological training similarly has not seemed to yield mission-mindedness. Of thirteen AFAM theological schools and departments with a combined student body of 1550, *only nine* of their graduates were on the mission field in 1953 (.5 percent). Very possibly the theology taught was not evangelical, and only four of the schools had missionary training in their programs (Roesler 1953, 60-61). This in itself is a statement of the perceived value of such training by AFAMs.

Educational requirements impacted recruitment.

Roesler felt that: "The greatest problem connected with the appointment of American Negro foreign missionaries appears to be the lack of qualified candidates" (Roesler 1953, 43). Hughley asked White mission boards: "What reason(s) would you give as to why the majority of white foreign mission boards do not actively recruit Blacks?"

Some of the more frequent [*sic*] occurring answers given by the other twenty-six boards [the seventy-six percent selecting "other"] could be summed up as follows: there are few academically (Bible school or seminary) qualified and adequately trained Blacks; few Blacks attending schools that are prime recruiting areas; and since invitations are not received from Black schools or

churches, no effort is made on the part of the mission to make contacts. (Hughley 1983, 49-50)

Academic preparation headed the list. Hopefully in the years since 1983, and with the opening of evangelical schools to African-Americans, this situation is not the problem it once was, but that assumption needs to be tested. The expected outcome is that educational requirements of mission boards would be considered discouraging to AFAM applicants (SQ 27). Notice too that AFAM churches did not invite White missions to visit. AFAM IC missionaries were asked if the educational requirements of White missions are currently too stringent. The expectation is that such requirements would be so considered (mean above 2.5), in light both of history and that relatively few AFAMs are in evangelical post-secondary schools. Because one AFAM mission executive suggested it, a second query concerned whether or not language requirements were too difficult (SQ 25). If unusual ethnocentrism is operative (see "Ethnocentrism" below) then lack of interest in foreign languages would be an expected corollary.

The importance of missionary education is highlighted in the African context, however, and if taught well, would apply to the AFAM:

Our Western partners can help us with theological cross-fertilization. They have much to teach us about education for world mission. Education is the key to developing our African missionary potential. (Niringiye 1995, 61)

Historical Summary

Only God could assess the spiritual impact of AFAM missionaries to Africa--we can only lament their relatively small representation, often for reasons outside their control. Jacobs, a historian of AFAM missions, summarized:

Because of the small number of American missionaries in Africa before 1945, the impact of black American missionaries was severely limited. Afro-American missionaries were an insignificant percentage of the total American missionaries stationed in Africa before 1960, and they were restricted to certain areas of the continent. (Jacobs 1982, 225)

Donald F. Roth concluded,

As noted earlier, in terms of the number of missionary years in Africa, the movement barely existed. Yet this area of black activity was a significant one. (Roth 1982, 36)

While White missions have at times been guilty of hindering AFAM missions involvement, this does not itself explain the problem of under-representation. From the late 1800s AFAMs have been able to go to the mission field under AFAM mission boards. If several countries would not allow them to enter, then there were and are the vast majority of

countries that would. Even if some White evangelical educational institutions refused AFAM students, many other schools accepted such students. So the problem cannot be explained simply by pointing at the White community. Today many White missions appear eager to accept AFAM candidates. It would appear that a research emphasis upon White missions as a major factor in the lack of AFAM missionaries would be misplaced today.

A Moment of Opportunity for AFAM Missions:

Twelve Reasons for Hope

Many impediments to AFAM IC service are gone. (1) Africa and other nations are wide open to AFAM missionaries. (2) Civil rights *legislation* is in place in America. (3) White mission agencies and schools welcome AFAM candidates (see http://www.ReconciliationNetwork.org/missions_list.htm). (4) Evangelical Christian Bible institutes and colleges not only welcome minorities, but some provide special funding for minority attendance. So proper preparation for the field is far more available today. (5) New AFAM non-denominational mission agencies have arisen. (6) Racism is newly and increasingly unpopular among White Evangelicals. (7) The necessity of the AFAM church serving interculturally has

recently had a higher profile through The Destiny Movement (especially through 1992) and through COMINAD (The Cooperative Mission Network of the African Dispersion). COMINAD is AFAM-led and its purpose is to awaken the AFAM church to world missions. (8) Independent and other churches are committing to a foreign missions program. The writer knows of at least four conservative Black churches in Chattanooga, Tenn. which have decided within the past three years to give ten percent of their total income to missions outside their church. (9) Black income has risen in the past 20 years [see below]. (10) Black clergy also have access to the aforementioned schools, which hopefully impacts their pulpit teaching and preaching ministry, including evangelical missions theology. (11) The world is getting over, in Loritts' words, "White idolization."

To be frank, too, I think much of the world is overcoming white idolization. . . . It's not a nationalism, so-to-speak, I think that has a lot to do with it, but I think frankly that many of the leaders even on the continent of Africa now are less and less impressed with the White presence. In the past Whites have been both loved and hated at the same time--admired because of the power that was wielded, and the civility and all that stuff, but I think now what's happening around the world is that there is sort of a growing up of people in an embracing of parity and equality. . . . The playing field is being leveled, so it is an exciting time. (Loritts 1996, 1-2)

(12) Opportunities for short-term missions exposure abound, and such exposure is a very powerful recruitment tool.

The Impact of the AFAM Church upon IC Missions

Mission is the child of the church. When the influence of the parent is rightly appraised, the character of the child is elucidated.

The Black Church and Intercultural Missions

C. Eric Lincoln described the Black church as "the womb or the mother of the black experience, and the black church provides the crib for the black community" (Ochillo 1990, 118-19). This is exactly what St. George and McNamara reported:

Blacks' sense of well-being seems markedly enhanced by religious attendance and by stated strength of affiliation. For blacks, membership in a church or worshipping community continues to be a "major source . . . of positive meaningful self-identity and a gratifying self-location within the primary and secondary relationships, the social structure, of a community" (Winter, 1977: 276). Such is not the case for whites, whose sense of well-being is apparently derived from other sources. (St. George and McNamara 1984, 361)

The degree of religious affiliation was not found to diminish with upward mobility. The question remains that if church is so significant for Black Christians, why does this not translate into planting new churches interculturally? Is the local church *too much* a womb, or social safety zone, from which members do not want to depart? Or is the primary

problem educational--that is, given proper exposure, the AFAM church would indeed become an IC missionary church? Question 24 inquires whether or not exposure of the local AFAM church to IC missions is a major solution to the problem of under-representation. The assumption is that the mean value of responses will be above the 2.5 middle point.

Self-preservation

Walter Banks, formerly professor at Moody Bible Institute, said in 1983:

Our churches were not spawned in evangelical zeal, but through protest. There appears to be more emphasis on self-preservation, a tendency to enjoy life as Christians in America, a desire to reflect the kind of euphoria [*sic*] in this life. There is not a feeling of empathy or sympathy for those who do not have the gospel. (Hughley 1983, 18)

A short step lies between a theology of survival and the self-perception that "We are the needy." Marge Patrick, AFAM missionary with TEAM to South Africa, has written,

A principal reason why so few missionaries of color serve is because all too often we still consider ourselves to be a mission field. Even after decades of strong Biblical truths preached in churches of color, these truths are not lived. . . .

The problems greatly affecting communities of color persist: poverty, crime, unemployment, substance abuse, family deterioration, and despair are quite real. The need in our communities are [*sic*] so great, how can one even think of going beyond "Jerusalem." Many are blinded

and unaware of the role they could have in missions outside of their own community. . . . (Patrick 1996, 1)

A symposium of leaders from seven major Black denominations, with a combined membership of twenty-three million AFAM Christians, was held in Hampton, Va. in June 1996. Bennett Smith of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, was reported to have said, "We need to use our resources to set our people free," and advocated a renewal of boycotts against businesses which discriminate against Blacks (Barisic 1996, B2). In the same article Bishop John Hurst Adams of the African Methodist Episcopal Church reportedly said, "Not only must we save the individual soul, we must also redeem the social order," and mentioned, according to Barisic, the need to "help end race, gender, class and age inequities" (Barisic 1996, B2). However Bishop Thomas Weeks, Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, "argued that black churches must *return* [my emphasis] to their primary focus, which is to save souls."

President Johnson's "War on Poverty" has resulted in five trillion dollars being spent on welfare since 1964 (Knollenberg 1995). Results have included multi-generational dependence upon government housing, food and health subsidies and disincentives to forming traditional families,

particularly in housing projects. U.S. Representative from Michigan Joe Knollenberg stated in 1995 that more people were below the poverty level in 1995 than when the "War" started (Knollenberg 1995). However, Black middle class income has increased in recent decades. In 1996 dollars, Black husbands who worked year-round in full-time jobs, in Black married families, without their wives working, had a mean income of \$32,584.00 in 1976, and of \$40,267.00 in 1996 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Table F-13B). Very possibly, overwhelming needs within the AFAM community have clouded the perception of the spiritual and material needs of other ethnic groups.

Roughly analogous is a Ugandan situation:

Ugandan churches did not go to Libya in the 1970s to evangelize Libyans, since they were in a "receiving church" mindset, not a "sending church" mindset. Missions was the work of the Western church. (Niringiye 1995, 59)

Is missions perceived as the work of, or perhaps only affordable to, the White church, which has substantially more financial and human resources? And does an AFAM "theology of survival"--or focus upon survival-- countermand the Great Commission by circumscribing the vision (SQ 16)? A value strongly above the mean of 2.5 is expected.

Ethnocentrism

Does ethnocentrism, a word coined by G. A. Sumner in 1906, work against IC AFAM missions (Weber 1994, 482)? Walter Williams researched the lives of sixty-eight Africans who studied at American schools between 1870 and 1900 (Williams 1980, 228). African Americans, he found, were ethnocentric, but this ethnic inclusion did not reach to Africans:

Black Americans were certainly not prejudiced against all Africans, because they did accept the Westernized Africans, but they were ethnocentric. There was not strong acceptance of African cultures in their own right, and there was no pride for Afro-Americans in anything which smacked of "barbarism." (Williams 1980, 237)

In another study, Williams wrote:

Black missionaries were not as ethnocentric as white missionaries, but they did condemn indigenous African cultures as inferior. However, once African persons were Westernized, the Afro-Americans dropped their negativism and accepted them as equal brethren in Christ. (Williams 1982, 132-33)

Historical evidence exists of a reluctance of some AFAM IC missionaries to evangelize nationals in Africa. The (White) Methodist Episcopal Church in Liberia found in 1848 that AFAM colonists were not eager to evangelize Africans in the interior (Harr 1945, 24). This was also the opinion of Presbyterians in 1877, and continued to be a problem even in 1945 (Harr 1945, 69-70). It should be borne in mind that

these were colonists, not simply missionaries. Presbyterians in 1871 noted that AFAM missionaries to Liberia worked primarily among "American-Africans"--Liberians of AFAM lineage (Harr 1945, 32-33). The (Black) Protestant Episcopal Church mission society wrote in 1876:

The native people of Liberia, constituting fully 95 percent of the whole population have no churches of their own and are not admitted to the churches of their so-called civilized brothers, and, so far as we were able to observe, are devotees of the Mohammedan faith. (Harr, 1945, 69)

Martin has a similar analysis:

Most missionary efforts for the first forty or fifty years of the black Baptist presence in Liberia were directed toward the colonists rather than toward indigenous inhabitants. One factor contributing to this situation was the language and cultural differences between the two groups. . . . The Africans understandably resented the presence of the colonists [due to land fraud?], and the superior attitude on the part of the colonists exacerbated conditions. (Martin 1982, 70)

But by 1868 missionary attention turned to Africans (Martin 1982, 70).

Missionaries Sheppard and, in more modern times, Linton Wells, of Angola, an AFAM physician who began work in 1929, and who medically treated over 80,000 Angolans (Harr 1945, 54), were certainly in contrast. Do, then, AFAM IC missionaries prefer to go to more Westernized people groups

(SQ 34)? The mean is expected to be above the midpoint of 2.5.

How might ethnocentrism exist today? Hughley's research elicited the observation from Africa Inland Mission in 1983 that "they noted pressure from some in the Black community urging Blacks not to affiliate with white mission boards" (Hughley 1983, 41). Loritts expressed the idea that Black churches wonder when an AFAM missionary joins a predominately White mission, if that represents "selling out" (Loritts 1996, 2). Have AFAM IC missionaries generally been criticized by AFAMs for going to those who are not AFAM (SQ 17)? The expectation is that they are. Are they regarded by AFAMs as disloyal? The AFAM IC missionaries are also asked whether or not ethnocentricity, or ethnocentrism, defined here as an ethnic group focusing in upon itself, has hindered AFAM IC ministry (SQ 14). The strong expectation is that this query will be answered affirmatively.

Ethnocentrism has its upside. Six mission boards reported to Hughley that their work among Black populations was the cause for AFAM involvement (Hughley 1983, 44).

Williams also found a link between ethnicity and giving:

It is significant that, while there were a substantial number of American Baptist missionaries in the Congo, the

blacks preferred to contribute to a black missionary [Presbyterian William H. Sheppard] of a different denomination whom they had met. (Williams 1982, 143)

AFAM Theology of Providence

Henry Mitchell believes that the doctrine of God's Providence is the foundational Black religious belief. He wrote, ". . . the most popular belief or doctrine in the Black worlds of either church or street [is]: the Providence of God" (Cooper-Lewter and Mitchell 1986, 2). He also wrote, "The most essential and inclusive of these affirmations of Black core beliefs is called the Providence of God in Western terms" (Cooper-Lewter and Mitchell 1986, 14). If true, does this belief tend to condition Blacks to receive from God, rather than to serve God, whatever the cost?

This "theology of Providence" probably emerged as soon as African slaves first met Christ, being the logical, contextual response to the need, in Loritts' terms, for a "theology of relevance and survival." Loritts sees this theology dominating near the mid-twentieth century. In an interview with the author he said:

There's been a theological place that historically the Black church has gotten stuck at, and that is our theology of relevance and survival, in which we have dealt with the immediate needs around us, but have not really embraced a real global perspective to a large degree. Now,

ironically, that was not true the early part of this century. The early part of the twentieth century there was vision and passion for the world, but when the Black church, in the words of E. Franklin Frazier [prominent AFAM sociologist (Bennett 1982, 634)], became increasingly secular when the great Northern migration that took place, with that also came a theology of survival where we began to view missions as taking care of our own community. Now there is nothing wrong with that, but the Great Commission, particularly outlined in Acts 1, has to do with both . . . so it is a simultaneous and concurrent thing. (Loritts 1996, 1)

The AFAM survey respondents will be asked whether or not they agree with the statement, "An emphasis in the AFAM church upon God's provision conveys the idea that God is our Servant, rather than the King who commands His servants to go" (SQ 38). Values higher than 2.5 on the 1-5 scale are anticipated.

AFAM Pastors

As will be substantiated, the AFAM pastor, compared to the White pastor, has unusual power to determine the direction of the church.

AFAM Pastors and IC Mission Education

Chattanooga AFAM pastor of Church of the Firstborn, Alfred Johnson, in a conversation with the author on June 14, 1996, said that, in general, Blacks have not been taught to go

to the intercultural mission field--that Blacks have not been disciplined to take the gospel. Roesler stated,

On the whole there still seems to be a lack of vision for the work on the foreign mission field. This condition is partially due to a lack of true evangelical teaching and preaching, and an over-emphasis of the social needs of the American Negro.

.
Much of the lack of missionary vision must be attributed to pastors who are indifferent or uninformed. It is evident that where the pastor is burdened for missions the church learns to share that burden. (Roesler 1953, 29,32)

Formal theological education helps to form the pastor--the assumption of all pastoral theological training. Roesler had a good grasp of the picture when he wrote:

Few of the denominational schools having comparatively high standards of education are fundamental in their theology. There are a limited number of fundamental independent and interdenominational schools for Negroes, but these attract comparatively few of the future ministers because the denominations make strong efforts to keep their future church leaders in their own schools, and because these fundamental schools do not offer the degrees that many theological students desire. These schools are mostly on the Bible school and Bible college level. (Roesler 1953, 77)

To ascertain whether or not AFAM pastors seem to foster IC missions, three survey questions were asked: do AFAM pastors seem to understand "faith" missionary support (SQ 20); does a lack of global mission vision of AFAM pastors hinder AFAM IC missions (SQ 28); and do local AFAM churches neglect the doctrine of global Christian missions (SQ 37). With the

prominence of the AFAM pastor in the local church, the third question concerns pastors primarily. Mean values significantly above 2.5 on these Likert items are expected.

AFAM Pastoral Authority

The Barna Research Group, funded by the Maclellan Foundation, conducted an extremely elucidating survey of three AFAM populations. The last of the three was a nationwide random sample of four hundred pastors of AFAM churches. That report was produced in 1997, the research having been completed during November and December 1996, and January 1997. This survey found that, while ninety-eight percent of them had lay leaders, most had little authority over the pastor.

Nearly 8 out of 10 pastors (70%) (*sic*) maintained that the group of lay leaders provides information and advice, but has no real authority over them. (Barna 1997, 8)

Therefore, the mission recruiter who wishes to gain entrance into the local AFAM church would best knock on the pastor's study door. When he does, he will likely find that the pastor believes that race relations are getting worse in the country, as seventy-one percent did in Barna's research, and a pastor who believes that AFAMs are not treated the same as are all other minorities, as ninety-two percent of those pastors

believed [compared with eighty-one percent of churched AFAMs] (Barna 1997, 12).

The AFAM pastor's position of esteem in the AFAM community, if not in the pastor's church, seems to have suffered, however. For instance, Barna found that eighty percent of AFAM pastors believed that,

The pastors of black churches are generally viewed by black adults as the most significant leaders in the African-American community. (Barna 1997, 14)

Only sixty-three percent of "all black adults" and sixty-six percent of "churched adults" agreed (Barna 1997, 14).

Several Black pastors suggested to Hughley ways to begin mission involvement in churches that had interest:

. . . communicate with various mission boards and expose the people to the ministry of these boards, *educate and inform members about the importance of missions on a systematic basis through pulpit preaching* [my emphasis] and through the use of literature, organize a missions conference, bring in missionaries to speak, and give responsibility to missions. (Hughley 1983, 37)

The apostle Paul had strong confidence in the efficacy of teaching "sound doctrine" (Titus 2:1, NIV), together with encouraging and rebuking (Titus 2:15, NIV), to change behavior. This regard for Scripture as change agent is reflected in 2 Timothy 3:16-17:

All Scripture is God-breathed and is useful for teaching, rebuking, correcting and training in righteousness, so

that the man of God may be thoroughly equipped for every good work. (2 Timothy 3:16-17, NIV)

While the disposition of those who hear is crucial (Matthew 13:23), pastors are actually expected to bring godly change:

It was he [Christ] who gave some to be . . . pastors and teachers, to prepare God's people for works of service, so that the body of Christ may be built up until we all reach unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God and become mature, attaining to the whole measure of the fullness of Christ. (Ephesians 4:11-13, NIV)

Liberal Theology

Liberal theology has wounded AFAM church missions.

Anthony Evans, who in 1982 was the first AFAM to earn a Th.D.

from Dallas Theological Seminary, wrote that after WW II:

Earth rather than heaven became the major focus of the church. . . . Jesus Christ was no longer simply the Savior of the world but the revolutionary who was leading the social seize on America. Salvation was not just individual forgiveness from sin but community [i.e., the Black community's] liberation from whiteness. (Hughley 1983, 32)

The Barna AFAM pastor survey demonstrates that the local AFAM church pastor's priorities are overwhelmingly local in scope (figure 3). Those pastors were asked to name their three ministry priorities for the coming year. Seventy-two percent named "outreach," which included the following ministries:

AFAM Church Pastors' Ministry Priorities

	<u>item</u>	<u>category</u>
Ministry priority*_____	<u>total</u>	<u>total</u>
Outreach		72%
Helping people in crisis		
food ministry/soup kitchen	27%	
prison ministry	13	
clothing	12	
addiction assistance/awareness	10	
housing	8	
homeless aid	6	
financial assistance		5
Elderly	11%	
.....		
Evangelism		50%
door-to-door	15	
bringing people to Christ	15	
preaching the Gospel/Bible	9	
inviting people to church	6	
tract distribution	6	
street preaching	5	
evangelism training	4	
Christian education/training		47%
[no mention of mission education per se]		
.....		
Youth/Children's Ministry		37%
.....		
<u>Missions</u> [emphasis supplied]		<u>8%</u>

*Components of categories may add up to more than the category itself, because pastors may have provided more than one response in a given category. Used by permission. (Barna 1997, 9-10)

Figure 3. AFAM Pastors' Ministry Priorities—Barna Research

Only eight percent of pastors had "missions" as even one of the three priorities, which by default would have to be non-local, since almost every category of local ministry has already been named. However, evangelism is a strong priority, named by fifty percent of pastors. The provenance of this evangelism is strictly local, face-to-face evangelism, with the potential for building the local church. Conceivably for some, even the term "missions" connoted ministry within the Black community, but if not, the typical pastor's priorities are thoroughly local, not international. This represents no trifling impediment to AFAM IC mission.

Among the categories of "evangelical," "theologically conservative," "Charismatic or Pentecostal," "theologically liberal," and "fundamentalist," thirty-nine percent reported their own churches to be liberal (Barna 1997, 7).

If almost forty percent of AFAM churches are known by their own pastor to be *theologically* liberal, then little promotion of world evangelism can be expected of these churches, and a significant portion of the mystery of under-representation is herein exposed. Liberalism is in complete contrast to the theological stand of the AFAM missionaries in this study, as will be presented. Liberalism does not hold a

high view of the literal inspiration by God of the Biblical autographs. One would assume that the Great Commission of Matthew 28:18-20, would not be taken literally, particularly if there were multiple ways to salvation, and more particularly, with pressing local AFAM needs.

It would appear obvious that the locus of the problem today is no longer the White mission organization, but appears to be the local AFAM church, and very possibly the pastor, but a liberal church does not presuppose a liberal pastor. However, the missionaries have not yet been heard. In any event, these missionaries are asked whether or not their pastor *did* "focus upon in-depth Bible exposition each week" at the time when they decided to become a missionary (SQ 35). Three assumptions of the writer operate here: first, that pastors who carefully taught the Bible would be rather theologically conservative; second, that such pastors were more likely to have preached upon missions themes, which are replete in the New Testament, and more latent in the Old (the book of Jonah, for example); third, that such pastors would encourage their congregation into IC missions. A mean value above 2.5 is anticipated.

Orthodoxy and Consequentiality

George Gallup, Jr. gave an astounding portrait of AFAM religion generally:

American blacks are, by some measures, the most religious people in the world. In 1981, for example, Gallup International organizations conducted surveys on religious beliefs in twenty-three nations. One question asked respondents to rank the importance of God in their lives, with 10 the top score. The highest score recorded was by American blacks--9.04. (Gallup and Castelli 1989, 122)

While "religion" may not be Christianity, Gallup found Black religion to be closely tied to the Bible.

The religious beliefs and practice of American blacks are closely tied to the Bible--blacks are more likely than other Americans to read the Bible frequently, and half (48 percent) read it at least once a week. A November 1986 survey found that 17 percent of blacks and 12 percent of all Americans read the bible daily; 32 percent of blacks and 22 percent of all Americans read it once a week or more; (Gallup and Castelli 1989, 123)

In 1996 the Barna Group surveyed at random 254 AFAM teens, between thirteen and eighteen. They found that forty percent of those teens had read the Bible during the previous week (Barna 1996b, 9). Thus, whether or not the Bible is taught in church, Blacks in 1989 were more involved in Bible reading than the average American: "43 percent of blacks and 26 percent of the general population took part in [outside of church] Bible study" (Gallup and Castelli 1989, 123).

Consistently, Blacks have indicated very high agreement with basic Christian orthodoxy. In one study of 456 Blacks in Muncie, Indiana ("Middletown"), responses to the Likert-style belief orthodoxy questions in the "agree, strongly agree" range are pertinent: 92.8 percent believed Jesus to have been perfect, 83.1 percent believed that the Bible is God's word and is completely true, and 77.1 percent agreed with the statement that, "Christianity is the one true religion and all people should be converted to it" (Jacobson 1992, 219; cf. Landrine and Klonoff 1995, 125-26; cf. Jacobson, Heaton, and Dennis 1990, 260).

Gallup found Blacks to be religiously active outside the church.

A 1985 survey found that blacks are considerably more likely to be involved in religious activities outside of church attendance than are other Americans. Two-thirds of blacks (65 percent) and less than half of the general population (41 percent) took part in at least one listed religious activity. (Gallup and Castelli 1989, 123)

Note that this is "religious activity," such as Bible study, meeting for prayer and religious education, and not charitable activities generally.

The Barna Group conducted a national random sample of 800 AFAMs eighteen years old and higher early in 1996. Fifty-one percent of those surveyed had attended church within the

previous seven days (Barna 1996a, table 2.2.5). Collating the AFAM teen and adult surveys, of those surveyed, fifty-seven percent of AFAM adults and fifty-eight percent of AFAM teens agreed strongly that, "the Bible is totally accurate in all its teachings"; forty-six percent of adults strongly agreed that "people who do not consciously accept Jesus Christ as their savior will be condemned to hell"; and forty-five percent of AFAM adults and forty-one percent of AFAM teens agreed strongly that, "you, personally, have a responsibility to tell other people your religious beliefs" (Barna 1996a, table 2.2.5; Barna 1996b, 10). Not surprisingly, Whites polled by Barna during February 1996 answered those three questions, respectively, 44, 35 and 30 percent. It appears that the level of Christian orthodoxy among AFAMs is in decline, compared with earlier findings of George Gallup (Gallup 1989). Indeed, the gap between the proportions of AFAM and White "born again" Christians and between proportions of "evangelicals" of these ethnic groups has *evaporated*, considering sampling margins of error:

Overall, 45% of black Americans have beliefs which would classify them as born again Christian; only 5% have beliefs which would classify them as evangelicals. The proportion of those groups within the US white population is 44% and 8% respectively. (Barna 1996a, 4.4)

Barna defined "born again" Christians as:

Individuals who say they have "made a personal commitment to Jesus Christ that is still important in [your] life today" and whose perspective on their own life after death was "when [you] die [you] will go to Heaven because [you] have confessed [your] sins and have accepted Jesus Christ as [your] savior." (Barna 1996a, 4.4, n.)

An "evangelical" is one who:

Meets the born again criteria (described above) as well as the following: strongly agrees that the Bible is totally accurate in all it teaches; strongly agrees they have a personal responsibility to tell other people their religious beliefs; strongly agrees that their religious faith is very important in their life; strongly disagrees that anyone can earn their way into Heaven through good behavior; strongly disagrees that Jesus Christ committed sins when He was on earth; and believes that God is the all-powerful, all-knowing perfect creator of the universe who rules the world today. (Barna 1996a, 4.4, n.)

Among U.S. teens, thirty-one percent of AFAMs could be classified as born again, as could thirty-five percent of White teens (Barna 1996b, 9). Nevertheless, Black orthodoxy is such as would raise the expectation of their *not* being under-represented, among IC missionaries. The supporting belief system seems to be in place, and they are religiously active, but the missiological consequences of orthodoxy seem to have been aborted. Or is Christianity more a culture-religion among African Americans, on the order of being "a mile wide and an inch deep"? In support is the Barna finding that while only ten percent of pastors (N=400) of AFAM

churches agreed with the statement, "Most of the people in your church believe that there is no such thing as absolute moral truth," of *churched* AFAM adults, sixty-three percent believed this: "[There is]? no such thing as absolute truth; two people could define truth in totally different and conflicting ways, but both could still be correct" (Barna 1997, 15). Barna's survey of AFAM teens found that sixty-five percent believed this (Barna 1996b, 5-6). Seventy-five percent of *churched* AFAM adults (N=552) believed,

When it come to morals and ethics, each person must decide for themselves [*sic*] what is right and wrong; there are no absolute standards that apply to everybody in all situations. (Barna 1997, 15)

Of AFAM teens, eighty-three percent attest to this relativism (Barna 1996b, 5). The pastors here estimate their congregations to be more conservative than they report themselves to be. This epistemological and ethical relativity potentially undermines *all* issues of Christian doctrine and mission.

Jacobson, testing more concrete measures of consequentiality, wrote:

Despite the higher belief orthodoxy scores of the blacks, whites are more likely to indicate that religion affects friendship, politics, leisure activities, family relationships and job performance. Whites average 25.7 percentage points higher on these items. The clear

suggestion from these data is that, to paraphrase Stark (1972:490), race differences in piety are of kind, rather than degree. (Jacobson, Heaton, and Dennis 1990, 261)

However, Blacks considered holding a position in the church to be consequential, and thirty-six percent held office, compared with twenty-four percent of Whites (Jacobson, Heaton, and Dennis 1990, 265). Perhaps holding office is a means of giving honor to one-another—respect not as much received from the majority culture. This “difference in kind” seems to include the relative minimization of IC missions. One question which gauges both orthodoxy and missionary motivation has to do with whether or not Jesus represents the only way to salvation, and SQ 43 asks it. The supposition is that of a strong agreement that Christ is the only way to be saved, since the level of such orthodoxy in general is so high. What does motivate AFAMs to become IC missionaries?

AFAM Church Summary

In summary, several trends emerge. First, the AFAM church, while still the center of social life and source of a sense of well being and safety for most in the AFAM community, has grown more liberal within the past decade. Careful demographic studies have shown a decline in the level of orthodoxy in AFAMs since 1989. If forty-five percent are

currently born again, according to Barna, leaving fifty-five percent who are not, this fits the data from AFAM pastors that forty percent of their churches are liberal. In 1987, seventy-two percent of Blacks said that they attended church (Gallup 1989, 123). If about forty-five percent are regenerate, approximately twenty-five to thirty percent of AFAM church-attendees are not, assuming that all the regenerate attend church. If some do not, due to age and other factors, the percentage of unsaved in church is higher.

Pastors express a very strong desire to evangelize and serve their local communities, probably in response to a perception of the spiritual needs in the AFAM community, but seem to have, in general, little global vision. Eight percent expressed any near-term interest in "missions," as cited above. Since they are church gatekeepers, without their willingness, little can be done within the local AFAM church in any area, and little hope is seen for IC missions.

It seems to be a church inwardly focused, understandable in origin, and consonant with a posture of being the truly needy. The Theology of Survival/Security (Endurance-Providence) is prominent, which again focuses upon receiving.

The inward focus would explain as well the near absence of foreign missions vigor. While the level of orthodoxy is comparable to that of Whites, the consequences of this orthodoxy do not seem to overcome ethnocentricity, by focusing upon the needs of other cultures.

Missionary Motivations

Highly orthodox Christian beliefs would likely be associated with high missionary motivation, if missions theology, beyond basic doctrine, is taught and believed in church. Knowledge is essential in the formation of convictions, particularly those that have the potential to separate a person from everything familiar and "safe." Knowledge, however, is insufficient of itself, as this study of African Americans illustrates. With an extremely high level of orthodoxy, even if in decline, as an ethnic group, little IC missiological consequence is seen. As Paul Hiebert has noted, Pietists and Moravians acted upon their orthodoxy, while little missiological fruit issued for well over two centuries from the Reformation denominations (Hiebert 1998a). Pietists, a cognate of "piety," had a "heart" religion.

Francis Schaeffer had a brilliant explanation for that abortion of missionary zeal, when he wrote in 1958:

The Roman Catholic Church had come to teach the *wrong* doctrines. And I feel that most of the Reformation then let the pendulum swing and thought if only the *right* doctrines were taught that all would be automatically well. Thus, to a large extent, the Reformation concentrated almost exclusively on the "teaching ministry of the Church." In other words almost all the emphasis was placed on teaching the right doctrines. In this I feel the fatal error had already been made. *It is not for a moment that we can get anywhere until the right doctrines are taught. But the right doctrines merely assented to are not an end in themselves, but should only be the vestibule to a personal and loving communion with God. . . .*

Personally I believe church history shows that as this basic weakness in Protestantism developed into a completely dead orthodoxy, then liberalism came forth. Thus, the solution is not to intellectually and coldly just shout out the right doctrines and try to shout down the false liberal doctrines. It is to go back to a cure of the basic error. It is to say "yes" to the right doctrines, and, without compromise, "no" to the wrong doctrines of both Romanism and liberalism--and then to commit our lives to the practical moment by moment headship of Christ and communion of the Holy Spirit. (Dennis 1985, 71)

Jesus told us to pray for laborers for the spiritual harvest fields (Matthew 9:38; Luke 10:2). Those under His "practical moment by moment headship" will respond. God must thrust out laborers, and the best recruitment is done in private prayer. God alone can overcome the multitudinous impediments to motivating, equipping, supporting and sustaining missionaries of whatever ethnic origin. Yet since God presumably is at work, because such prayers have been

prayed, prospecting for patterns and trends in this research is not unspiritual.

Psalm 68:31 ("Envoys will come from Egypt; Cush will submit herself to God." NIV) was a motivating verse for Blacks and Whites to evangelize Africans toward the close of the 1700s (Salzman, Smith, and West 1996, 1:1815). Williams found missionary motives of AFAM IC missionaries to be much the same as for Whites, near the beginning of the 1900s (Williams 1982, 131).

James Pressley articulated in poetry his own motives. He served under the Black Foreign Mission Convention as a missionary to Liberia from 1883 until 1885, when sickness forced his return to America. In his poem, "The Cry of the Heathen" he wrote:

In this land we have our Jesus,
 Who will save us when we die;
 When we leave this world of trouble
 We shall live with Him on high.
 But they know no God of mercy,
 Who will hear them when they pray;
 There they have no loving Jesus,
 Who will take their sins away.
 (Jacobs 1993, 19-20)

The Baptist John Day, sent to Liberia in 1845, and thankful to preach to the "heathen," wrote on November 17, 1853 that it was imperative that the unconverted admit to

being a lost sinner and become "a penitent seeker after salvation" (Martin 1982, 68). Williams found two motives operating:

By 1935, when Moton [2nd president of Tuskegee Institute after Booker T. Washington] resigned, the scale and scope of Afro-American missionary contact with Africa had grown, but the underlying motivations remained constant, the idea of religious regeneration and modernization along Western lines. (Williams 1982, 222)

These dual motives are understandable, even if Westernization would not be openly espoused today. The scientific and technological benefits of Western culture a century and a half ago would appear overwhelmingly helpful when gazing upon tribal peoples--many of whom probably were candidates for medical attention. Lott Carey's motives, again dual, were self-expressed: "I long to preach to the poor Africans the way of life and salvation" (Seraile 1972, 198). These motives were fairly common among missionaries of, at least, those times.

What of these times? Survey question 8 probes into two possible specific motivations: first--short-term mission trips, and if so, to where; second--the influence of some individual, and if so, the relationship to that individual. A third part of SQ 8 is open-ended, to list other motivations.

Both named motivations were expected to be mentioned frequently by respondents.

Racial Affinity

Historically, Blacks have ministered primarily to other Blacks. Interculturally, they have gone particularly to West, Central and South Africa, as well as to the Caribbean. Would appealing to racial affinity induce more Black candidates?

Sylvia Jacobs gave historical perspective:

Many African Americans accepted the contemporary [*circa* 1850] theory of "providential design," the idea that Blacks had been brought to America for slavery so that they might be Christianized and "civilized" to return to Africa with the light of "civilization." Basically, African Americans endorsed the Western image of Africa as a "Dark Continent." (Jacobs 1993, 10)

Edward Blyden, a Liberian citizen of the 1800s, urged AFAM emigration to his country.

He argued that such emigration had a direct mandate from God. Their sojourn in slavery was providential, according to Blyden, in that it prepared them to return to Africa and spread "Christianity and civilization" among their African kin. (Shick 1982, 47)

According to Jacobs, Blacks have had special concern for their homeland:

Black Americans also supported mission work in Africa, believing that this religious and cultural exposure would help make the continent more acceptable to the world.

Neither the Black masses nor their leaders have ever forgotten their ancestral homeland. . . . (Jacobs 1993, 10)

Robert Gordon noted:

Negro evangelization of Africa was based on the belief that Afro-Americans were obligated to return to redeem Africa because of: racial affinity, providential preparation, special adaptation, and divine command. (Gordon 1973, 269)

Donald Ro commented on the affinity of Black denominational leaders to working with Africans:

To major black church leaders, like African Methodist Episcopal Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and National Baptist Convention founder William W. Colley, the African mission field was obviously a special "black man's burden." This was work that Afro-Americans were (in Colley's words) "most sacredly called to do." (Roth 1982, 32)

Williams saw this affinity from a different angle:

The fact that the black churches, especially the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) and the National Baptist Convention (NBC), sent their missionaries to black-populated nations reflects their race pride. (Williams 1982, 132)

In a large (N=2,107), carefully selected national sample of Blacks, Michael Thornton and Robert Taylor found that, "US blacks hold a strong affinity with blacks in Africa" (Thornton and Taylor 1988, 146). Men, older persons, the economically marginal, the less educated and the rural showed a significant, strong affinity to Africans. That lower income and less-educated persons had closer feelings toward Africa

contradicted earlier studies (Thornton and Taylor 1988, 146).

Thornton theorized,

In the more general area of racial group identity, blacks who have not gained access to the valued social goods of education and income remain less assimilated to mainstream values and retain a strong race consciousness. (Thornton and Taylor 1988, 147)

Missiologically, then, (1) the least fit for missionary service, by current educational standards, are those most favorable to Africa, and (2) other cited research shows that young, urban, Black males (YUBM) in the ghetto, or "hood," have the strongest racial identity, and poorest attitude toward Whites. The higher the economic and educational level of urban Blacks, the better the attitude toward Whites (Thornton and Taylor 1988, 141).

Racial Affinity and Westernization

In Walter William's study of sixty-eight African students in America near the turn of the century, he found that Afro-Americans received most cordially those Africans most Westernized.

What does seem to distinguish the ethnic relations of the two groups, more than any other factor, is the degree of Westernization of an African. The greatest evidence of favorable reactions by Afro-Americans came from those students who had already been exposed to Anglo-Saxon education and culture. Their intellect and refinement, in Western norms, surprised and impressed black Americans who

had only heard negative comments about African "savagery."
(Williams 1980, 236)

This attitude is reflected in AFAM IC mission history.

Most missionary efforts for the first forty or fifty years of the black Baptist presence in Liberia were directed toward the colonists rather than toward indigenous inhabitants. One factor contributing to this situation was the language and cultural differences between the two groups. (Martin 1982, 70)

Williams noted ethnocentrism among Whites and Blacks:

Black missionaries were not as ethnocentric as white missionaries, but they did condemn indigenous African cultures as inferior. However, once African persons were Westernized, the Afro-Americans dropped their negativism and accepted them as equal brethren in Christ. (Williams 1982, 132)

Williams concluded with a principle of ethnic relations, which posits culture over race:

In terms of ethnic relations, this case study demonstrates that cultural identity and mutual advantage is more important than race itself, in fostering close relations. The mere fact that Africans were the same skin color was not enough, by itself, to produce a feeling of identity by black Americans. It was a similar cultural world view, held by the Westernized Africans, which paved the way for unity. (Williams 1980, 241)

His theory is supported by the experience of some AFAM missionaries in Africa. Africans will call them "White" if their behavior is similar to Western Whites, despite racial affinity. One missionary wrote:

It was rather amusing to me personally to find that the mass of the native people in our section of Belgian Congo disregarded the color of the Negro missionary for the most

part and considered them as being white men. I could not discover any advantage or disadvantage attached to the color of the Negro missionary; (Roesler 1953, 92)

In fact, AFAM IC missionary Leslie Pelt wrote:

Because of the Nigerians' expectations, if a black missionary is a cultural imperialist and has little appreciation of the national way of life, he or she will be ostracized twice as quickly and much more severely than a white person who behaves the same way. (Pelt 1989, 33)

Will the increasing Westernization of Africa foster more Afro-American missions involvement, or will economic disparities foster a sustained level of social distance between all Western missionaries and Africans? Thomas Sowell has compared race and economic inter-relationships worldwide. Sowell found that, ". . . social acceptance seems to be correlated with economic success, both at a given time and historically," as demonstrated in recent decades by interracial marriages and residential mobility in America (Sowell 1983, 188). This is the teaching of Proverbs, where economic disparity outweighs friendship and even kinship (19:4, 7). Not only cultural affinity, but economic status outweighs the factor of a similar racial background.

Racial affinity was also demonstrated in AFAM mission giving. Will Black churches more readily support Black missionaries than White missionaries? The answer seems to be

tentatively affirmative, if for no other reason than to help the few who attempt to become missionaries. Whites have a much larger support base, potentially, due to relative White affluence.

AFAM IC Missionary Role Models

Exposure to AFAM missionary role models, when available, has been effective. AFAM missionary to the Congo Sheppard, near the turn of this century, is an example:

The most direct evidence of Sheppard's influence on black Americans, besides their offers of monetary contributions, was represented by those [four] blacks who volunteered to return with him to the Congo as missionaries. (Williams 1982, 143)

Williams [who is Black] had these things to say about AFAM missionaries of the decades straddling 1900:

They tended to be individuals who had a strong sense of social duty to helping others, and this sense of duty was focused on mission work because of their intense religious upbringing. Many of the missionaries received their interest from the example of other missions advocates, who spoke at their churches or schools. (Williams 1982, 131)

Hughley quoted Loritts to say,

We may be seeing just the tip of the iceberg in the growth of the Black vision for missions. We have not produced the type of [Black] heroes to serve as role models; but this may begin to change! (Hughley 1983, 60)

Whether or not such role models have influenced our population is tested by SQ 8b.

Who Will Be the Missionary?

Demographically, the most probable missionary candidates--young male adults--are least likely to be religiously involved. Robert Taylor analyzed data from the National Survey of Black Americans (1979-80) to determine correlates for non-participation in religious affiliation. Four dependent variables were used: (1) "current religious affiliation"; (2) whether respondents had ever gone to church since the age of eighteen, except for weddings or funerals; (3) how often they prayed; and (4) how religious respondents perceived themselves to be (Taylor 1988b, 130). As predicted, those with no religious affiliation, youths, males, and those living in areas other than the South were least likely to be affiliated.

Regarding those never attending religious services:

Respondents with lower levels of income, education, younger persons, and men are more likely to be religious service non-attenders than their counterparts. Among the marital status groups, never married respondents are more likely than those who are married, whereas widowed respondents are less likely than married respondents to be non-attenders. (Taylor 1988b, 131)

Incredibly, of those with no religious affiliation, forty-one percent claimed to pray daily, and forty-eight percent of those *never* attending church made the same claim.

Only about ten percent of Blacks were non-affiliated and non-attenders (Taylor 1988b, 132-33). These data demonstrate that the least churched Blacks are likely to be found in inner city ghettos, particularly in areas other than the South.

Several studies seem to point to a trend that AFAM church attendance rises with education, and income. These phenomena may be due to economic "lift," with Christian conversion (Campolo, 1986, 36).

Michael Welch's analysis of Gallup survey data from 1971-72 (N=1,516) resulted in these findings for three independent variables:

It appears overall differences in educational level, occupational attainment, and gross annual income between black non-affiliates and church affiliates (black Protestants and black Catholics combined) are slight [in the direction of non-affiliates being higher]. (Welch 1978, 293)

Leonard Beeghley, Ellen Van Velsor and W. Wilbur Bock (1981) found a mixed pattern. Previous empirical studies showed that higher SES (socio-economic status) is positively correlated with higher religiosity among Whites, while the relationship is inconclusive among Blacks (Beeghley, Van Velsor, and Bock 1981, 403). Qualitative studies have also shown inconsistency between SES and religiosity among Blacks. Findings also varied among denominations. Black Baptists showed no

significant relationship between SES and church attendance, but the relationship was positive among Whites (Beeghley, Van Velsor, and Bock 1981, 406). However, SES and attendance were positively related among Black (and White) Methodists and Roman Catholics (Beeghley, Van Velsor, and Bock 1981, 407). Gallup found that fifty-two percent of Blacks identify themselves as Baptist (Gallup and Castelli 1989, 124).

In a study of correlates of religious participation in 1988, Taylor again analyzed data from the National Survey of Black Americans, taken from interviews (N=2,107).

The major findings were not surprising:

Age, education, gender, marital status, urbanicity, and region all exhibited significant relationships with church membership, while income bordered significance. . . . Respondents who have higher incomes, more years of education, and are older have a greater likelihood of being church members than their counterparts. (Taylor 1988a, 120)

Concerning church attendance, but not membership:

With reference to gender, women indicate attending religious services more frequently than men. Among marital status groups, divorced, separated, widowed, and never married all indicate attending religious services less frequently than married respondents. Both age and education are positively related to church attendance, such that *increasing age and level of education* [my emphasis] are predictive of more frequent attendance. (Taylor 1988a, 118-119)

In addition, Blacks in the South and rural Blacks attend church more than do urban Blacks, when frequency of possible services to attend is considered (Taylor 1988a, 119). Higher SES levels positively correlated with higher church attendance. Interestingly, older Blacks participate in more spiritual disciplines, and rural Blacks attend more possible services than do urban Blacks, probably due to the sharing of pastors by several small churches. Welch's analysis of Gallup survey data from 1971-72 (N=1,516) *generally* agreed with Taylor (Welch 1978, 290).

Motivational Summary

Common ancestry has fostered an affinity between AFAMs and Africans. Africa has been the preferred destination of most AFAM overseas work. The more Westernized the Africans, the more AFAMs have seemed to be willing to identify with them. The strongest affinity appears to be felt by the less educated and lower income AFAMs. Short-term trips to Africa may be an effective gateway into other IC ministries.

The trend seems to be that the better educated and socially placed attend church and/or are church members more frequently. Attendance also increases in a linear manner with age (Taylor 1988b, 136). Since religious participation

increases with age, perhaps older adults can be more successfully motivated to participate in short and long-term missions, or could support the younger members on the field. So the most powerful in the Black community are likely to be in church, as well as the best-educated and most promising mission candidates. Why then is there not more powerful backing for missions?

AFAM Giving

A rare but simple index to spirituality is giving. Jesus said, "For where your treasure is, there your heart will be also" (Matthew 6:21; Luke 12:31, NIV). Conversely, where treasure is not, neither is the heart.

Giving to Missions and "The Image of the Limited Good"

George Foster defined a people's "cognitive orientation" (or worldview) as:

an un verbalized, implicit expression of their understanding of the "rules of the game" of living imposed upon them by their social, natural, and supernatural universes. (Foster 1965, 293)

He distinguished between a *description* of that worldview and a theoretical *model* based upon it, which model (1) accounts for most observed behaviors, and (2) enables accurate predictions

of behavior (Foster 1965, 294). If Foster is correct, then what is the core value of African American people, which can predict the behavior of having very few intercultural missionaries? This question will be addressed at the conclusion of this chapter. The operational question can be found in the following way, in Foster's words,

We can view the search for a cognitive view as an exercise in triangulation. Of each trait and pattern the question is asked, "Of what implicit assumption might this behavior be a logical function?" When enough questions have been asked, the answers will be found to point in a common direction. The model emerges from the point where the lines of answers intersect. (Foster 1965, 295)

"How can these behaviors be logical, from an emic, African American perspective?"

The "image of the limited good," although not verbally articulated by any of the Tzintzuntzan Indians of Mexico, explained puzzling phenomena in social relations and folklore (Foster 1965, 297). Foster defined the core value:

By "Image of the Limited Good" I mean that broad areas of peasant behavior are patterned in such fashion as to suggest that peasants view their social, economic, and natural universes--their total environment--as one in which all of the desired things in life such as land, wealth, health, friendship and love, manliness and honor, respect and status, power and influence, security and safety, *exist in finite quantity and are always in short supply*, as far as the peasant is concerned. Not only do these and all other "good things" exist in finite and limited quantities, but in addition *there is no way*

directly within peasant power to increase the available quantities. (Foster 1965, 296)

The only sanctioned wealth was that attained from *outside* the community--through working outside the village or through a patron or "luck" in a lottery (Foster 1965, 308-309). None of these wealth sources would deplete "limited" local reserves. But if wealth came from one's own efforts within the community, customs such as sponsoring parties had the effect of distributing that wealth to other community members. Do AFAM missionaries feel more comfortable going to AFAMs than to those *outside* the AFAM community for support, and what percentage of their support comes from the AFAM community? These are two queries posed to AFAM missionaries in SQ 18 and 19. A value of less than 2.5 is expected for SQ 18, and a mean value of less than fifty percent is expected in SQ 19.

Do African Americans have a sense of "limited good"? Chattanooga pastor Johnson, speaks of a "crab bucket" mentality in the Black community. A lid is not needed on a bucket of crabs. Just as soon as one crab inches up, the others pull him down. If funds coming to the Black church are perceived to come simply from the Black or White community, funds are indeed finite in quantity. For example, some local Black pastors in Chattanooga were concerned by the coming of

Tony Evans, of The Urban Alternative ministry, into the Black community in 1990 for fear that his organization would siphon away local church funds.

If finances come from God, His wealth is infinite and we live in an "open" system, into which God may inject His largess at will. God doubled Job's resources after his trials (Job 42:10) and created abundant wine at the wedding at Cana (John 2:8). He, the unchanging One, is able to do this for Christians today (2 Corinthians 9:10-11).

Foster in 1965 also mentioned that *status* and *prestige*, as well as wealth, were considered to be limited. Tom Jones, an AFAM who earns two million dollars annually as vice chairman of Travelers Group, Inc. insurance company has this perspective:

For most ethnic groups, success in the corporate world is automatically celebrated by the community. But among African-Americans, he says, success is often met with attacks like, "You must have sacrificed your principles." (Kaufman and Raghavan 1997, A10)

In the same *Wall Street Journal* article, Ed Jones, who is a business consultant and Tom's brother, said:

"Tom wears a lot of masks," says Ed. "He's learned to be nonthreatening, to win acceptance by others. Even now, he cannot act as an African-American. If he were to act in any way other than a mainstream white executive, or if he showed partiality to other African-Americans, there would be organizational chaos."

Tom, told of his brother's remarks, stiffens and responds: "That's a stupid statement. It says that if you succeed, you must have given up your blackness. That's the very attitude we're trying to change in black kids. I am a message of hope. I'm very successful. And I'm very black. (Kaufman and Raghavan 1997, A1)

As has been shown, support exists for the proposition that higher SES Blacks, if not higher-income Blacks, attend church, compared with non-attendees. Jacobson found in his study of 456 Blacks in Muncie, Indiana that only forty-three percent of church attendees gave more than \$5.00 per week (Jacobson 1992, 219). Yet seventy-seven percent of these respondents agreed that everyone should be converted to Christianity. Faith does not seem to issue in the work of supporting or extending the church. How can churches survive with fifty-seven percent giving \$20.00 or less per month, let alone support missions programs? Of a small group of thirty clergy interviewed by Talbert O. Shaw, "73% of those interviewed are either in debt paying off mortgages, or are planning the construction of new church buildings" (Shaw 1973, 46). Church debt competes for funds.

What does the example of the poor Macedonian Christians (2 Corinthians 8) have to say to the *de facto* AFAM missiological stance? That church gave out of deep poverty, since (1) God imparted grace, v. 1, (2) they had given

themselves fully to God, v. 5, and (3) God burdened them with a specific need, v. 5. God is the unlimited source from which we may freely give (2 Cor. 9:10-11).

Past AFAM Support of IC Missions

Financing missions has historically challenged the AFAM church. According to Sylvia Jacobs, John R. V. Morgan, who was an African Methodist Episcopal missionary to Liberia in 1856, returned home due to lack of AME financial support. In 1897 John Richard Frederick, missionary to Sierra Leone, switched to the British Wesleyan Methodist Church, due to lack of AME "moral and financial support" (Jacobs 1993, 12). Andrew Cartwright, an African Methodist Episcopal Zion missionary in Liberia, could not sustain a church begun in 1886 at Cape Palmas, due to lack of funds. R. A. Jackson, missionary to South Africa, withdrew from the National Baptist Convention in 1898 due to lack of NBC support. Jacobs wrote, "The paucity of financial resources of the LCC [Lott Carey Convention] and NBC tended to limit their missionary activities in Africa" (Jacobs 1993, 14, 20, 21). She also stated, "Black boards had fewer missionaries stationed in Africa than White boards because less financial

resources were available for mission support" (Jacobs 1993, 22).

An attempt was made, between the [White] Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church, for the former to provide funding and the latter to provide personnel (Jacobs 1993, 15). The idea languished from 1906-1914. By 1922, CME bishops could state:

We wish to say, with all emphasis, that we are in thorough sympathy with [the idea of missions], but we do not see where we can get men and money for such an enterprise at this time, when other older and better equipped churches find it a trying task to foster the missions which they have projected in that land [Africa]. (Jacobs 1993, 17)

The perceived efficacy of the CME to raise funds or volunteers was quite low. Lack of financial resources was a perceived reason for a lack of missionaries.

Latourette wrote:

The total financial contributions for [Black mission] support were insignificant. *In proportion to their income* [my emphasis], the Negro churches contributed only about one-fifteenth as much to foreign missions as did the white churches [early 20th century]. (Latourette 1970, 363-364)

A survey of Negro Baptists around 1950 found that most of 300 AFAM missionaries received allowances of half to a third that of White missionaries in Africa (Roesler 1953, 63).

Home missions were also influenced.

Perhaps because they did not have ready access to white philanthropy, urban black Baptist congregations were slower to adopt the ambitious social programs of the institutional church model [early 20th century]. (Luker 1984, 109)

Contemporary AFAM Giving: Individuals

The support of Western missionaries represents sizeable annual financial outlays. If funds are not there, neither will missionaries be there. Is the dearth of AFAM missionaries a relatively straightforward reflection of inadequate financial support? AFAM giving is considerably less in real dollars and less also proportionate to income, than giving in the White community. According to the Old Testament biblical standard of giving a tithe (which means "tenth," Deuteronomy 14:22-29), neither ethnic group is even reasonably close, but it gives some, though very imperfect, real-world comparison. Larry Burkett, founder of Christian Financial Concepts, Inc., has noted often that the tithe is the least that God ever requested of His people.

The question to be settled is whether or not AFAM personal income is sufficiently large to expect greater giving to the church and to missions. Also, is it simply unfair to compare AFAM with White giving because of too great a disparity of income between them?

A Gallup Organization poll was administered in 1990 to 2,727 adults eighteen years of age and older. While the sample was weighted to be representative of the adult U.S. population, no explicit claim was made to be racially representative. The following statistics were derived from Table 2.17, "Demographic Characteristics of Respondents and Their Contributions to Religious and Other Charities: 1989 (Average Contributions of All Households and as Percentage of Income by Groups)" (Hodgkinson 1990, 41). Average income for "White and other" races was \$31,147.00 and for "Black" was \$25,780.00, which reflects an actual income disparity.

As a *percentage of income*, giving to all charities was listed as 2.0 percent for Whites (\$775.00) [mathematically this is actually 2.5%] and 1.4 [mathematically 1.5] percent (\$397.00) for Blacks, so Black giving is less, but not substantially, as a *proportion* of income. Blacks, however, gave a greater percentage of those contributions to religious charities--a point which will shortly explain total Black church income. Seventy-three percent of total Black giving (\$289.00) was to "religious charities," while sixty-six percent of total White giving (\$405.00) was to that category.

So, less than two percent of income is spent by AFAMs on religious causes.

As a percentage of all Black household income of "contributing [my emphasis] households" (Table 2.5), or \$29,647.00, the same poll found giving by such Blacks to be 2.1 percent [mathematically 2.2 percent] of that figure, or \$653.00 (Hodgkinson 1990, 80). Those with a higher *percentage* of giving had a higher income, but the converse is not equally true. For example, giving of AFAM "Givers and Volunteers" with incomes of *under* \$20,000.00 was 3.5 percent of income and for those with incomes of \$40,000.00 or more, it was 2.1 percent (Hodgkinson 1990, 81).

The absence of AFAM financial resources for IC missions, then, is not the problem. The problem is the small percentage of income given, and possibly the apportioning of local church income. As will be seen under the following heading: "AFAM Contemporary Giving: Local Church," more money may reach the local AFAM church than does the local White church of a comparable size. The issue is priorities.

Interesting for two reasons is the finding that the "largest percentage increases in the proportion of households contributing from 1987 to 1989," from fifty-one to sixty-one

percent, was among Blacks (Hodgkinson 1990, 3). We may have reason for encouragement. However this still means that about forty percent of Black households give *nothing* to charity.

The mean income for Black households in 1993 was \$27,229.00 and the aggregate income of all Black *households* in 1993 was 307.2 billion dollars (U.S. Department of Commerce 1995a, Table 726). The U.S. Census Bureau reported that in 1994 the median income of 17,179,000 AFAM males and females twenty-five years old and over was \$14,569.00 (U.S. Department of Commerce 1995b, Table 9). That represents over 250 billion dollars of income, just for those twenty-five years old and older.

Compared with African nations such as Nigeria, Kenya and Ghana, these household and personal incomes represent a reasonable fortune. Nigeria in 1986 had a per capita income of \$760.00 (five percent of the U.S.), yet sent 2,959 missionaries in 1988 (Johnstone 1986, 323; Siewert and Kenyon 1993, 10). Kenya in 1986 had a per capita income of \$340.00 (two percent of the U.S.) and sent 2,242 missionaries in 1988 (Johnstone 1986, 265; Siewert and Kenyon 1993, 10). Ghana's 1986 per capita income was \$370.00, but 1,545 missionaries were sent in 1988 (Johnstone 1986, 190; Siewert and Kenyon

1993, 10). The lack of AFAM income does not seem to be the problem. The biblical stewardship of AFAM money is (3 John 1:5-8). Why are AFAM Christians not taught and challenged to give more for global Christian mission? Or are we encountering shallow Christianity?

AFAM Contemporary Giving: Local Church

The 1997 Barna research on AFAM church pastors revealed two amazing patterns. First, comparing AFAM and the average of all U.S. churches with the same number range attending services, AFAM pastors reported a total church budget substantially higher than the average U.S. church (U.S. church income reported in 1993). For churches of one hundred or less, the average AFAM budget was \$69,940.00, compared to \$44,375.00 for all U.S. churches. For an attendance of 101-200, the comparison was \$145,000.00 to \$91,667.00 for all churches, and for 200-plus it was \$313,215.00 for AFAM churches versus \$152,273.00--an astonishing spread (Barna 1997, 6). This pattern is probably a reflection of the higher proportion of charitable giving going to religious causes among AFAMs, reported above.

Averaging the three differences, the average income of all U.S. churches is only 58.4 percent that of AFAM churches.

For the first two size categories, it is 63.3 percent of AFAM church income. If these figures are correct, the local AFAM church does indeed have the finances to contribute substantially more to global missions.

Second, the AFAM church pastor's salary as a *percent* of the church budget is significantly less in the two lower attendance categories than that for all U.S. churches, resulting in a lower average salary. Incidentally, fully seventy-nine percent of the AFAM pastors claimed that their position was a paid, full-time position. One of the problems of the AFAM churches cited in the June 1996 symposium of AFAM church leaders, however, was a lack of full-time pastors (Barisic 1996, B2). Specifically, the average salary for one hundred members or less is \$21,111.00, compared with \$25,857.00 for all U.S. churches; \$23,684.00 versus \$33,710.00 for churches of 101-200 attendees; but \$43,809.00 versus \$32,049.00 for churches of over 200. The average for all AFAM churches is \$29,782.00, compared with \$32,049.00 for all U.S. churches (Barna 1997, 6). For churches of less than 200, it is possible that missionaries in search of support would further reduce, or be perceived to reduce, the percentage of income to the local AFAM church pastor. For global missions

to be a significant part of the AFAM local church budget, a significant re-ordering of church budget priorities is needed, so that the pastor's income is not further reduced while the Great Commission is vigorously funded.

An evangelical AFAM minister in the Chattanooga area, who was not able to change giving patters in the traditional denominational church he was called to serve (he has since started a growing missions-minded independent church), gave me a copy of his church budget for 1998. While the identity of the church is not revealed, the budget was between 115,000 and \$120,000, and the church had between 100 and 200 members. Here is a budget breakdown:

Table 2. 1998 Budget of a local African American church in Chattanooga

Church ministry to itself		65%
Church maintenance and building fund		26%
Emergency fund		4%
Funds going to those outside the church (detailed below)		5%
4.2 %	Funds for its denomination	
.4%	Negro College Fund	
.4%	Classic home missions	
0%	Global missions	
5%		
		100%

The self-absorption of this church is appalling. When less than \$1,000 was requested for a new evangelical ministry, headed by a Black incidentally, instead of adding that ministry to their giving, the money was taken from the only evangelical ministry they supported. Now more funds are allocated for kitchen help or for the copier than to all classic home missions outside their church combined. More was spent on a men's breakfast at the church than for either of the mission organizations. Here is antagonism toward even local evangelical missions, let alone global missions. In its

favor, the church gave a substantially larger proportion of total church income to its pastor than Barna's average.

While written almost thirty years ago, the observations of AFAM IC evangelists Howard O. Jones, of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association and Bob Hillis, formerly of Overseas Crusades, appear contemporaneous:

Harrison agrees with Jones that the Negro churches in America must awaken to their financial obligations to their missionaries. The small number of missionary recruits from the evangelical Negro churches is partially due, he feels, to the absence of a missionary program and vision in the church. But a good percentage of Harrison's support comes from Negro churches, large and small. He believes that if black Christians are given the right missionary exposure and are challenged with the opportunity they will respond generously and often sacrificially. (Hillis 1969, 24)

What does motivate AFAM churches to financially support AFAM missions? Survey question 6, which is open-ended, asks this question of missionaries. Expected are answers having to do with motivation originating with actual contact with AFAM missionaries and/or those so aspiring within their ranks. Also expected are answers surrounding the need for exposure of AFMA churches and pastors to IC missions and Christian stewardship principles (SQ 24, 28), as well as concerning a need for spiritual revival (SQ 39).

AFAM Contemporary Giving: Denominational Level

Historically, evidence exists that AFAM denominations have struggled to support IC mission. Roth, after surveying the background of AFAM missions in Africa, concluded:

The most significant factor contributing to the black mission movement's failure was financing. Foreign mission work was the most expensive church activity, and black congregations were uniformly poor. For example, while all three of the independent black Methodist churches (the Colored Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal, and African Methodist Episcopal Zion) raised funds to send important leaders to Africa early in the twentieth century, none was able to follow up with major mission activity. (Roth 1982, 35)

At the AFAM denominational level, although six major AFAM denominations belong to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., only one, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, reported its financial statistics within the past ten years to the National Council of the Churches publication, *Yearbook of American and Canadian churches* (1996). In 1994, the A.M.E.Z. Church had 1,020,842 "full or confirmed" members, making it the fifth largest AFAM denomination. Per capita giving by full members was \$70.43. Giving to "benevolences" was \$2.66 annually, representing four percent of total contributions. For contrast, the average per capita contribution of all forty-seven denominations reporting in 1994 was \$373.41, and \$79.50 for benevolences, which latter

figure represents twenty-one percent of total contributions (Bedell 1996, 259-260).

In distinction to "benevolences," a statistical sketch of mainline AFAM denominational mission activity reveals a disproportionately small overseas mission investment. The African Methodist Episcopal Church, Inc. reported 8,000 churches and 3,500,000 members in 1991 (Bedell 1996, 250). As of 1993, overseas ministry income was \$250,000.00, which represents *seven cents* per member for the year, if the membership did not decline substantially (Siewert 1993, 86). This represents a contribution of approximately \$31.25 per *church* per year for overseas missions, if the number of churches remained relatively constant. See table 2, "A Comparison of AFAM and White Denominational Per Capita and Per Church Giving" for statistics on five other AFAM denominations, with a rough comparison with three White denominations. For historical perspective, per-member contributions for four AFAM denominations are given, as reported by Roesler (Roesler 1953, 65). Due to inflation since 1951, overall giving has actually declined. Roesler dealt only with Black denominational giving.

If per capita giving in the AME Church in 1991 had remained constant for inflation since 1951, giving would have been 39 cents, not seven cents, which represents an amazing 82 percent decline in actual purchasing power (Friedman 1998). Similarly AMEZ giving in 1994 would have to have been 84 cents per capita--20 cents representing a precipitous decline of 76 percent, even considering the token amounts involved. The NBC, USA giving in 1992 would have to have been 51 cents to keep up with inflation, but was 40 cents, a 22 percent decline in giving in 41 years. These three major AFAM denominations are much less committed to CC giving and ministry in this decade than they were in 1951.

Again for perspective, out-of-pocket expenditures per "consumer unit" in 1993 for telephone costs was \$650.00 for "White and other" and \$719.00 for Blacks; for entertainment, \$1,734.00 for "White and other" and \$772.00 for Blacks; and for footwear was \$244.00 and \$292.00, respectively. In the same table "cash contributions" were (White and other) \$1,029.00 and (Black) \$436.00 (U.S. Department of Commerce 1995a, Table 718). The money spent in these categories greatly exceeds anything given for overseas missions. Thus a

"survival mentality" for many AFAMs appears to be anachronistic.

Table 3. A Comparison of Selected AFAM and White Per Capita and Per Church Denominational Overseas Ministry Income

Denomination	1993 Overseas Denomination Income	Giving/Year/Member () = member total year	Giving/Year/Church () = church total year
AFAM Denominations:			
African Methodist Episcopal Church	\$ 250,000.00 \$ 41,151.00 (1951)	\$ 0.07 (1991) \$ 0.06 (1951)	\$ 31.00 (1991)
A.M.E. Zion Church	\$ 51,000.00 \$ 60,000.00 (1951)	\$ 0.20 (1994) \$ 0.14 (1951)	\$ 81.00 (1994)
Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God	\$ 25,000.00	\$ 2.02 (1994)	\$ 156.00 (1994)
National Baptist Convention of America	\$ 143,051.00 \$ 43,525.00 (1951)	\$ 0.02 (1987)	\$ 57.00 (1987)
National Baptist Convention USA	\$ 3,265,802.00 \$ 300,000.00 (1951)	\$ 0.40 (1992) \$ 0.09 (1951)	\$ 99.00 (1992)
White Denominations:			
Presbyterian Church, USA	\$25,200,000.00	\$ 6.81 (1994)	\$2,211.00 (1994)
Christian & Missionary Alliance	\$18,106,800.00	\$59.87 (1993)	\$9,319.00 (1993)
Evangelical Lutheran Ch.- - America	\$28,858,141.00	\$ 5.55 (1994)	\$2,630.00 (1994)

Disparity in giving was noted by C. C. Adams, of the National Baptist Church, U.S.A., Inc., who wrote:

Our boast of more numbers than Northern Baptists, and of almost as many as Southern Baptists, hurts us seriously when the world measures the small amount of support given to our foreign work by the vast amount given by the Northern Baptist and Southern Baptist Boards to do their work. The contrast is so vast that the situation creates serious embarrassment to the executive officers of our Board. (Roesler 1953, 64)

The information in table 3 is not produced to ridicule or embarrass. Rather, unless this serious omission is documented and owned, no remedy will be sought.

The five AFAM denominations listed in table 3 represent approximately 16,400,000 AFAM members, if figures have been relatively constant in the past five years, for most of the churches cited (Bedell 1996, 250-54). The Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God is included for its higher giving level, and the White denominations reflect a wide range of theological persuasions. The estimated AFAM population, it will be recalled, is now approximately 33.9 million.

Therefore those five denominations alone represent about half of all AFAMs. Comparable figures were not available from denominations such as The Church of God in Christ and the Christian Methodist Episcopal Churches, which have an approximate combined membership of six million. The question

cannot be avoided whether or not the member churches are spiritually cold--the denomination overseas income simply reflecting this--or whether or not the denominational foreign mission agencies themselves represent an impediment to AFAM IC missions by failing to provide vision, challenge, adequate educational resources and spiritual leadership. The survey instrument asks for an evaluation of both the spiritual "coldness" of the local AFAM church and of the effectiveness of AFAM denominational mission agencies (SQ 39, 26).

Question 26 was stated assuming that the AFAM denominations are doing a good job. This is not the author's opinion, as might be gauged by table 3. Normally the SQs try to identify key problems, which is the purpose of this research, rather than confirming what works well. Not many components seem to be working well, legitimizing this research. However, due to consideration to some respondents who are members of such agencies, and to some AFAM denominational secretaries who were generous enough to share information, among other factors, the pattern was disregarded in this instance. Again, the greater problem might lie within the local church, with the agency reflecting that image. All these matters obviate the need for SQ 26.

In light of this section, AFAMs would seem to require a longer period in which to raise support than would White candidates. Question 10 asks whether or not this is true, and if so, how much longer it would take, on average (10b). A mean over .5 is expected (1.0 is the equivalent of "Yes"). A value in 10b of at least six months is anticipated.

The author has served as a missionary supported by a denominational agency for five years, and as one who has had to raise (or "lower") his financial support for twenty years. Because of significantly different exigencies and perspectives surrounding these modes of support, respondents are asked whether or not they raised most of their own support (SQ M). A mean value well above .5 was expected. However, the item was obtained to determine any significant correlations with Likert items, without specific outcomes in mind (i.e. "fishing").

Materialism and the AFAM

A strong case could be made that a primary value of Americans is things material. A simple index to this is the amount of total consumer debt owed, which stood at 1.229 *trillion* dollars in October 1997 (Christian Financial Concepts 1997a). This, of course, does not include first or second

home mortgages. Here is an index of how badly Americans want to own things for which they cannot or will not pay cash. Nationally, in 1997 the U.S. government overspent its income by an on-budget 22.6 billion dollars, which was the lowest deficit in twenty-three years, but the actual total deficit for the year, including off-budget items, was ninety billion dollars (Christian Financial Concepts 1997b). Perhaps it would be meaningless to maintain that AFAMs are more materialistic than other U.S. ethnic groups--something on the order of one zebra accusing another zebra of sporting too many stripes--but conversely, it would be hard to prove they are less. More meaningful to the present purpose, does AFAM materialism hinder AFAM IC missions? Whether or not materialism in the AFAM church is a strong factor in a failure to support AFAM IC mission involvement is the thrust of SQ 31. A strong affirmative response is expected.

The Barna random sample of 800 AFAM adults in 1996 and of the previously mentioned sample of AFAM teens, asked questions about "desirable life conditions." These percentage comparisons emerged: "have a comfortable lifestyle"--AFAM adults, eighty-one; AFAM teens, ninety-one; Whites [sampled in February 1993], seventy-four; "have a high-paying job"--AFAM

adults, sixty-three; AFAM teens, eighty-seven; Whites, forty; "own a large home"--AFAM adults, forty-three; Whites, twenty-seven (Barna 1996a, Table 2.2.2; Barna 1996b, 5). Sixty-four percent of AFAM teens agreed that, "the main purpose in life is enjoyment and personal fulfillment," compared with sixty-two percent of AFAM adults (Barna 1996b, 6; Barna 1996a, Fig. 2.1). Granted, part of the issue may actually be social status, or sensual fulfillment; nevertheless, homes and lifestyle include the material, and these items were more attractive to AFAM respondents.

Very possibly these Barna findings are simply a reflection of AFAMs trying to achieve what Whites and other ethnic groups, such as Asian-Americans, already have, and so is an attempt to reach parity. This may be granted. But a present materialistic focus is the issue, and whether or not it conflicts with (1) AFAMs going to the mission field, (2) financially supporting those who do.

Since the location of one's funds is an indication of the values of one's heart (Matthew 6:21), and if any points have been carried by the evidence within this section, one must then ask whether or not spiritual coldness in the AFAM church is a major factor in not supporting AFAM IC

missionaries (SQ 39). An answer strongly above a 2.5 mean is expected.

Inferences from Social Psychology

The areas of history, theology, religious social structure, missionary motivations, and demographics have been touched upon, as they relate to AFAM under-representation in IC missions. Now aspects of social psychology will be investigated.

African American Worldview

Anita Jackson and Susan Sears posited both an "Africentric" and a "Eurocentric" worldview (Jackson and Sears 1992, 185). In their construct, AFAMs have a "group orientation" and are cooperative, versus those with the contrasting Eurocentric worldview, characterized by "individualism" and "competition." Elucidating a true AFAM worldview is elusive, if such a perspective exists due to lack of acculturation into the larger society. Some attempts to describe such a worldview give an impression more of the bias and political agenda of the presenter than of objective reality. Toward making some contribution, respondents are asked the open-ended question if there is anything in the

worldview of African Americans under fifty which hinders AFAM IC mission (SQ 4). That age is arbitrarily selected. A group orientation, and attitudes which promote personal security are expected.

Group Orientation

If AFAMs are group oriented, since getting onto the "mission field" requires sustained individual effort, and if Blacks have a "group orientation," unless the local Black church is strongly behind the effort, there would be less likelihood of a Black missionary getting to the field than for a White. To what extent is the local Black church supportive of IC missions and missionaries?

Integration Point

In Jackson and Sears' study, "self-knowledge" is portrayed in this way:

Self-knowledge is the basis of all knowledge in the Africentric worldview. The individual is the expression of spiritual energy. According to Myers (1988), once one realizes who one really is, there is no external knowledge per se, only learning more about oneself. (Jackson and Sears 1992, 186)

Whether or not intended, this view corresponds to a monistic worldview, in which all is one; therefore, knowledge of any

part is knowledge of the whole. From a biblical perspective, most knowledge is understood to be external to self. This is also the assumption of physical sciences. The fact that the Bible is, is a witness that all knowledge worth having is not knowledge of "self." The book of Proverbs explicitly portrays the value of acquiring wisdom and knowledge not already possessed (e.g. 4:5, 7; chapter 8; 10:14; 18:15; 23:12). If indeed the knowledge of self is more highly valued in the Africentric worldview, is this inward focus a social-psychological aspect of ethnocentricity?

What would be needed, then, is a more biblical integration point. Eddie Lane, who has been an officer with the National Black Evangelical Association and Black Evangelistic Enterprise said, "create a church with a strong biblical theology and you will get a church with a [world] missions emphasis" (Hughley 1983, 17). Hughley adds, "Many Black churches of today have developed a more social-oriented Gospel, lacking in sound biblical teaching and preaching" (Hughley 1983, 17). On the ethnic-group level, do AFAM IC missionaries point to a focus upon the AFAM community that eclipses AFAM churches' interest in world missions?

In harmony with the Jackson and Sears' viewpoint, Montgomery, Fine, and James-Myers developed the Belief Systems Analysis Scale (BSAS) to test the "optimal" worldview, defined as Africentric, versus the "suboptimal" worldview, which was defined as Eurocentric (Montgomery, Fine, and James-Myers 1990, 41). The Africentric worldview was described as "holistic," "interpersonal," communalistic, experience-based, "diunital," with identity based on the "extended self." Again, the communal aspect is stressed.

The suboptimal worldview was one that emphasized a materialistic base that placed highest value on acquisition of objects and technology, believed to be the foundation of a racist/sexist mentality. When individuals see themselves as separate from the spiritual/material unity, they are supposedly more likely to judge others as different from self, and consequently, more prone to engage in discriminatory behavior (Montgomery, Fine, and James-Myers 1990, 39). Again, this Africentric view corresponds to monism. The claim that AFAMs are less materialistic than those with a European background has been examined.

Organizational Implications

Nsenga Warfield-Coppock analyzed the kind of organizational structure that would best fit the AFAM worldview. The Eurocentric model is described as control-oriented (over people and environment), and materialistic (Warfield-Coppock 1995, 33). This model is self-centered, profit-motivated, hierarchical, authoritarian, and highly competitive (Warfield-Coppock 1995, 34-35). Self is seen to be the source of knowledge, in contrast to Montgomery, Fine, and James-Myers' perspective that this is *Africentric*.

The Africentric organization is African in philosophy, emphasizing oneness, people [who are considered innately good], mutual support and collaboration, teams and democratic leadership [despite the tribal "big man" leadership style of probably most African chieftains] (Warfield-Coppock 1995, 34). African-Americans are portrayed to be highly spiritual and person-centered. The humanistic theme of the innate goodness of man in the Africentric model reveals the key anthropological supposition of this study. Conflict is avoided, and it is non-hierarchical, again curiously in contrast to African tribal society (Warfield-Coppock 1995,

38). These principles are traced back to the ancient Kemet civilization and based upon the teachings of Maat, a god of "truth, justice and righteousness." Thus a god is openly posited as the epistemological basis of this version of the Africentric worldview in the *Journal of Black Psychology*. Excellence is promoted through minimal individual "ownership" of the collective projects (Warfield-Coppock 1995, 39-40), in contrast to capitalism.

Within the European Enculturated (Eurocentric) model, people are seen as basically deficient, with a strong belief in God. Haile Selassie and colonial government are models of this kind of organization (Warfield-Coppock 1995, 43-44).

If very much in these models is correct, AFAMs in White IC organizations would feel highly uncomfortable in a White mission organization. To what extent are AFAM missionaries comfortable in White mission organizations (SQ 21 A, B)? A value expressing discomfort, or below the 2.5 mean, is expected for that question. Or are AFAM IC missionaries characterized by greater individualism (field independent) than most Blacks? Do they value the security represented by the more financially stable White mission organizations more than any other cultural difficulties?

Personal Efficacy/Locus of Control

Is one reason for the under-representation of AFAM IC missionaries attitudinal: the candidate's personal sense of being able to achieve the goal of becoming a missionary? The researcher who popularized the terms "internal-external control" supplies the definitions:

As defined by Rotter, internal control represents a person's belief that rewards follow from, or are contingent upon, his own behavior (Rotter, 1966). Conversely, external control represents the belief that rewards are controlled by forces outside himself and thus may occur independently of his own actions. (Gurin et al. 1969, 29)

Turner and Kiecolt elucidate the definition of "internal-external control" or "locus of control" as

. . . a learned and generalized expectancy that the outcomes of situations are either contingent on one's own behavior (internal) or controlled by external forces, such as luck, chance, fate, or powerful others. (Turner and Kiecolt 1984, 667)

Studies have shown Blacks to be more externally oriented than Whites, especially those of lower social status (Turner and Kiecolt 1984, 668).

Locus of Control/Risk Taking

Environmental risk literature is a window into locus-of-control feelings.

Turner and Kiecolt (1984) found that, when compared with Whites or Hispanic Americans, African-Americans reported a lesser sense of control over the potentially devastating consequences of a future major earthquake (i.e., more "fatalism"). . . . Differences between African-Americans and others were significant even after the influence of income and education was removed from these judgments. . . . African-Americans, in general, have been shown to have less of a perception of control over a variety of environmental circumstances when compared to Whites (e.g. Banks, 1988; Colasanto, 1988). (Vaughan and Nordenstam 1991, 48 [cf. Turner and Kiecolt 1984, 670])

This relative sense of lack of control is illustrated regarding cancer:

More than Whites, African-Americans have reported a lesser sense of control over the progression of cancer once the disease has been diagnosed (American Cancer Society, 1981), have greater perceptions of the severity of cancer and its potential to disrupt life activities (Price, Desmond, Wallace, Smith, & Stewart, 1988), and to a larger extent than either Whites or Hispanics have reported beliefs that self-protective actions (e.g. screening tests, self-protective equipment in occupational settings) generally are of limited effectiveness in preventing cancer (Michielutte & Diseker, 1982). (Vaughan and Nordenstam 1991, 48)

These research findings are strongly correlated with other studies showing Blacks to have a perceived lack of internal control, or the equivalent, a perceived lack of self-efficacy. Does this greater perception of risk impede Blacks from attempting to enter a strange culture as a missionary? The perception of risk both before missionary service and after service are requested in the survey (SQ 22, 23). Based

upon the research, a high perception of risk, a mean above 2.5, is anticipated. Similarly, a lower perception of risk in retrospect is expected (SQ 23), lower than in prospect (SQ 22). A variant to these questions is the respondents' perception of other AFAMs' perception of risk--such as physical and financial risks--being great enough to preclude mission involvement (SQ 36). Again, a mean above 2.5 is expected.

High Self Esteem/Low Self Efficacy

Black Americans have relatively high self-esteem, but a low sense of personal efficacy--that is, a sense of being able to accomplish goals, compared with Whites--two measures that are normally positively correlated (Hughes and Demo 1989, 132). M. Hughes and D. H. Demo, in a literature review, cited the following conclusions regarding adult Black self-esteem:

(1) quality of relationships with family and friends is positively related to self-esteem, (2) social contact with whites is generally unimportant to self-esteem, and (3) religious involvement is an important source of self-esteem. (Hughes and Demo 1989, 136).

To determine why Blacks have relatively high self-esteem and a sense of low personal efficacy, data was analyzed from the National Survey of Black Americans, in which 2,107 Blacks were interviewed face-to-face in 1979 and 1980.

Researchers found that "racial self-esteem is enhanced by black consciousness: system-blame, black identity, and black separatism" (Hughes and Demo 1989, 144). They found that, "the strongest influences on self-esteem among all respondents and among the currently employed are quality of family and friendship relations and religious involvement" (Hughes and Demo 1989, 146). Church attendees, if true, have the greatest chance for high self-esteem. They noted that "Personal self-esteem is generated in microprocesses in the black community that are insulated from institutional inequality" (Hughes and Demo 1989, 154). Interestingly, the researchers concluded that, "religious involvement and quality of family and friendship relations produce both strong black identity and high self-esteem. . . ." (Hughes and Demo 1989, 150).

High self-esteem has, then, little to do with relations with the White community. The author has found this to be true in the inner city, among those who seem not to have much contact with Whites.

As for self-efficacy,

The findings indicate that higher socioeconomic status, better-quality relations with family and friends, being male, and being older are related to a greater sense of efficacy. (Hughes and Demo 1989, 146)

AFAM IC missionaries, those pioneering in a difficult task, would likely, then, be found among strong families-of-origin, common to both high self-esteem and self-efficacy. Do the AFAM IC missionaries in this population come from families with good-quality relationships (SQ 41)? The obvious expectation is a value above 2.5.

Self Efficacy and Past Performance

Hughes and Demo concluded that past performance is associated with self-efficacy.

We interpret the strong association between social class variables and personal efficacy as support for Gecas and Schwalbe's (1983) hypothesis that the experience of effective performance is the most important factor in the development of personal efficacy. Discrimination in institutional life has largely relegated blacks to subordinate positions and excluded them from positions of power, resources, and contexts of action that afford individuals the best opportunities to experience themselves as powerful and autonomous. (Hughes and Demo 1989, 153)

Personal control is positively related to achievement such as "higher performance on tests of academic competence" (Gurin et al. 1969, 45). Success breeds success.

A number of studies of motivation and performance of Negro student populations suggest that Negro students, in comparison with whites, are less likely to hold strong beliefs in internal control; that social class and race probably interact so that lower-status Negroes particularly stand out as externally-oriented; that

internal control is a critical determinant of academic performance. (Gurin et al. 1969, 30)

Since past success breeds a strong sense of self-efficacy, AFAMs who have succeeded in becoming missionaries would likely have high grade point averages and higher levels of education. The most recent grade point averages of AFAM IC missionaries will be calculated to see if this indicator is present (SQ 42) and the mean of the levels of education attained (SQ L). On a four-point system then, the value of the G.P.A. would be over 2.0. The educational category is probably ordinal level data, so a mean will be given. Higher levels of education are expected. Conversely, one could have inferred from the same data that, unless they are highly motivated to the contrary, Blacks successful in the larger system may not choose the uncertain financial rewards of a career in missions.

Self Efficacy and Ideology

Patricia Gurin and others, in a seminal 1964 study found that among Black college students a difference arose between having a sense of *personal* control, and having an *ideology* which endorses personal effort as the means of effective action in society. While seventy-five to eighty

percent of the students endorsed a so-called "Protestant Ethic ideology,"

. . . when the questions were phrased in terms of what control they themselves had over their lives, many more (approximately 50 percent) answered in ways indicating some questioning of this sense of control. This difference in endorsement rates for ideological and personal questions also holds for the high school dropouts we studied in a job training program. (Gurin et al. 1969, 42-43).

Further, the authors maintain that the personal, rather than the ideological conviction, motivates to action (Gurin et al. 1969, 43). Those who have a high *personal* sense of control (self-efficacy) are more likely to arrive and stay on the mission field, since they would not believe such things are beyond their control.

An implication for research among Blacks was suggested. Questions should be phrased in terms of what is *personally* true for the person queried, rather than what that person believes to be generally true for others (Gurin et al. 1969, 44). This clarification was given in survey instructions.

Finally, the researchers found that those who indicated an external control orientation were those who also favored a collective, rather than an individual, solution to discrimination (Gurin et al. 1969, 47). Extrapolating, it

suggests that those who hold an internal orientation would not tend to rely upon others to get them to the mission field.

Self Efficacy and Political Efficacy

Political efficacy was surveyed in 1986 by the Joint Center for Political Studies/Gallup Organization. Political efficacy was defined as follows:

Internal political efficacy represents how well a person thinks he or she can understand and participate in politics. External political efficacy represents how responsive an individual thinks government institutions are to ordinary citizens' attempts to influence them. (Colasanto 1988, 46)

Regarding internal efficacy, the percentage of those having the lowest sense of personal control and making less than \$12,000.00 was fifty-five percent for Blacks and thirty-six percent for Whites (total N=868, Blacks; 916 Whites). For those making \$40,000.00 or more, it was twenty-six percent for Blacks and ten percent for Whites, showing significant, substantial differences. For external political efficacy, differences in the same directions were registered.

Politically at least, Blacks see themselves as able to achieve far less than Whites. Once again, higher SES levels are positively related to higher self-efficacy. Until a person

experiences economic success, the political process represents a greater threat than it does to Whites.

Personal Efficacy and System Blame

As expected, among those with a low sense of self-efficacy is a higher tendency to blame the "system." Comparing perceptions of racial hostility, a study by the Political Studies/Gallup organizations in 1984 showed that, in response to the proposition "Whites want blacks to get a better break," twenty-three percent of Blacks agreed, while forty-three percent of Whites agreed. To the statement "Whites want to keep blacks down," forty percent of Blacks agreed, compared with eighteen percent of Whites. Thus Blacks perceived that Whites tried to hinder AFAMs far more frequently than Whites (Colasanto 1988, 47). The level of trust required for a Black to apply to a White mission board, then, would be unusually high. Perhaps this trust is based upon fellowship in Christ.

In a 1987 Gallup poll, respondents were asked to identify from a list of six possibilities why "poor blacks have not been able to rise out of poverty" (Colasanto 1988, 49). Blacks tended to fix the cause outside of them far more than did Whites.

Cardell Jacobson's findings are supportive. Regarding locus of control, the percentage of Blacks endorsing the statement, "In the United States, if black people do not do well in life it is because: (1) they do not work hard or (2) they are kept back because of their race" was 25 percent and 60 percent, respectively (Jacobson 1992, 220). Similarly,

In this country, if black people do not get a good education or job it is because: 1. they have not had the same chances as whites in this country, [65 percent] or 2. they have no one to blame but themselves. [24 percent] (Jacobson 1992, 221).

Clearly, most Blacks blamed Whites for poor social outcomes.

Lincoln, who wrote *The Black church in the African American experience* (1990), is something of an institution among Black sociologists of religion. Concerning locus of control, Lincoln's viewpoint is clear, and extreme:

What you may not have seen is the fact that these people [black boys, girls, men and women in his novel *The avenue, Clayton City*] are powerless. You see, they have no defense, they are absolutely dependable [*sic*] upon the overculture for such quality of life as they have. (Ochillo 1990, 115)

Talbert Shaw, a Black minister, wrote:

With reference to race relations in this country, this dilemma presents itself in all of the demonic forms of racism which keeps blacks powerless and penniless. (Shaw 1973, 38)

Such attitudes represent the almost mutually exclusive perspectives of the Black and White communities, and extend into the Black church. Do AFAM IC missionaries have a "blame perspective" in open-ended survey questions (SQ 1-2, 40), where they might fix blame, or are they consciously change agents? Expected is a blame perspective, fixed upon the larger society.

A "bottom line" general sense of optimism or pessimism was sampled with SQ 13, which stated, "I think that a proportionately greater percentage of AFAM CC missionaries, compared with the total AFAM population, will enter the field in the future." Based upon the opportunities outlined under "A Moment of Opportunity for AFAM Missions" above, the author would expect a mean above 2.5.

Summary of Social Science Findings

Blacks appear to be oriented toward the group. Perhaps this offers the best chances for survival. But there is at the same time an emphasis upon the self.

Studies have shown that AFAMs appear to perceive outside risks as greater than do other ethnic groups in America. They appear to be somewhat fatalistic in this

regard. Do the missionaries generally believe that risks in mission service are great?

Those with a secure family background have both a strong sense of self-esteem and of self-efficacy. For the AFAM missionary to leave the AFAM culture, unusual internal strength is required, and so a secure family-of-origin would be expected. A high GPA, associated with strong self-efficacy, would also be expected.

If most AFAMs believe that they are controlled externally, which is the finding of studies cited in this section, this is one factor why so few African American missionaries exist. For a minority people, and a people controlled by over two centuries of slavery (Bennett 1982, 441)--having had for most of their history little control over the direction of the economic, educational, political, and social ship of state--such an orientation would be natural. The purpose here is simply to understand hindrances to AFAM missionary service. Survey question 30 tests the perception of missionaries as to whether or not perceived oppression in America hinders AFAM IC service. The expectation is a value well above the middle point.

Convincing evidence exists that lighter skin color gradations in America are associated with more favorable social outcomes.

In sum, it appears that skin tone has bona fide effects on such stratification outcomes as education, occupation, and income. In all cases, these effects are consistent with the idea that lighter skin complexions are associated with more favorable stratification consequences over an above those conferred by parental background and sociodemographic attributes. (Keith and Herring 1991, 773)

If gradations of skin color are so consequential in the U.S., would "blackness" be a hindrance in ministry to other nations? An outcome just above the middle point is expected for SQ 32, which asks for an evaluation of the perception of anti-AFAM racism worldwide such as would discourage AFAM IC missions. The missionary would rate the general AFAM population's perception of risk well above its own, is the assumption.

Demographic Survey Questions

A variety of demographic questions followed the main body of questions. Among the more important are years served in IC field ministry. An indicator of "success" in IC missions is length of service (SQ I), if for no other than financial, length-of-relationships, and host-culture acculturation issues. What attitudes in common do those with

longer service hold? Another information field, age range (SQ K), is interesting for the same reason. Of course, the gender of the respondent is requested (SQ J), to ascertain any gender-specific issues, such as perhaps perceptions of risk, which might be higher among female missionaries, as well as any other security-type issues.