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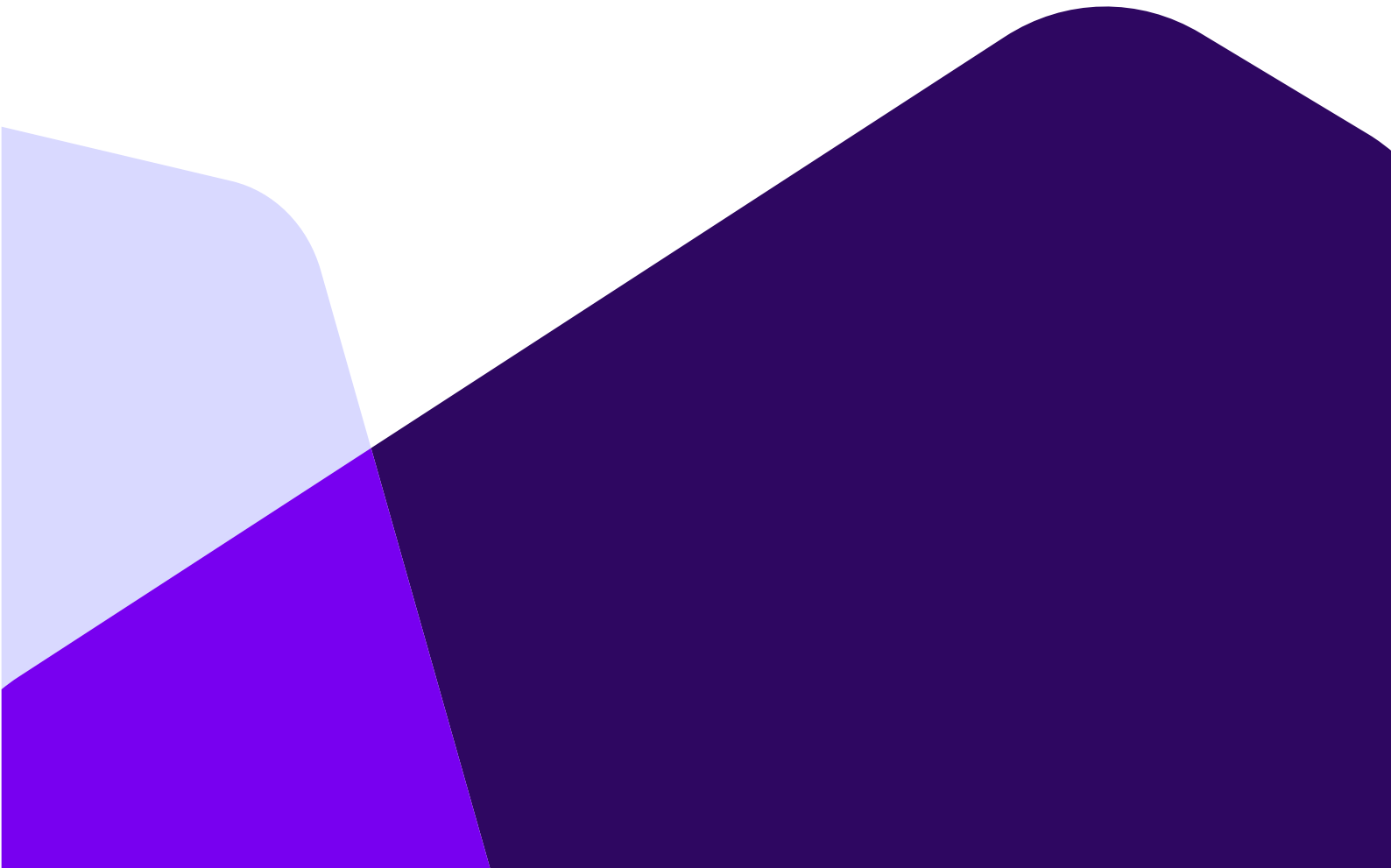
The Norwegian Pentecostal Mission and Indigenous Peoples in the Eastern Border Regions of Paraguay (1952–2015)

Disseminating Colonial Worldview and Adapting to Human Rights?



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This thesis is worth 45 study points.

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Abstract

This study examines the discourse of the Norwegian Pentecostal mission regarding Indigenous peoples in Paraguay through a period ranging from 1952 to 2015. It looks at how Indigenous groups were represented through the missionaries' writings in the Pentecostal journal Korsets Seier while placing it into its historical context. I am looking at their writings through a post-colonial lens, applying Marianne Gullestad's theoretical framework of "mission propaganda", which is directed at capturing tensions in text produced by missionaries within a cross-cultural context. The missionaries were, on the one hand, disseminating values and ideals in line with colonial ideologies, which are characterized by a dualistic way of dividing the world and its people, enforcing inequality and distance. On the other hand, the missionaries were preoccupied with the fact that, in the eyes of God, everyone was of equal value, and they emphasized equality and sameness as core values in their work as missionaries. Examining the complexity of the mission discourse from a historical perspective allows for noting changes and continuities. The mission dissemination of colonial binaries and division persists to some extent throughout the period but lessens as we progress towards our own time. Still, these divisions and binaries that characterized colonial discourse have been kept alive in both old and new forms through the development and human rights discourse. The religious dichotomy that represents the Christians and the heathens, which to some extent persists, has been supplemented with binaries of the developed and non-developed, those who need their human rights protected, and those who provide human rights, which leads to the representation of people in a certain way. However, the writing in the Pentecostal journal contains little that connects its work to human rights, although, as the development shows, there is tangible movement in that direction – whilst never totally disconnected from their evangelizing mission.

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1. Introduction

Christian mission has a long history that goes back to the early days of Christianity. From the early modern period, Christian mission has often been associated with and connected to the colonization of foreign territories. From the beginning of colonization in America, Christian mission was, in many ways, inseparable from the colonization of land. Christianity legitimized colonization and therefore became a significant tool in colonization of land and soul.[1] Towards the end of the 15th century, Portuguese and Spanish conquistadores began to introduce Christianity in what is today known as Latin America. The British and Dutch followed thereafter and spread their own versions of Protestantism into new parts of the world. Christian mission has taken many shapes and must be understood as part of the historical context. In this thesis, I will focus on the Christian mission within the Pentecostal movement that took place in the second half of the 20th century and continued into the 21st century. Before going further into the issue, I briefly introduce the Christian mission and how it has developed in the Norwegian context.

1.1. Christian Mission as a Colonial and Humanitarian Project

Norway was never a colonial power, but it was a part of the Danish Empire's expansion into foreign territories. The Danish Empire was smaller than the other colonial powers but had established colonies in Greenland, parts of the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia in the 17th and 18th centuries. These colonies also became affected by the Christian mission. In addition, private Norwegian actors engaged and invested in colonized land abroad.[2] Religious alignment and assimilation in creating national unity were key factors in the nation-building process following Norwegian independence from Denmark. This led to strong attempts to Christianize and assimilate the native Sami population in the North.[3] In this period, the mission was closely connected to getting control over land and a tool to create national unity.

[1] Rinkle 2015: 143–144
[2] Kjerland & Rio 2009: 5–8
[3] Myhre 2015: 65–66

It was seen as the state's responsibility to educate and civilize its subjects.[4] During the course of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, evangelical revivals in Britain and North America increased the protestant missionary work to non-Western people. An essential aspect of the mission was based on the idea of the mission as a civilizing mission and that it was a part of the West's duty to disseminate information, knowledge, and belief systems.[5] Patricia Grimshaw has shown tension in the mission project between "the arrogance bred of Western cultural imperialism"[6] and, on the other hand, concern for "human and civil rights".[7] In Norway, the first missionary organization was formed in 1842. This new wave of missions abroad in the second half of the 19th century was not led by the state church but was organized from below by local laymen.[8] These missionaries were people who proclaimed to have experienced a calling from God to reach out to all the corners of the world with the Gospel. Simultaneously, they functioned as humanitarian agents that provided welfare and relief to exposed and vulnerable groups.[9] Christian movements have historically been part of movements that have functioned as advocates for human rights. This also includes movements that have gone under the label Protestant Evangelicals. Christian movements have long been involved in and committed to social action, including education and health concerns.[10] Still, educating and civilizing were important aspects of the Christian mission's agenda, and missionaries from Europe had, like others, been influenced by the ideas and a worldview that considered Western culture superior to others. This tension is important to understand the mission that took place in this period.

The Norwegian mission organizations in the 19th century were mainly directed towards Asia and Africa. Latin America was considered a Catholic-controlled area and was not of interest in the first period.[11] By the second half of the 19th century the Anglican church had established itself in some places in Latin America.[12] Pentecostal mission and other Evangelical Christian mission organizations from the United States, Canada, and Europe followed at the beginning

[4] Uglem 1979
[5] Grimshaw 2007: 263
[6] Grimshaw 2007: 262
[7] Grimshaw 2007: 261
[8] Uglem 1979: 74–75
[9] Okkenhaug 2008
[10] Nichols 2008: 635–637
[11] Tafjord 2017: 222
[12] OLGATI 2013

of the 20th century. Pentecostal Christians belong to a broad spectrum of Evangelical Christians, which also includes Adventists, Baptists, Anabaptists, and others. Evangelical Christianity emphasizes "hearing, living out and sharing the good news of God's saving action in Jesus Christ and the divine gift of the Holy Spirit, a saving action that brings forgiveness, transforms life and creates a new community."[13] In Norway, Pentecostalism came from the United States with the earlier Methodist pastor Thomas Ball Barrat in 1906.[14] Pentecostal missions from Europe, the United States and Canada, directed at countries on the southern cone, have led to extensive growth of Pentecostal Christianity, especially in Africa and Latin America. Protestant Pentecostal revival has allowed newly converted to establish their congregation. In contrast to Catholicism, religious leadership can be performed without the demand for higher education or celibacy. The religion offers individual experience with God on a new level through speaking in tongues, healing, and driving out evil spirits through exorcism.[15] In the Pentecostal movement in Norway, the local congregation has full sovereignty, and each decides over their own community. A central organization does not exist; therefore, talking about one organization is inaccurate. The internal spiritual community is considered stronger and more personal than the external organizational structure.[16] De Norske Pinsemenigheters Ytremisjon (PYM)[17] functions as the head office, while the individual churches send out missionaries. The first country in Latin America which Norwegian Pentecostal missionaries traveled to was Argentina in 1910. In 1936, they started up in Brazil, Chile in 1947, and Bolivia in 1953. The mission started in Paraguay in 1952, but after a somewhat difficult start, the first permanent station among Indigenous groups was not a reality until 1958. From then on, it spread out and involved several more Indigenous groups, including many from the non-indigenous population. Over the second half of the 20th century, the Norwegian Pentecostal mission spread to Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Honduras, and Guatemala.[18] The earliest Pentecostal missionaries had a certain connection to the churches and mission organizations back in Norway. However, to a greater extent, they operated independently or in collaboration with an international network of Pentecostals and can be

[13] Nichols 2008: 633
[14] Uglem 1979: 211
[15] Horsfjord et al. 2018: 58
[16] Korsets Seier 1966: 1
[17] The Pentecostal Foreign mission of Norway
[18] Larsen 2010a

understood as part of a global mission- and awakening movement.[19] Missionaries, not just Pentecostals, can be characterized by their strong transnational bonds with Christian communities abroad.[20] These transnational bonds can also be found in the mission in Paraguay. In addition to their community in Norway, they had a connection with Scandinavian Pentecostals in Paraguay and a Scandinavian Pentecostal community in Seattle in the United States.[21]

1.2 Christian Mission and Global Development Politics

For the Pentecostals and other evangelical missionaries, the spreading of the Gospel has been a priority. However, in the past 15 years, evangelicals have shown increased interest in human rights affairs. In the United States, religious organizations have occasionally received government funding for human rights projects.[22] This is also true regarding religious organizations in Norway that have received governmental support for various development projects closely related to human rights. The idea of development and human rights got increased focus after the Second World War. The allied powers then introduced a new world order, and the United Nations (UN) was created to ensure world peace and protect human rights. The work of enshrining fundamental human rights led to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).[23] This was a direct consequence of the Second World War and the atrocities the world had witnessed.[24] Simultaneously, it was built on various ancient religious, philosophical, and cultural traditions.[25] The UN instigated the more developed and affluent countries to help less developed countries improve their economic and social situation. Norway was the second country in the world without colonies to distribute bilateral aid. This bilateral development aid was taken over in 1968 by the Norwegian Agency for Development

[19] Tafjord 2017: 224
[20] Gullestad 2007a
[21] Mangersnes 1959: 379; Gunvor Iversen 1976: 11 The Swedish Pentecostal Mission had been established in the capital since 1937.
[22] Nichols 2008: 643, 660
[23] United Nations 1948
[24] Ishay 2009: 16
[25] Witte & Green 2012: 5–6

Cooperation (from here on NORAD).[26] International development cooperation after the Second World War was something new. However, it had deep roots in mission organizations and international organizations that had provided aid and relief to different parts of the globe. It also had roots in colonial political development initiatives from the interwar period, set in to calm critique directed at colonial rule.[27]

Through secular and religious NGOs, development aid was distributed to what was seen as the less developed and poor countries of the global south. Vast amounts of government revenue were sent abroad to support other countries' development in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and today, more money than ever is allocated to religious organizations.[28] In the 1970s, the Norwegian Pentecostal mission became a part of the Norwegian development aid and received support for several aid and development projects earmarked Indigenous groups.[29] In 1983, The Norwegian Missions in Development – Bistandsnemda (BN) – was created as an umbrella organization designed to distribute NORAD aid between various mission organizations.[30] However, the purpose of the development aid to mission organizations was to support global development and not engage or support the evangelizing aspect of the mission. NOARD focused on transferring knowledge and capital that would contribute to investments in new technology and modernization.[31] In time, guidelines published by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs introduced a "rights-based approach and requirements that there be a clearer connection between normative work on Indigenous issues and practical cooperation with and on behalf of Indigenous peoples."[32] This also meant that the mission organizations were required to follow specific guidelines in their approach to Indigenous peoples. This did not mean that the mission had to give up its role to evangelize but that it had to combine mission work with developmental work, which was shaped in accordance with a more international discourse of human rights.

[26] Engh 2015
[27] Engh & Vik 2013: 334–335
[28] Balsvik 2016: 9, 19
[29] Tønnessen 2007: 325–326
[30] Digni 2024a
[31] Engh 2015
[32] Borchgrevink & McNeish 2007: v-vi

1.3. Research Question and Thesis Structure

Acknowledging the Christian mission's roots in colonization is important when one approaches the study of the Christian mission in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. It has led to the degradation and repression of cultural traditions that sometimes led to a loss of identity. However, the Christian mission was not only part of the early colonialization of land. The independent missionaries that came later did not require land for themselves but mainly wanted to evangelize and build congregations. Still, they participated in the same mindset and the ideas of the earliest colonizers and missionaries, who saw the Indigenous population as uncivilized and irrational and approached them in a paternalistic way. At the same time, the Norwegian Pentecostal mission in Paraguay took place in the second half of the 20th century, when a new discourse on development aid and human rights came to the center of attention, which was also something that contributed to shaping the mission. I aim to reveal some of the complexities of the Christian mission and focus on them from a historical perspective. I am focusing on the Norwegian missionaries and how ideas, images, and views of native people emerged in missionaries' writings. The main question is: What images and parts of the missionary's reality were transmitted back to their community? To answer this, I ask the following questions: How were the Indigenous peoples and their religion and culture represented? What qualities do the Indigenous peoples possess? Are they active, competent, and participating individuals, or are they reduced to passivity? Which values did the missionaries express? Does the discourse shift more toward human rights, or do the Gospel and evangelizing have priority? The purpose of this study is to explore the mission’s discourse and the duality in their project that, on the one hand, expressed views in line with colonial binaries and hierarchical structures and, on the other, promoted ideas of sameness and equality that can be connected to values in line with human dignity and human rights. I examine the period from 1952 to 2015 and look at change and continuity in the missionary discourse through different periods. I will reflect on these changes and see them as part of the historical context in which the mission lived and acted.

The following chapter will lay out the theoretical framework and analytical categories used to analyze the material. In Chapter Three, the historical sources are presented. Chapter Four is concerned with earlier research, while Chapter Five explains the historical context in Paraguay where the missionaries lived and acted. Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight are the main

chapters where the material is analyzed and contextualized. In Chapter six, which spans from 1952 to 1973, the mission can be understood as a traditional mission focusing on evangelization and conversion. During this period, the mission work and project were only supported by their Pentecostal community. Chapter Seven is periodized from 1973 to 1996. In 1973, the mission began to receive aid through NORAD. In this period, the focus was on development and investments in modern technology related to agriculture, and to lead the way toward modernization. In the Eighth chapter, I have set from 1996 to 2015. This is because NORAD then began to fund a new kind of project. This project was not related to economic growth but was initiated to contribute to the preservation of Indigenous culture and tradition and to strengthen their identity against the majority culture, which marks a new approach toward the Indigenous population for the mission.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I will begin by introducing why I have chosen to look at this from a historical perspective and the importance of understanding how changing discourse has to be understood through its historical context. Then, I will lay out the theoretical perspectives used in this research and my positionality.

2.1. History and Coloniality

When studying historical sources by authors writing from another time period, with the intention of capturing a particular way of speaking of something, it is necessary to contextualize. Christian mission has not been a static movement through time, and like any other movement, it has been influenced by impulses from the outside. The protestant mission organizations traveling abroad in the 20th century cannot be understood in a vacuum. They were strongly influenced by Christian morals and mindset, and the verse from the Gospel of Mattew 29: 19-20, "Therefore go and make disciples of all nations,"[33] has been important since the beginning of Christianity but has, with the overseas expansion, increased to new dimensions. Overseas expansion and colonization of new territories contributed to the Western world's rapid economic development. Simultaneously, contact with new parts of the world, which they regarded as primitive, contributed to Western self-understanding as superior compared to other cultures.[34] Christian mission has undergone significant changes throughout history, adapting and adjusting according to changing historical contexts. Christian mission in the 20th century to earlier colonized countries can be understood with colonialism as a backdrop. With colonization, missionaries had become part of an unequal power dynamic that has characterized the relationship between the North and the South to this day. The writings of the missionaries must be understood as a product of their own time, and their views of other cultures and religions must be considered as part of a broader worldview they shared with many of their contemporaries. In contrast to the colonizers, the Pentecostal

[33] Bible Gateway n.d.
[34] Fuglestad 2004: 276–292

mission was not preoccupied with getting access to material resources and land for themselves to settle. From the beginning, they understood their mission as temporary and were driven by what they experienced as a calling from God. In their view, they had come to build communities by providing help and restoration for victims of the ruthless European colonization. Coming to faith in Jesus was a deeply personal experience and an essential part of that restoration process. Nevertheless, the missionaries were neither independent nor unaffected by Eurocentric ideals that have shaped people's way of thinking since the early days of colonization. On the one hand, the missionaries represented and expressed values and ideas in line with colonial ways of thinking about the native people. People from the colonies were represented and conceptualized by staff in colonial administration, as well as by doctors, explorers, and missionaries. Over time, this established colonial discourses where people in the colonies became defined and viewed as the opposite of Europe and the colonial power in the colonies. This was followed by the idea of the white man's burden and the responsibility to bring civilization and progress out to the world. On the other hand, the missionaries upheld values as Christians, where they had the responsibility to share the Gospel and care for the less fortunate and those who suffered. The colonial discourse of "the other" became an integrated part of the mission discourse, which expressed a similar dichotomy. Since the colonial period, an unequal power balance has governed the relationship between the North and the South. The ideas of the "North and South", "West and the East", or "West and the rest" represent duality and division that tell more than their geographical location. It is connected to the country's economic development and points to an unequal power relation that has existed since the beginning of colonization.

A discourse can be understood as a pattern or a set of rules that bind together representations in a certain way and give meaning to the world. The discourse directs how we understand and speak about certain things.[35] A discourse can be understood as a collective frame of understanding that consists of ideas and ways of thinking that we take for granted. Through social interaction, we are taught specific ways of thinking that our society understands as legitimate and valid. [36] Through language and discourse, the world is brought into existence.[37]

[35] Ryymin 2018: 57–63
[36] Johannessen et al. 2018: 49–67
[37] Ashcroft et al. 2007: 70–71

Throughout history, some people have had more power to speak about some subjects than others and have dominated the creation of discourse of different groups of people.[38] From the discovery of America, colonial administration and people from Europe possessed the power to define and represent the people they encountered. A whole continent was defined according to European standards regarding proper behavior or modern ways of living. Native groups were homogenized, characterized as uncivilized and wild of nature. People were grouped into categories such as indian, mestizo (a mix of the Indigenous and European), and criollos (Europeans born in the colonies), where the Europeans born in Europe placed themselves on top. Following the colonial period, the Indigenous became represented through governmental agencies and anthropologists, often graded and defined by civilization levels. Discourse affects how we act and think about certain things, but it is not static, and a hegemonic discourse at a particular moment in history can change.[39] Christian missionaries also participated in what we can call the colonial discourse of the other. At the same time, the missionaries saw the world through a religious lens where Christianity was interpreted into the daily lives of the missionaries.

2.2. Post-Colonial Theory as an Analytical Framework

In his work *Orientalism* from 1979,[40] Edward Said argued for colonialism's enduring presence in the minds and discourses of people in the West. He saw that the West's understanding of the East was based on stereotypical descriptions and representations of people from the Orient, especially the Muslim world. This image is a result of how the Middle East has been represented. Books, films, and stories had a common feature in picturing people from the Middle East in stereotypical ways, and in his writing, he revealed that these lived on in American society. Marianne Gullestad, a Norwegian anthropologist, wrote that Said's study was not necessarily directed at changing these structures but at pointing to them to create awareness around the power of language and representation.[41] Edward Said is writing from a

[38] Hall 2013: 27
[39] Johannessen et al. 2018: 49–67
[40] Said 1979
[41] Gullestad 2007a: 25

Middle Eastern context as a Palestinian. He has inspired many scholars in different parts of the world, including Gullestad, to investigate how the West's discourse of the other has had consequences right up to the present day.[42]

Post-colonial theories express colonialism's continuous material and discursive implications on peoples' livelihood and ideological construction. Gullestad has taken Said's post-colonial approach into her research on the missionary's discourse. She has established an analytical framework, "Propaganda for Christ," or "mission propaganda", as she used when referring to it in her writing. This framework functions to interpret the material produced by missionaries in a cross-cultural context. The term propaganda has often had a negative connotation, but she understands it as more neutral.[43] The images of the natives presented by the missionaries can neither be seen as accurate representations nor manipulations. Many elements of what they wrote could have been close to reality and their perception of what they themselves conceived to be true. However, these were representations, created as a result of specific ideas and purposes within the contextual frame of the mission as an institution.[44] Their writings had the purpose of persuading and engaging their supporters back in their home country so they would continue to support the mission spiritually and economically, which affected the way they represented reality.[45] The framework of mission propaganda identifies three different communicative modalities in the mission writings – "evangelizing, development, and partnership."[46] The first modality, evangelizing, is where the propaganda dimension appears the strongest. The focus is on heathens living in fear of their religion and with their Christian community as their primary listener. The second communicative modality of development has a stronger emphasis on technology transfer, and the Norwegian government is a new audience. The communicative modality of partnership is characterized by giving more weight to the local's ideas and wishes. [47] These three modalities are highly overlapping but can also be seen as an expression of new developments that took place within the Norwegian mission through the period.

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[42] Gullestad 2007b: 12
[43] Gullestad 2007a: 13
[44] Gullestad 2007b: xv
[45] Gullestad 2007b: 18
[46] Gullestad 2007b: 14
[47] Gullestad 2007b: 14

The missionaries expressed ideas in line with colonial divisions enforced by colonial administrators and travelers, but they were even more similar to the views of teachers, nurses, and doctors in the colonies.[48] Colonial ideologies can be recognized by relentless binarism and dualist segregation regarding the people in the colonies, which came to expression in several forms characterized by, among others, boundaries, distance and hierarchy.[49] Simultaneously, the missionaries' writing had religious connotations and expressed ideas of sameness and equality. Gullestad's framework captures this tension between Christian ideas and values of equality on the one hand and distinctness and distance on the other. [50] The infantilizing language and seeing the Indigenous population as children have roots in colonial discourse, but on the other side, referring to people as children of God is common in Christianity and implies equality between all humans. This shows the tension between ideals of equality on the one hand and inequalities of rank, prestige, power, and monetary control on the other.[51]

Gullestad writes that missionaries often used the lightness-darkness metaphor. On the one hand, this metaphor can be traced back to the Enlightenment and the white man's burden. The Enlightenment represented rationality and its ideas became a driving force in bringing development and progress to the dark and unlit continent and its people. In other words, lightness was equalized with modernization. The lightness-darkness metaphors also have deep Christian connotations, often in reference to good and evil, and have a long history in the Christian tradition. Metaphors of lightness and darkness are binaries reproduced with several connotations and can be traced back to both the Bible and the Enlightenment ideas.[52] The ability to read had a connection to Enlightenment ideas and what was seen as representing the civilized world, but simultaneously, it had a strong connection to the conversion process since the ability to read was central to the transition from paganism to Christianity.[53]

These kinds of divisions enforce a distinction between "us and the other". The idea of the other expresses a separation, and the other is identified by its difference. In a post-colonial

[48] Gullestad 2007b: 3
[49] Gullestad 2007b: 9
[50] Gullestad 2007b: 3
[51] Gullestad 2007b: 17
[52] Gullestad 2007b: 4
[53] Gullestad 2007b: 23

context, the other comes to expression in discourses of primitiveness and savageness, as well as concerning geographical space and distance.[54] There is a distinction between those on the inside and those on the outside. Among the missionaries, the Christian and the heathen was that kind of distinction between themselves and the other. The division was both geographical and spiritual but was also connected to material development. In a post-colonial frame, the idea of a frontier or a boundary also symbolized a distinction between the civilized and the others.[55] The frontier can be associated with colonial expansion and the expansion of ideas and mindsets, but it also serves a religious understanding – the expansion of the borders of Christianity.

Gullestad writes that the missionary's description of Indigenous situations to evoke empathy often ended up creating pity. Pity she understands as more vertical and from above to below rather than horizontally oriented sympathy. The representation of a continent in need – spiritually and materially – legitimized the mission presence but also created an image of a continent full of problems. As a result, Norway and its development programs and humanitarian aid were understood as a good and generous donor.[56] Missionaries have contributed to this idea of Norway as a donor country. Terje Tvedt remarked that Norway's self-perception as a humanitarian power became strengthened as a consequence of the representation of others through media and television.[57] In a bigger picture, this can be related to a North-South dichotomy.

Inspired by Mary Louise Pratt, Gullestad uses the idea of distance and othering.[58] The other is anyone separate from oneself, and othering as a term was established by Gayatri Spivak and refers to the process of how the imperial discourse created the other. Spivak wrote that "The Other" (The Empire) and "the other" (The colonized) were produced dialectically.[59] However, Gullestad emphasizes how the missionaries both manage to establish distance and, at the same time, represent them in a way that their community back home could relate to and focus on their humanity and equality. The otherness and the representation of their helplessness can be

[54] Ashcroft et al. 2007: 169–170
[55] Ashcroft et al. 2007: 107–108
[56] Gullestad 2007b: 25
[57] Tvedt 2002: 7–15
[58] Gullestad 2007b: 27–28
[59] Ashcroft et al. 2007 169–171 referring to Spivak 1985

related to the idea of agency. Agency is an essential term in post-colonial theory because it refers to the ability of post-colonial subjects to engage in action, freely and independently, with the ability to resist or take part in shaping their own position.[60] During the colonial period, the inhabitants were often described as savages and irrational people who did not understand their best interests, which justified the physical colonization of land but also legitimized religious colonization. The representation of neediness contributed to assigning people a passive role without the ability to participate in forming their own future.

The dichotomization, which has roots in colonialism, has been reproduced in the Western discourse of the other and has shaped the relationship between the North and the South for centuries. Development was also a part of the colonization, and schools and social development became a way to legitimize colonial rule.[61] This can be seen as continuing after the Second World War when the developed countries were seen as responsible for solving the problem of underdeveloped areas.[62] After the Second World War, the "Third World" became a term used to label countries that did not fall in on either side of the Cold War division. Later, however, it became a way for the developed world to refer to non-developed countries.[63] Anthropologist Arturo Escobar wrote that "Reality became colonized with development discourse"[64] and became unquestionable. This led to the continued representation of people of earlier colonies in a dichotomous way. This can be included as what Gullestad calls a reproduction of old colonial binaries where categories of donor and receivers became emphasized within a new frame of development aid regime.[65] Escobar transferred post-colonial theory into the development discourse and writes that post-colonial authors such as Edward Said and others have opened up new ways of thinking about representations of the Third World. Development became a way to deal with the alleged backwardness and lack of prosperity in some countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which gave rise to a continued representation of people in those countries. Development discourse is governed by the same principles as colonial discourse, and it has created an

[60] Ashcroft et al. 2007: 8–9
[61] Gullestad 2007b: 11
[62] A. Escobar 2004: 3–4
[63] A Escobar 2004: 31
[64] A. Escobar 2004: 5
[65] Gullestad 2007b: 25

apparatus for producing knowledge about and exercising power over developing countries.[66] Connected to the idea of helping countries lagging behind in terms of modernization and technological development was the rights-thought in relation to individuals, groups, and states.[67] However, development aid and human rights work have been quite separated until more recent times. Not to say that they did not have an interest in each other's matters, but it was considered a distinct area of work. This continued well into the 1990s but started to change after the millennium when development work gave human rights a more central role in its work.[68] NORAD describes its role as working for a greener future in a world without poverty, respecting Human Rights, and contributing to global development.[69] Development and Human Rights discourse create similar dichotomy and can be seen as a continuous division of the world that follows colonial binaries. The West has also used Human Rights as a means to legitimize invasion in countries where the West is represented as saviors and bringers of Human Rights, which can be seen as a continuation of the good vs. evil dichotomy. The relationship between the "North and South" or "the West and the rest" has been characterized by a division of the Christians and the heathens, between good and evil, the developed and the underdeveloped, and upholders and protectors of human rights, and those in need of protection who lack fundamental human rights. In this thesis, I understand the discourse of development and human rights within a postcolonial frame, which continues to express colonial binaries in new shapes and forms.

2.3. Positionality

My interest in this issue has its origin in a variety of reasons, growing stronger throughout my years at the university, but ultimately because it originates in my own personal background. My mother belonged to the Pentecostal community and was, over several periods, a teacher for the children of missionaries at the Norwegian School in Paraguay and Argentina. This was also how she met my father, who was a Paraguayan Catholic. The Pentecostal mission in

[66] A. Escobar 2004: 5–9
[67] Balsvik 2010: 167–168
[68] Uvin 2004: 1–2
[69] Norad n.d.

Paraguay was, therefore, part of my childhood. My interest in Indigenous groups comes from the fact that my grandmother originated in one of Paraguay's 19 Indigenous groups. However, as a child, she was given to a family and adopted. Her story, told to me by my father, has acquired a new meaning when digging into the history of Indigenous groups in Paraguay. I have never had any close connection to the mission's work among Indigenous communities, nor have I had any close connection with the Pentecostal community as an adult. I approached this research topic as a student interested in historical development, especially mission history. My interest in mission history did not only come from my personal background. Some years ago, I was a student in the master's program Cultural Encounters at Volda University College, and one of the subjects included the study of mission history and the encounter that took place between the local population and missionaries from Norway. This inspired me to look into the history of the Pentecostal mission, which was part of my own background.

My connection to the Pentecostal community has facilitated contact, and people have been very open to answering my questions. I greatly respect the community and its believers. However, I write from an outside perspective. Even though I come from a mixed background, my identity has been shaped by Norwegian culture and its education system. I have received my entire education in Norway, and I am influenced by my time at the university more than anything else. In the same way, missionaries represented the Indigenous according to their worldview and what they saw as relevant and interesting; my own analysis is also marked by a specific way of seeing the world. My view of historical processes looking through the lens of postcolonialism is one way to understand this phenomenon. My intention is not to judge or celebrate but to look into its complexities and how representations of other people and cultures have contributed to shaping Western perception and worldview – a worldview that one can hardly claim to stand outside or claim to be immune against. These patterns are very much alive and still affect us to this day.

3. Presentation of Historical Sources

I have chosen a historical approach and a postcolonial framework to address this topic and analyze the discourse over the course of several periods. My source of analysis is the Pentecostal Journal, *Korsets Seier* (hereafter "KS"). In addition, I will also rely on a section of primary sources concerning the mission and on secondary literature related to the historical context in Paraguayan in order to contextualize the development between 1952 and 2015.

3.1 The Pentecostal Journal Korsets Seier

The Pentecostal journal KS has, since its establishment at the beginning of the 20th century, addressed several aspects of Christian Pentecostal life in Norway and abroad. In this investigation it serves as a source for analyzing representations and images of Indigenous groups that missionaries encountered abroad and how these images were communicated back to Norway. KS is digitized and is available through the National Library. In the search for articles, I have used names of projects and places where the Norwegian mission worked among the Indigenous population. The search words I used were; "Paraguay, Paso Cadena, Eben-Ezer, Yby Yau, Fortuna, Curuguaty" and "Lærebokprosjektet", including names of missionaries who worked for extended periods among Indigenous groups. The texts I have collected are all from KS and the magazines that occasionally supplemented KS. In total, I have found 307 articles that concern the mission in Paraguay, 218 of which were about the work among Indigenous peoples or written by missionaries who had worked a long time among them. For the analysis, I have chosen a selection of articles – some designed as letters while others as interviews – that illustrate certain characteristics of the mission and which can be said to represent a larger discourse in the mission's writings.

The individual churches funded much of the mission, and missionaries were often sent out with support from one or more congregations. The missionaries had to get economic support from their community for the mission work, and the articles from the journal are colored by that need. The articles can be understood as a means to inform and justify the money the mission received from supporters in the home country. Missionaries also had other

communication channels directed at their community, such as private correspondence, annual rapport, etc. However, in this channel, the Pentecostal journal, the purpose was to inform about their work and to encourage economic and spiritual support of the mission or to motivate and encourage others to come and help them in their work. It describes the struggles and accomplishments of the mission and was an important communication channel so their community back home could feel part of the mission's work. After NORAD got involved, the missionaries still had to collect part of the money from their own community for the NORAD-supported projects. Neither was the NORAD aid supposed to support the mission work related to evangelization, so the financing of evangelizing missionaries and the building of churches had to be funded by the Pentecostal community. NORAD, however, financed missionaries who were sent out to supervise the NORAD projects. These were often referred to as project missionaries in the Pentecostal journal.

The missionaries came close to native communities and became quite knowledgeable about both the language and cultures of the people they encountered. This encounter and interaction with native people were frequently addressed in their writings. KS is, therefore, a good source for analyzing the mission discourse. However, it is important to be aware of the fact that the material also has some weaknesses. Not all missionaries will identify with a particular view expressed by fellow missionaries, and some missionaries' statements cannot speak for the whole group of missionaries. Some missionaries frequently wrote, others less, and the views and ideals that seem to be united on the surface can also contain discrepancies. I have attempted to capture recurring ideas and reflections through a selection of texts written by missionaries. The texts have been translated from Norwegian to English, and I have carefully translated them so the essence and meaning don’t get lost in translation. I have attempted to explain the context in which the writings took place so the statements are not taken out of their context.

3.2 Additional Sources and Reports for Context

The Paraguay mission has its own webpage – Pymisjon.com – where information about the mission can be found. This contains letters, notebooks, and newspaper articles. In addition, there are videos, annual reports, documents related to land transfer, etc. I have not used

everything I have found on this page, but it has been a great supplement to the KS articles to establish the context. It has helped me understand the chronology of the events and supplemented the information found in KS.

The Norwegian mission applied for and received funding from NORAD several times throughout the period. These documents can be found at Arkivverket, the archive of Digni (Bistandsnemda), and the Pentecostal Department for Aid and Development. They are an important source of understanding the development of the Norwegian mission – when they received the funding, for what projects, and the argumentation behind the project. In the beginning, the Norwegian mission received aid directly from NORAD. However, in 1983, NORAD established Bistandsnemda as a new secretariat to distribute funding among mission organizations.[70] This currently consists of 17 Churches and faith-based organizations and has changed its name to Digni.[71] Over the years, evaluation reports of the mission's NORAD projects have also been carried out, which are crucial to understanding some of the context of the changes the mission went through in this period. Four evaluations were conducted – in 1983, 1988, 2007, and 2014.[72] These sources are important to contextualize the change in the mission throughout this period.

[70] Digni 2024a
[71] Digni 2024b
[72] Alvarson & Larsen 1988; Archetti et al. 1983; Borchgrevink & McNeish 2007; Winje 2014

4. Historical Work on the Subject

Missionaries have, over the years, written much about their own history and their encounter with native groups. If one disregards missionaries' own writings about their own history, the academic study of the mission organizations has not been very extensive, even if the contributions have increased over the years. Most research is focused on missions in Africa and Asia. Less research has been carried out on the Norwegian Protestant missions in Latin America, but some research has been conducted.[73] In the following, I give an overview of the research on the Norwegian Pentecostal mission in Latin America in general before I go into what is written about the Norwegian Pentecostal mission in Paraguay.

4.1 The Norwegian Pentecostal Mission in Latin America

Regarding the Norwegian Pentecostal mission in Latin America, Church historian Rakel Ystebø Alegre wrote a master's thesis back in 2010 on the Norwegian mission among Indigenous peoples in Embarcación, "La Mission Pentecostal in Embarcacion, Argentina."[74] She investigated the conversion process and socio-cultural changes that affected the Indigenous population in the Norwegian mission under Bergen Johnsen from 1916 to 1945. Anthropologist Cesar Ceriani Cernadas has also researched the Norwegian mission among Indigenous peoples in Chaco, Argentina. In "La misión pentecostal escandinava en el Chaco argentino: Etapa formativa: 1914–1945", [75] he writes about the establishment of the Norwegian mission. Later, he and anthropologist Hugo Lavazza wrote several articles involving the Norwegian Pentecostal mission in Argentina. In "Fronteras, Espacios y peligros en una misión Evangélica Indígena en el Chaco Argentino (1935–1962),"[76] they analyze the impact of the Norwegian mission regarding territorial changes. They also wrote "Inestables reputaciones. Liderazgo y conflicto en una mision evangélica indígena del Chaco

[73] Cardenas Flores 2009; Espe 2015
[74] Alegre 2010
[75] Ceriani Cernadas 2011
[76] Ceriani Cernadas & Lavazza 2013

argentino",[77]where they focused on changes in leadership structure as a consequence of the current religious space. In 2017 they published "'Por la salvación de los indios': una travesía visual por la misión evangélica de Embarcación, Salta (1925–1975)".[78] In this research, they analyzed photographs to visualize the characteristics of the mission while contextualizing the mission's effect on the Indigenous groups, and the socio-religious changes that took place among Indigenous peoples in Chaco, Argentina.

4.2. The Norwegian Pentecostal Mission in Paraguay

The first time one could read about the Norwegian mission was in the writings of some anthropologists back in the 1970s, when critique of mission organizations in the country grew. The mission is mentioned in two books written by two anthropologists – *La Situacion actual de los Indigenas* from 1972 by Miguel Chase-Sardi and *Shamanismo y Religion entre los Avá Katú Eté* from 1977 by Miguel Alberto Bartolomé. Chase-Sardi writes that they have received a complaint from some Indigenous Avá Guaraní that tells that the Norwegian Mission prohibited their dance, drinking mate, and spit.[79] Bartolomé refers to Chase-Sardi's book and accuses the Norwegian mission of being an agent of ethnocide. "One dramatic example of actions by these agents can be found in the situation of the Chiripa [Ava Guaraní], who are under the dominance (the termination is accurate) of the priests in La Mission Norma [The Norwegian mission] in Paso Cadena, who prohibit them from conducting ritual, drink mate and even spit."[80]

Rene Harder Horst has, in more recent years, done several research involving Indigenous communities, religious groups, and resistance in Paraguay.[81] In the book *The Stroessner Regime and Indigenous Resistance in Paraguay*,[82] he examined the dialectic relationship between the Indigenous population, the Stroessner dictatorship, and the religious mission.[83]

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[77] Ceriani Cernadas & Lavazza 2014
[78] Ceriani Cernadas & Lavazza 2017
[79] Chase-Sardi 1972: 18
[80] Bartolomé 1977b: 144–145
[81] Horst 2002; 2003; 2004; 2010
[82] Horst 2007
[83] Horst 2007: 4–5

Catholics and Protestants had, under Stroessner, initially participated in the integration policy of the regime, which strongly had leaned on the support from Christian mission organizations. However, in the 1970s, the Catholic Church became more involved in Human Rights issues and opposed the regime, whereas Protestant mission organizations continued their more collaborative role with the Government to settle and integrate Indigenous groups. Horst briefly mentions the Norwegian mission in Paso Cadena. He writes that the Government's intent to control and manage native communities made them ignore the Indigenous peoples' efforts to improve their own living conditions. "The Ava Guaraní sold lumber from forest reserve to build new homes, an airfield, a sawmill, and to purchase farm implements. The chief of Paso Cadena, Juan Vera, visited Asuncion in 1963 and described the changes in his community, which was seen as successful integration."[84] Horst writes that although the Indigenous people made noticeable changes on their own initiative, the Government still encouraged Mission Norma to begin proselytizing Paso Cadena. This benefited the Government since the mission was founded from Europe. Soon, the mission provided literacy, health care, and religious instruction to the Ava Guaraní.[85] He also writes that the Avá Guaraní in Paso Cadena had, like other Indigenous communities, changed culturally as a result of pressure from their surroundings. Still, Paso Cadena was mentioned as a place of gathering of the Avá Guaraní in the 1980s for opposition and indigenous organizations to preserve tradition and way of life and to secure land.[86] In another part of the book, he writes that even if the Government used religious agencies to integrate Indigenous populations into national society, the Indigenous population also benefited from the contact with religious organizations in a way that attracted popular support for protests to secure land.[87] He also nuances the criticism that religious missions have had a harmful effect on indigenous culture and identity. Mission activities often strengthened Indigenous resistance and, on many occasions, facilitated land recovery.[88]

Anthropologist Cari Tusing has carried out an ethnographic study on the recovery of land among the Indigenous Pai Tavytera in the Department of Amambay.[89] In her article, she

[84] Horst 2007: 56
[85] Horst 2007: 56
[86] Horst 2007: 144–145
[87] Horst 2007: 101
[88] Horst 2007: 166–167
[89] Tusing 2022

describes how the Pai Tavytera recovered land held by the Norwegian mission. In conversation with one of the members of the Pai Tavytera community, she addresses issues and conflicts that arose in the colony established by the Norwegian mission. She addresses the cooperation and disagreements between Pai Tavytera, NGOs, and the Norwegian Pentecostal mission regarding land recovery. This sheds light on an issue much neglected in the sources written by missionaries and sheds light on why the mission was given up and the land transferred to the Pai Tavytera. The interesting about this article is that it gives voice to a member of the Pai Tavytera, who tells his story about his encounters with the missionaries when he was a youth in the 1970s. According to him, they were not allowed to conduct their ritual, and he describes how there were confrontations between missionaries and some Indigenous. Tusing also interviewed an earlier missionary who spoke about the mission, the conflict with the Indigenous, how the mission ended, and how the land was signed on to the Pai Tavytera. Tusing writes that cooperation between the Indigenous, NGO, and the mission was finalized in 1989, while the official situation of the land transfer to the Indigenous was finalized in 1994.[90]

To my knowledge, no further investigation has been carried out on the Norwegian Pentecostal mission, neither from Norway nor Paraguay. My investigation will hopefully give new knowledge about the Norwegian Pentecostal mission seen from a postcolonial perspective and how the discourse developed in its historical context. Before pursuing to the analysis, it is necessary to introduce the historical context in Paraguay and the situation of its Indigenous peoples.

[90] Tusing 2022: 14

5. Historical Background

Paraguay is today inhabited by 19 different Indigenous tribes that belong to five linguistic families: Guaraní (Avá Guaraní, Mbya, Aché, Pai Tavytera, Guaraní Ñandeva, Guaraní Occidental), Maskoy (Toba Maskoy, Enlhet North, Enxet South, Sapaná, Angaité, Guaná), Mataco Mataguayo (Nivaclé, Maká Manjui), Zamuco (Ayoreo, Yvytoso, Tomáraho) and Guaicurú (Qom). Records from 2017 registered that these groups comprise 122 461 people, of which 53% live in the eastern regions.[91] The eastern region, where the missionaries established their work, was inhabited by Ava Guaraní, Mbya, Aché, and Pai Tavytera. Each group has its history regarding contact with society, which goes back to the earliest days of colonization.

5.1 Under Colonial Rule and its Successors

From 1537, Europeans began to settle in the area of today's capital, Asuncion. The colonists enforced local encomienda laws, which forced some Indigenous groups to live close to the colonists and work for them. European settlers started to mix with the Guaraní women, which led to a blending of cultures, and both sides adopted cultural traits for one another. People of mixed ethnicity identified themselves as superior to the Indigenous, which led to pejorative attitudes against them. In the early 17th century, the Jesuits were granted permission from the Spanish Crown to establish missions in the area. That liberated the Guaraní in the area from serving the encomedores of Asuncion and established a society where the Guaraní adapted to the Catholic belief.[92] The Jesuits turned Guaraní into a written language, and the first catechism in the Guaraní language was written in 1640. However, the Jesuits were expelled in 1767/68, and the mission was dissolved.[93] After a long time under Catholic influence, many Guaraní had adapted to syncretic religion, and traces of Christianity were still visible in their mythology and their worshipping in the 20th century.[94] By the early 19th century, the

[91] IWGIA n.d.
[92] Horst 2007: 6–7; Tusing 2023: 391
[93] Rinkle 2015: 149, 152–153; Telesca & López 2022: 72
[94] Cadogan 1959: 67

encomienda system had integrated many Indigenous peoples into society and given birth to a large population of mixed heritage who kept using the Guaraní language.[95] The language is still used by the majority of the population today but is slightly different from the Guaraní spoken by the Indigenous tribes, but closest to the language of the Ava Guaraní. Paraguay's independence in 1811 was followed by a forty-year dictatorship under Dr. Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia. Dr. Francia prohibited marriage between Europeans, which was not an uncommon practice in Latin America to whiten the race and homogenize its people. Still, in the case of Paraguay, it has been claimed that this was to destroy the hegemonic power of the European elite, which was Dr. Francia's main opposition, including a way to decrease their societal status.[96] After independence, the land became consecrated in the hands of the State, and the colonization of Indigenous land continued. After Dr. Francia's dictatorship, land was sold to foreigners for economic reasons and to pay off debt from the War of the Triple Alliance between 1864 and 1870.[97]

From the 1850s, the Anglican church began to grow in Paraguay with the arrival of engineers and technicians in relation to the construction of infrastructure.[98] In the 1880s, missionaries from the Anglican church arrived and settled in Chaco, the northern region of Paraguay.[99] In the first half of the 20th century, Mennonite groups from Canada and the Soviet Union were able to purchase huge tracts of land in western Chaco.[100] When the Norwegian Pentecostals arrived in the country, Anglicans and Mennonites had long tried to make the Indigenous population good workers and be included in the market economy. Many became converted and settled in permanent locations and began practicing farming.[101] The Anglicans and Mennonites have had the most influence on Indigenous groups, especially in the Chaco area. In the 1930s and 1940s, religious missions were encouraged to settle Indigenous groups permanently, and land was given to the churches in proportion to the number of Indigenous they planned to settle. For the first time, a specific Indigenous policy to integrate the

[95] Horst 2007: 9; Service 2012: 28–31
[96] Potthast 2022: 14–23
[97] Tusing 2022: 4
[98] OLGATI 2013
[99] Horst 2004: 67
[100] Horst 2007: 16
[101] Horst 2007: 48–49

Indigenous was enforced.[102] By the mid-1950s, there was a whole spectrum of different European and Western missions in the country – Pentecostals, Mennonites, Baptists, and Methodists.[103]

5.2. The Dictatorship, Christian Mission, and Indigenous Peoples

Alfredo Stroessner took power in 1954 after a period of political instability. From his position as Commander-in-Chief and with the military's loyalty, he united the Colorado Party and allied with the armed forces. This was the beginning of Paraguay's longest-lasting dictatorship. Stroessner began to extend state control over the rural areas, which resulted in a closer bond between the Government and mission organizations. In the 1950s, the colonization of eastern Paraguay sped up and increased peasants' occupation of land traditionally used by the Indigenous population. Stroessner, at this point, forced the Industrial Paraguay, which had since 1890 encouraged the Indigenous population in the area to stay on the land to harvest yerba from the forest, to sell land in these areas to investors. The elite resold the land to Brazilian and U.S. ranchers and agro-industrialists, who began clearing the forest to plant soybeans and raise cattle. Indigenous groups were evicted from the land but were also often exploited as a labor force. In the 1950s, land ownership in Paraguay was the most unequal in Latin America, and the situation worsened throughout Stroessner's years in power.[104] Stroessner had based his power on personal alliances, and the land was given to his loyal supporters in the Colorado Party. The power became concentrated in the hands of the country's elite and wealthy foreigners.[105]

General Mariscal Samaniego, Stroessner's minister of defense between 1956–1983, convinced Stroessner to create an agency to handle the Indigenous situation. This led to the establishment of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas(DAI)[106] in 1958, which became part of the Ministry of Defense. On paper this department's job was to settle natives in colonies

[102] Horst 2004: 71
[103] Cruz 2014: 459–462
[104] Horst 2007: 24–25, 48
[105] Tusing 2023: 396
[106] Department of Indigenous Affairs.

and integrate Indigenous communities into the national society, a process facilitated through religious missions – both Catholics and immigrant Protestant groups. Though many mission organizations prioritized reaching tribes with the Gospel, their attempt to do so also aligned with the Government's integration politics. Horst writes that it became government policy to rely heavily on missions to hasten native inclusion.[107] They were encouraged to catechize the Indigenous population and guide them towards an agricultural lifestyle. The missions also requested favors from the DAI, all from legal protection to medicine. The missions and the DAI relied on each other. The DAI – which had limited resources – depended on missionaries to take care of the Indigenous, while the religious agencies needed the DAI to procure the Regime's support.[108] Richard Reed, who has investigated aspects and changes that have affected the Guaraní People, explains that the different groups each had distinct levels of interaction with society and government. The Avá Guaraní were one of the groups most integrated into society, while other groups like the Mbya had refused contact with the country's multi-ethnic society.[109] The Avá Guaraní were, by early ethnographers, reported to be the most assimilated, while the Mbya and Aché were reported to be the least assimilated. They preferred to avoid contact with society and were more dependent on hunting than swidden agriculture.[110] The Pai Tavytera, in the north, were thought to be between the Avá Guaraní and Mbya as regards their degree of assimilation.[111] Horst writes that authorities and missionaries viewed nomadism as backward and frequently referred to sedentary farming and permanent and stable settlement as the goal. However, by 1959, only some of the Aché and Ayoreode still migrated seasonally. Other groups moved occasionally in search of work, food, or even to visit relatives but were not truly nomadic.[112]

After the 1970s, the process of developing rural areas and deforestation sped up, and it became almost impossible for Indigenous groups to keep their distance and their traditional way of life. The land where many Indigenous peoples had lived for centuries was in the 1970s in private hands. In the Eastern border region, there was especially pressure from Brazilian colonists. Mechanization of agriculture in the 1970s also made finding work in the

[107] Horst 2007: 38–42; Horst 2002: 724–7256
[108] Horst 2007: 42–43
[109] Reed 2015: 270–271
[110] Reed 2015: 272, referring to Cadogan 1959
[111] Reed 2015: 272
[112] Horst 2007: 43

countryside more challenging, and many migrated into the cities. [113] In the 1970s, the regime's settlement politics received international criticism for human rights violations. Mark Münzel – an anthropologist from Germany, awoke international attention when he accused the Government of genocide of the Aché tribe.[114] Münzel had worked in the country for a long time and studied the Aché when he became aware of the inhumane treatment of the Aché. Horst addressed the accusation towards the Government and wrote that even if the Indigenous were, in fact, persecuted by ranchers and other non-indigenous and highly neglected by the Government, there is no evidence of the Government purposely killing the Aché as a result of their settlement politics. However, the critique of the regime caused international attention, and activists from Paraguay used Münzel's accusations to criticize the regime and to assist Indigenous peoples.[115]

From the beginning, the Catholic church and Evangelical Christian movements supported the Government's integration plan. However, in the 1970s, there was an increased focus on human rights at an international level. Within the Catholic church, that took the shape of Liberation Theology. The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) initiated a reorientation of the church's praxis, and human rights became the language of the Catholic church.[116] The Catholic church thus became an advocate for the oppressed and marginalized, which included advocacy for Indigenous rights. It also became a channel to criticize the politics of the regime.[117] The Indigenous situation received more attention during this period among lawyers, intellectuals, and people who worked to improve their situation. Among Paraguayan intellectuals, work was done to improve the Indigenous conditions in relation to land, education, and legal rights through different projects, among others, the Marandú project, which was taken down by the Government in 1975 and where several intellectuals were arrested.[118] Several of the Protestant mission organizations, which were a minority in the country, kept a lower profile and maintained a more cooperative relationship with the regime. The critique was also directed against mission institutions in this period, and the Norwegian mission received direct critique from anthropologists Miguel Chase-Sardi, one of the founders

[113] Tusing 2022: 4; Nickson 1981: 11–118
[114] Münzel 1973; Arens 1976
[115] Horst 2007: 92
[116] Kelly 2014: 98–99
[117] Horst 2002: 726; Horst 2010: 189–192
[118] Horst 2010: 189–190; Horst 2007: 86, 95–96

of the Marandú project, and Miguel Alberto Bartolomé for destroying Indigenous culture.[119] Years later, lawyer and human rights activist Ticio Escobar criticized mission organizations in general and used the New Tribe mission, an American mission organization, as one of the examples of what he called ethnocide.[120]

The regime's settlement politics and treatment of the Indigenous population had caused international attention and led to a reorganization of the DAI in the 1970s. The Government created a bureau called Instituto Paraguay del Indígena (INDI). INDI was given more resources and was authorized to oversee all the agencies that were involved with native people. INDI bylaws stated that natives' distinct way of life was to be tolerated, including communal landholding and religious and tribal traditions.[121] This pressure against the regime also led to the passing of the Indigenous Rights Law 194 in 1981. The 1981 Estatuto de las Comunidades Indigena (Statute for Indigenous Communities) mandated that Paraguay grant Indigenous peoples communal territory – enough for them to live according to their tribal customs and determine their own future. This opened up for Indigenous groups to acquire land and own land as a community. On paper, this seemed promising, but in practice, the State followed the same path and ignored Law 194. Many influential people who had an economic interest in the Indigenous peoples' land opposed the law's passing. In the end, these apparent changes initiated would not change much for the Indigenous communities, and it was clear early on that the regime would ignore the country's Indigenous population.[122] Horst argues that increased Indigenous mobilization and organization in the 1980s, because of the regime's politics, contributed to destabilizing the regime and ending Stroessner's 36 years in power in 1989. During the transition to democracy, a constitution was created with a separate chapter on the rights of the Indigenous peoples. Four delegates from the Indigenous community were present and actively participated, explaining the significance of these articles and how they would protect Indigenous peoples and their habitat.

[119] Bartolomé 1977; Chase-Sardi 1972; Horst 2007: 86, 99
[120] T. Escobar 1989
[121] Horst 2007: 96–97
[122] Horst 2003: 115–116; 2007: 100–101,118,124

The long struggle with the state ended in a gathered and united Indigenous movement that called themselves "the Indigenous people of Paraguay."[123] Stroessner's ally, General Rodriguez, followed Stroessner after he was removed from power. Even if Rodriguez instituted some democratic reform, especially the inclusion of Indigenous communities within the Constitution, the promises were harder to follow through, and human rights abuses targeting the Indigenous population were still a concern throughout the democratic consolidation after Stroessner.[124] Indigenous welfare was not a priority for this new government and the Indigenous invisibility continued. INDI was still a governmental tool and allowed agribusiness to take over land where Indigenous groups were living and, at other times, were directly responsible for evicting Indigenous communities in the name of neoliberalism. Moreover, many Indigenous leaders were also often unable to make appointments with INDI for a long time after the fall of the dictatorship.[125]

One of the most significant threats to Indigenous land issues has been the increasing expansion of the soy industry, which exploded after 1991. This expansion took place in a country that, even before the drastic expansion, had one of the most unequal land distributions in the world.[126] In addition, high levels of corruption made the situation more complicated. Even if the leadership changed and certain political reforms were made, the economic policy remained the same.[127] Over the years, Indigenous groups have been able to recover some land, but it also brought them closer to national structures. Some Indigenous groups also used the religious mission to recover some economic autonomy. They made use of legal advice provided by the Catholic church, and others used Protestant organizations in their quest to secure land.[128] Some groups have resisted the mission influence, others have made allies, built bridges, and gotten support from both Catholic and Evangelical missions, who have facilitated the recovery of land and supported their claims to their right as an ethnic minority.

[123] Horst 2007: 157; Correia 2018: 46–47;
[124] Horst 2007: 158; Duckworth 2016: 67
[125] Duckworth 2008: 173, 185–186
[126] Elgert 2013: 7; Correia 2018: 46–47
[127] Duckworth 2008: 185–188
[128] Horst 2007: 134

The long and complex relationship and interaction between the Indigenous, missionaries, NGOs, and the Government deserves more space than I have been able to offer here. However, I have tried to capture the most essential part to understand the context in which the Norwegian missionaries worked. In the following three chapters, I unfold the analysis of mission discourse through the lens of postcolonialism. Each chapter starts with an introduction of the Mission in the period before moving on to the parts where I analyze the missionaries' writings.

6. The Discourse of Evangelization 1952–1973

In 1952, Missionary Bergljot Nordmoen (later Nordheim) first arrived in Paraguay. Her desire was to work among Indigenous groups, but it was challenging to do alone. In 1957, after having tried working in several places among the non-indigenous, she met up with missionaries Rut Kjellås and Gunnvor Johansen in the border town of Pedro Juan Caballero. They had gotten permission to start working among the Pai Tavytera tribe, but because of disagreement over the ownership of the land the local authorities initially had promised them, the work ended before it even had started. With help from Swedish missionaries, the Norwegian mission got in contact with the Government. In 1957, Missionary Nordmoen got permission from Samaniego, the Minister of Defense, to incite the mission among the Avá Guaraní in Paso Cadena. With military transportation, they traveled to Paso Cadena, which was located on the borderline between the departments of Caaguazú and Alto Parana in the Eastern border regions.[129] In Paso Cadena, the missionaries were able to buy a small farm beside the Indigenous colony, which was an already established settlement of the Avá Guaraní (also known as Avá-Chriripa and Ava-Katu-Ete).[130] They soon got to know the chieftain of the colony, Juan Pablo Vera, who agreed for them to work there. The area around was inhabited by two other Indigenous tribes – Mbya and Aché – but the missionaries were not able to come in contact with them at this early point of their mission.[131]

The Norwegian mission was first registered as Mission Indigenista because it was directed at the Indigenous population. It later began its mission among the non-indigenous population and changed its name to “La Misión Noruega del Movimiento Pentecostal en Paraguay” in 1968 – shortened Mission Norma.[132] Mission Norma was registered as an organization with a legal representative and got its own board that kept contact with the Government.[133] The Government's efforts in assisting the Norwegian missionaries can be understood as part of what they labeled integration politics. For the Government, it was beneficial that foreign missions, funded from Europe, wanted to work among Indigenous groups and care for

[129] G. Iversen n.d.: 2–12; Haugstøl 1963: 1–2
[130] Archetti et al. 1983: 83-84
[131] Kjellås 1958: 379; Mangersnes 1959: 378
[132] Aardalen 1967: 12; I. Bjørnevoll 2012
[133] R. Larsen 1985: 16

education and healthcare.[134] And that was what happened; the three missionaries immediately started to treat the sick and hold school, having a strong focus on preaching their Gospel.[135] In 1966, with money from the Pentecostal community, they were able to buy 300 hectares of land next to the Indigenous colony in Paso Cadena, which was the start of two colonies.[136] This is, however, rarely something that is referred to as separate entities in the missionaries' writings since they mostly refer to Paso Cadena as a unity. The following year, missionary Anna Strømsrud, who had arrived in Paso Cadena in 1961, led the mission's expansion to a place further north in the department of Alto Parana. This area was inhabited by the Pai Tavytera tribe. The Government gave Mission Norma approximately 900 hectares of land, which became the Eben-Ezer colony.[137] This colony differed from the one in Paso Cadena, which was an old settlement. Eben-Ezer was a new colony created by the mission where people from different places migrated to settle in search of a place to live. Strømsrud wrote that families that settled received a piece of land and were helped with supplies for six months until they had their own fields to cultivate.[138] It was reported in the KS that if they stayed, they would, with time, receive title on the property on the land so they could stay there safely.[139]

During this period, the Norwegian mission can be understood as having a strong focus on evangelizing and saving the heathens. The missionaries strongly expressed a deep inner calling, and where they saw social work and helping the sick as an essential part of their evangelizing work. They received support from their Pentecostal community in Norway, in addition, a Scandinavian Pentecostal community in Seattle supported their work economically.[140]

[134] Horst 2007: 56
[135] Strømsrud 1962a: 12; Gustavsen 1981: 15
[136] Vera et al. 1986: 4; Klippen Sandnes 2023
[137] Strømsrud 1972b: 8
[138] Strømsrud 1969: 7
[139] Innvær 1975: 5
[140] J. Iversen 1967: 12; B. Nordheim & O. Nordheim 1968: 12

6.1 Spiritual and Material Darkness

When Stroessner came to power in 1954, he became a team player in the U.S. Cold War anti-communist policy. He proved to be a leader they could rely on to maintain stability and keep the communists under control.[141] Among conservative politicians, native communal landholdings were seen as a threat regarding the growth of communist ideology. This was a strong argument for integrating these communities into the wider society.[142] In this political climate, the missionaries established themselves in the country. They were aware of the political unrest and feared a communist government in power since that could possibly end their mission in the country.[143] With Stroessner in power, Missionary Strømsrud expressed that they were allowed to work in the country—spiritually and socially.[144] Missionary Strømsrud illustrated for their readers the powers the mission saw themselves as up against. "Here there are greater powers at work; the darkness of heathenism, the Catholics doing what they can to keep the people in their iron fist, communism is more and more apparent, and Jehovah's witnesses are growing."[145] As we can see, in addition to the struggle in the religious sphere, political instability and political tension were also the causes of preoccupation. Heathenism was placed in the dichotomy of light and darkness, equalized with other powers they saw as threatening to their work. Communism is framed as an additional force that could set a stop to their work, and they were placing all these threats as forces on the same side. In the quote from Missionary Strømsrud, the Catholic faith was also described as a threat to their work because of the control it had over people. It was framed as oppressive and on the same side as the powers that worked against the mission.

From the beginning, some of their attempts to evangelize among the Catholics had met resistance.[146] Missionary Nordmoen wrote that she had ended her work in Concepcion for that reason.[147] Missionary Josef Iversen wrote that in some places, it was difficult to rent a place to have a reunion, and if they managed to get a place to rent, things could easily be thrown in to

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[141] Frank Mora 2007: 128–129
[142] Horst 2007: 32
[143] G. Johansen 1960: 91
[144] Strømsrud 1972a: 8
[145] Strømsrud 1963: 345
[146] Nordmoen 1953: 651; J. Iversen 1967: 12; Spjøtvold 1968: 12; Westgård 1969: 6
[147] Nordmoen 1956: 363

disturb the reunion.[148] This was framed for their readers in KS as part of the spiritual battle between lightness and darkness. The conflict between Catholics and Protestants is not unique in Latin America. In Brazil, the Protestant and Pentecostal missions were understood as a threat to the Catholic church and the Catholic Brazilian identity, and threats and sometimes violence were used to diminish the protestant influence.[149] The Pentecostal missionaries in Paraguay also harshly rejected the Catholic faith. Missionary Nordmoen wrote:

> I don't know what the difference is between Africans who worship their gods made of wood, which they often have around the neck, indians who kneel before Buddha, and the Catholics who worship their images and statues of holy men and women who have lived in the past.[150]

Note that Catholicism was in no way seen as superior to what she saw as other heathen religions. The missionaries believed that the whole continent needed a spiritual renewal. Missionary Johansen wrote, "It is often said that South America is the future mission continent. [..] Still, the power of darkness embraces many of the countries in South America; millions of people are shut out from the Creator of light,"[151] The dark power was contrasted with the light of God, and in this case, also referred to a division between a northern and southern form of Christianity. The Catholic faith was seen as a form of heathenism and seen as people who needed salvation. The missionaries highly disapproved of what they saw as a neglect of Jesus' role within Catholicism. Missionary Johansen expressed her frustration and the need to spread Christianity into new areas.

> People here do not worship Christ, but the Virgin Mary, and Christ is degraded to a saint, one among thousands. The border must expand, to the inner part of the continent, to those thousands of indians who live deep in the forest and have never before heard about Jesus.[152]

[148] J. Iversen 1967: 12
[149] Helgen 2020
[150] Nordmoen 1953: 650
[151] G. Johansen 1960: 91
[152] G. Johansen 1960: 91

The idea of a border symbolizes a division – geographically and spiritually. The idea that they came with a different form of Christianity, which they understood as better and more genuine, can also be understood as part of a broader North-South dichotomy. The European missionaries represented themselves as messengers of truth to misled heathens of an unlighted continent where the Indigenous religion and Catholic faith had ruled for centuries. In the 1960s, missionaries decided to direct more focus toward the non-indigenous population and expressed their justification in KS,

> [..] It is a screaming need from the so-called civilized Paraguayans, which made it appealing to us to go into that part of the mission. The slavery of Catholicism and worshiping of saints, spiritism and worshiping spirits among the 'white' made us dedicated to work among that part of the population.[153]

The reference to the "so-called civilized Paraguayans" emphasizes that there also is a division between themselves and the Paraguayan population which established a certain otherness. Even if they understood the non-Indigenous population as more civilized than the Indigenous, their spirituality was associated with heathen religion and, by that, less civilized. The use of lightness and darkness illustrated the distance and gap between the Indigenous people and the missionaries but also expressed a gap between the form of Christianity from the North and the Christian Catholic faith of the South that was seen as less true. However, the Norwegian missionaries believed that South America had a future of becoming more Pentecostal. Missionaries in Argentina had reported experiencing a mass revival,[154] and in Brazil, they had, with their own eyes, seen a large community of Pentecostals.[155]

When they began working among the Avá Guarani in Paso Cadena, they were described as living relatively spread, which they expressed caused a challenge regarding evangelizing and schoolwork. Because of the long distances, the missionaries decided to start a boarding school.[156] Strømsrud wrote:

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[153] A. Johansen & K. A. Johansen 1973: 8
[154] Alegre 2010: 48; G Iversen 1946: 9
[155] Nordmoen 1953: 650
[156] Mangersnes 1959: 379; Haugstøl 1963: 591

> We have promised to have them (the children) with us at the mission so they can come to school. But most of all, we want to sow the seed of life in these children's hearts, show them the way to Jesus and salvation, and release them from the darkness of heathenism to God's wonderful light and freedom.[157]

Education was closely connected to the process of salvation. Jesus, salvation, light, and freedom were set in contrast to Indigenous spirituality, which was framed as something they were tied to and needed to be released from. The Indigenous spirituality was also connected to the poor conditions they expressed the Indigenous lived under. [158] This was strongly contrasted with that of the missions – associated with modern medicine and cleanliness. On one occasion, they describe a situation when they took in a three-year-old child who, according to them, had been abandoned by his family, who went on to what they called a chicha celebration.

> The first thing we did was to give him a bath and put powder in his hair to kill all the lice. Never will I forget when we dressed him in Norwegian nightwear and put him in a clean bed for the first time in his life. His big brown eyes sparkled with joy.[159]

The ruthless, dark, and unclean outside world was here contrasted by the inside of the mission, which represented a place of happiness and cleanliness. The emphasis on Norwegian nightwear connects their community to their work among the Indigenous and shows that Norwegian donations make a difference. The writing creates an emotional scene, especially since it involves a child, and must have evoked pity and emotions among the readers, which is a side of the mission propaganda that underlines the continued need to spread the Gospel. The ritual and, thereby, their religion were framed as the cause for this child's abandonment and underlined the need for spiritual change. The state of uncleanness and being dirty could also be tied to their spirituality and is sometimes difficult to distinguish between in their writings. When missionary Strømsrud first came to the Pai Tavytera in the North, she wrote:

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[157] Strømsrud 1964: 124
[158] Mangersnes 1959: 377
[159] B. Norheim & O. Norheim 1967: 12

> Then, the evangelist read from the Bible and spoke to them in simple words, and they sat quietly and listened. [..] It was moving to watch. Dirty, still tied to their heathenism, they sat there, but now they got to hear about Christ. They who sit in the darkness and the shadow of death shall see this wonderful light.[160]

Strømsrud here describes the Pai Tavytera as dirty, in a state of darkness, and tied to their heathen faith. This dirtiness can, on the one hand, be connected to a physical uncleanness. On the other hand, being unclean and dirty can also be in a spiritual sense and tied to humans' sinful nature. Either way, it expresses a dichotomy contrasted with the cleanliness of Jesus and the light. When they traveled around to preach, the missionaries also got to observe religious ceremonies. Missionary Johansen wrote:

> They let us hold reunions all day without interference and illustrate Jesus' life through flannelgraph pictures. [..] at the same time, there was a preparation for the celebration they were having at twilight. We had stayed in the house of spirits and were now asked to move outside. [..] The medicine man began to hum, quite low at first; the voice raised and sunk as a low whisper, and soon it sounded loud and threatening. The quietness of the dark and gloomy forest in the background felt quite grim. What would become of this? We sat, crawled up in our hammocks nearby, followed the ceremony and prayed to God, the only one who can loosen the dark bonds of paganism. Must He, in his great mercy, see to these people, children of the forest.[161]

The darkness and gloomy forest posed an image of an unpleasant place where dark spirits took over after the day was almost over. The ritual is described as threatening, and God is represented as the only one who can defeat this darkness. In addition, the Indigenous were referred to as children, which expresses a certain paternalism. The infantilization of Indigenous was something that characterized the colonial ideology and also came to expression through the mission discourse of the other. On the other hand, the idea of people as children of God is a frequent metaphor in Christian discourse, and as we shall see later, the missionaries expressed that they all were children of God. The reference to the dark bonds of heathenism again gave the impression that they were in chains and tied forcefully to what

[160] Strømsrud 1967: 12
[161] G. Johansen 1960: 91–92

they saw as evil spirits from the underworld, where they saw God as the only one to set them free. Johansen continues:

> Three medicine men replaced one another; when the first was exhausted, the next took over. But how it now was they did not manage the contact they wanted with the underworld. If it were our presence that affected the outcome remains unsaid. Still, after several hours of wildness, the last wizard wiped his sweat and moaned: 'I don't understand, I can't do it,' and he staggered exhausted to the dying fire, completely worn out. [..] Must God bless his dear Pentecostals to always participate in this worldwide struggle for the borders of the kingdom of spirits.[162]

In this quote and the previous one from Missionary Johansen, she represented the Indigenous religion and ceremonies in a dark and frightening way. This description of their religious ceremony was connected to dark spirits and savageness. The idea of a border that needed to be moved illustrates a division between themselves and who they saw as the others. The representation highlighted a wild and uncivilized behavior, but it also functioned to show that their presence had an effect. As part of the mission propaganda, it was also necessary to show their supporters that their presence had an effect and that they contributed to spreading the Gospel to new and remote places. They set out the idea and questioned if it wasn't their presence that had something to do with the unsuccessfulness of the spiritual leaders. They show their readers that by supporting them, they are participating in the struggle.

At an early point, the missionaries came to know and separate between the characteristics of different groups. The Avá Guaraní in Paso Cadena were, in general, described as welcoming and easy to be around. Missionary Mangersnes wrote "These indians are peaceful, friendly, and quite lively and easy to be around in comparison to other tribes."[163] The fact that they felt that the Avá Guaraní were easier to be around can be traced back to my earlier comment in Chapter 5 about the different groups' history regarding their contact with society. Some groups had adopted more of Christianity into their traditional religion, especially the Avá

[162] G. Johansen 1960: 92
[163] Mangersnes 1959: 378

Guaraní, which can explain them being more accessible for the missionaries. In this quote, Missionary Mangersnes described the different tribes in the area:

> Another tribe that lives in the area and is called Bhua [Mbya], we have not made that good contact with. It depends on the chieftain. These speak Guaraní in addition to their own tribal language. Not far from here lives a completely wild tribe. Guayaki [Later referred to as Aché], which is still dangerous. They walk around completely naked and keep themselves hidden in the forest. There are not so many, but a couple of hundred, and they only speak their tribal language. Sometimes, they come close to the civilized and shoot cows with their arrows.[164]

The group the mission encountered was ranged from completely wild to more civilized. The Avá Guaraní were seen as welcoming and easy, while the Aché were considered dangerous, and the Mbya were somewhere in the middle. Missionary Nordmoen expressed their fear of the Aché. "We made a fire and tied our hammock as far up as possible because we knew there were many wild animals. Likewise, we fear the Guayaki tribe's poisonous arrows."[165] As we can see, Nordmoen expressed she feared the Aché as she feared the wild animals, underlining their wild nature. Missionary Johansen also described this tribe and wrote:

> The Guayaki lives deep in the forest, naked and wild, and only shows himself occasionally, always with the bow and arrow ready to throw a shot and then vanish into the deep, dark forest. Yes, one gets the sense of the battle between light and darkness and the pagan horror.[166]

The use of the word "deep in the forest" underlines a distance from themselves and a distance from God. The darkness and the deep forest were also connected to the level of savageness, and the Aché were represented in a state of nature and the most savage, who shied away from people as wild animals did. The impression of the different Indigenous tribes was filtered through a Christian Western worldview, and the different groups were defined and categorized according to the missionaries' understanding of what it meant to be civilized.

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[164] Mangersnes 1959: 379
[165] Nordmoen 1961: 221
[166] G. Johansen 1960: 91

Even if the missionaries distinguished between the different tribes in regard to the level of civilization, they saw Indigenous spirituality in general as wrong, and in some statements, it is directly connected to evilness. Missionary Johansen wrote,

> The heathens worship cane and stone, it is said, but that is only half the truth. It is not the stone and cane they worship. He does not play around; no, it is highly serious. By worshiping and sacrificing the stone and cane, he sacrifices and worships Satan.[167]

This quote shows that there was no doubt that missionary Johansen saw the spirits the Indigenous worshipped as real and evil, which pronounced the dichotomy between good and evil. The missionaries believed in the ability of the Indigenous to call on evil spirits; however, when it came to their approach to curing the sick, they saw that as a complete irrationality. At one point, Nordmoen described a scene where what she called a wizard doctor was healing a woman sick with tuberculosis.

> I watched when he was going to heal a woman who had gotten an animal in her heart. He shook and ravaged that poor sick woman, so it was hard to watch. After a long and rough treatment, he put his wand to her heart and twisted it, and then he imagined that he got a hold of the animal and ran out and threw it outside. They live in a fantasy world.[168]

The language of living in a fantasy world can be associated with ignorance and an infantilization of the Indigenous, which connects their worldview to a childlike fantasy world and irrationality. The brutality of the treatment of the sick women also illuminated for their readers the savage level of Indigenous culture. Another example of this relation can be taken from Strømsrud's work among the Pai Tavytera when she wrote:

> There are nine boys between the ages of 10–and 12 who will get baptized. Or so they call it, but it is a gruesome form of baptism. The boys are intoxicated with ‘chicha’, and the wizard sticks a hole in their lip. It is only boys that this is performed on. A small stick, like a match, from a selected tree is brutally penetrated through their lip

[167] G. Johansen 1960: 91
[168] Haugstøl 1963: 592

> and in between the teeth. [..] While I sit here and rest, I can sense the pressure of all the evil spirits on active duty. A sigh arises from my heart: Lord, shall it succeed that the light shall win over the darkness?[169]

Strømsrud is, in this quote, connecting the traditional ritual to dark and evil forces. The ritual was described as gruesome, and the ritual done, on what one considers children, has the function of strengthening the savageness impression. It highlights the separation and distance between the missionaries and the Indigenous population. The metaphor of light and darkness was associated with Christianity and God, but not only that. The missionaries' idea of what was civilized and a more modern way of living was also connected to lightness. Lightness and Christianity became more or less synonyms with a more modern lifestyle and material goods. When the mission station got electric light in Paso Cadena in the 1960s, Strømsrud wrote,

> I wrote in the headline that it lights up in Paso Cadena. And that it does, spiritually and materialistically. At Christmas, we got electric lights. It sounds almost like a fairytale that we have electric light in the wilderness, but it is true. [..]But it is not only the light Olav [another missionary] has set up in the few weeks he has been here. A sawmill has also come up, and it will not be long before it is in operation. [..] We have also had visits from some high-ranking militaries from Asuncion. They are pleased with our work and the development here, which is encouraging.[170]

Note how Strømsrud shows how the use of lightness was also connected to material goods and development. The metaphor of light and darkness has a double meaning. It is connected to the spiritual dimension of saving souls, and, at the same time, it is associated with the colony's material development. Missionary Strømsrud showed their followers in Norway that their mission not only brought lightness in the form of salvation but also in the form of civilization and progress.

[169] Strømsrud 1968a: 8
[170] Strømsrud 1965: 12

6.2 The Indigenous as Helpless and Passive

As we have just seen, Indigenous culture and spirituality were seen as something very opposite to the Christian faith which was connected to modernity. The Indigenous were often described with a certain distance, in poor conditions affected by diseases and poverty, and without the ability to lift themselves up from that state of being. They were often referred to as children, which, in addition to paternalism, symbolizes helplessness. Johansen wrote, "Must He in his great mercy look after these people – the children of the forest."[171] They expressed a distance from the Indigenous and saw them as child-like creatures in a state of nature that needed to be looked after. On the other hand, the idea of children could have expressed equality and sameness. They believed that they were all children of God and saw the Indigenous as equally valuable as themselves with the possibility of being saved. Strømsrud wrote, "I can't think of anyone poorer and more helpless than these indians. But in the eyes of Jesus, the indians are as valuable as everyone else who has had the grace of growing up in a Christian country."[172] Note that Strømsrud here referred to the Indigenous as equals, but that she also saw the missionaries as in a more privileged position from which they had the responsibility to help those who stood outside and who needed the help of guidance. Missionary Johansen wrote, "The indians appreciate that we visit them in their huts. It shows them that we have a real interest in them and see them as equal human beings, as brothers, something they are not used to."[173] It is highlighted that the missionaries approached them and treated them as equal human beings. Values such as equality and sameness have to be understood as just as important a factor in the missionaries' work as the one of division and distance. The Indigenous are referred to as equals – as brothers and friends – simultaneously as ideas of distance and inequality are expressed in several ways. Missionary Strømsrud reflects some of this duality when she, back in Norway, wrote,

[171] G. Johansen 1960: 91
[172] Strømsrud 1962a: 11
[173] G. Johansen 1960: 91

> It is like I am divided in two! If I am home in Norway, having a good life, there is always a part of me calling and longing for my friends down there in Paso Cadena – this wild, primitive people that God has sent us to with the Gospel.[174]

She here referred to the Indigenous as friends but at the same time highlighted what she saw as their wild and primitive character, which is a form of othering simultaneously as it described the indigenous in more equalized terms – as friends. This expresses the complex relationship the mission can be seen to have with the Indigenous. Missionary Gunvor Iversen expressed some of the similar complexities,

> The Indigenous is one of those groups that are the most persecuted and hated on earth. Poor, ignorant, and displaced by a greedy civilization, they live a poor existence. That's why it is such a joy that God calls new missionaries to help our poor brothers."[175]

The Indigenous are here described as marginalized, discriminated against, and ignorant, though at the same time referred to as brothers, which implies quality – equality in a spiritual sense. In this statement, civilization is framed as greedy and refers to the surrounding society and all those who have exploited the Indigenous, which can be understood as the opposite of their civilization connected to Christian (Pentecostal) values. The transition to Pentecostal Christianity is framed as a changing society from the bottom, and in addition, a source that would end discrimination and oppression directed towards Indigenous peoples. Strømsrud writes that in Eben-Ezer,

> It is moving to see that at the foot of the cross, there is no room for racial difference. There is no talk of Paraguayans, indians or Norwegians. We are all the same in front of God: sinners who can only be saved through Jesus' blood."[176]

The end of discrimination against the Indigenous is highlighted as a result of the conversion, and Strømsrud, by expressing the sinful character of all humans, upholds a form of equality between them. At the same time, as we saw in the last chapter, they are not seen as free

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[174] Korsets Seier 1965
[175] G. Iversen 1973: 6
[176] Strømsrud 1972b: 8

individuals with agency but as chained to their culture and religion, which again highlights a distance and division from the missionaries who are active and taking action. The Indigenous were often represented as ignorant people who lacked the agency to change their own lives and adapt to a more modern lifestyle without help from the outside.

> Inside these areas live the people of the forest, poor and ragged; they live their lives in ignorance. And while the soil is so fertile, they sit and almost starve to death. [..] Only the power of the Gospel can change an indian.[177]

When the Indigenous appear in the writings of the missionaries, it most often highlights the poor, helpless, and passive condition they found themselves in. In that way, even if the missionaries stressed equality, they end up underlining inequality and representing the Indigenous in a way that generates pity. The missionaries understood themselves as educators and saviors of the Indigenous people—spiritually and materially. They saw it as their task to save them and their responsibility to lead them spiritually to God, combined with a more modern lifestyle. They are represented as passive individuals, living around all that fertile soil but with no knowledge of how to make use of it. Missionary Nordmoen also expresses this view at the same time highlighting the role of the mission.

> When you look out over these large forests and all the uncultivated soil that is so fertile and still see people living on the edge of starvation and with diseases of all kinds, where 60 % of all the Paraguayans and none of the indians can write or read. Then one understands better that we missionaries have a great task before us to build up the country, culturally and spiritually.[178]

The idea of building the country is referred to as both leading the way towards modern forms of cultivation—more equal to the European lifestyle—and the transition to Christianity. This creates the sensation of paternalism where the missionaries are the knowledgeable teachers and the Indigenous are passive receivers needed to be taught. Although Missionary Mangersnes recognized that many Indigenous were cultivating land in addition to hunting, he

[177] Kjellås 1958: 779
[178] Nordmoen 1958: 394

simultaneously framed it as most did not understand the value of it and how to make use of the resources they had.

> Most of them [Avá Guaraní] work half a year in the forest cutting leaves and new shoots from the [yerba] mate plant. It is then dried and used for tea, which is the national drink in Paraguay and other areas of South America. [..] Some of them live by shooting wild animals in the forest with a bow and arrow. Some of them plant corn, cassava, and other stuff; yes, some also have pigs, poultry, etc. But most of them haven't come far enough to understand the value of cultivation. That is why they suffer and lack food and clothing for parts of the year.[179]

The Indigenous are represented as not knowing how to manage and are also seen as victims of their own ignorance. The missionary took on the role of guiding the Indigenous toward a more modern lifestyle. However, as Horst writes, the three large Guaraní groups in the area had been selling Yerba Mate to the non-indigenous for a century.[180] This means that their interaction with the rest of society was a fact at this point, even if that does not come to expression in the KS journal. On several occasions, the missionaries use the term breaking new ground. One way to understand this is to connect it to the physical colonization of land. However, since the missionaries were not there to acquire land from themselves, breaking new land was used when speaking of the uncultivated soil around which the Indigenous were not capable of making use of. Simultaneously, it had a more spiritual meaning and was associated with the uncultivated soul of the Indigenous. Missionary Kjellås writes:

> In Paraguay, [..] I saw all the great areas of uncultivated soil and the many people who lived in the forest. They had not heard the Gospel of salvation. By God's grace, we had barely begun to sow the word in the hearts of the indians that had been cleansed of the thorns by the power of love, and there has been growth. Today, a small piece of arable land is cultivated spiritually understood, but it is just a drop in the ocean when one looks at the needs [..].[181]

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[179] Mangersnes 1959: 378
[180] Horst 2007: 25
[181] Kjellås 1961: 373

The uncultivated land refers to both the physical soil surrounding them and the uncultivated souls of the Indigenous people. From how it is represented, the modernization of Indigenous culture regarding cultivation methods was connected and, in many ways, inextricable from the conversion to Christianity, which gives evangelization both a spiritual and material form. This meant that land for the Indigenous had to be secured – Not argued for as a right they possessed, but so a new sedentary lifestyle could happen and where Christianity could grow. The issue of securing the land for the Indigenous seems to have become more important at the end of this period. The land was often first in the mission's name. However, they saw that as a temporary situation where the mission was supposed to lead the way before the responsibility could be placed in the hands of the Indigenous. This can be seen as similar to a broader thought in European colonial history, where the early justification for colonization – the terra nullius (land belonging to no one) was replaced by the idea of a trusteeship, where the idea was that Europeans had the responsibility and duty to hold the land until the Indigenous had reached a certain level of civilization to enable them to manage on their own.[182] This idea of trusteeship expresses a division and certain paternalism, which we will find in new shapes in the presiding chapters. The focus on land comes to expression in Strømsruds' writing regarding Eben-Ezer.

> I spoke to several high-ranking military leaders, ministers, and even one of the president's secretaries. I speak the case for the indians. They promised to help us. We have permission to use the land, but I am not satisfied with that. I want full security for my dear friends from the forest so they can live safely when they decide to move to Eben-Ezer.[183]

The missionaries represented themselves as protectors of the Indigenous and as speaking on behalf of the Indigenous. By that, they placed the Indigenous in a passive state of being as people who needed to be spoken for. The missionaries wanted to show that they did what they could to help the Indigenous and what they saw as best for them. As a consequence, it undervalues the Indigenous' ability to help themselves and be active participants in their own lives. They end up being represented as severely passive and people who lack the ability to

[182] Boisen 2012: 336–338
[183] Strømsrud 1968b: 6

take action in relation to cultivation methods and land claims. The pressure on Indigenous land did not slow down as time went on, something they had witnessed in Paso Cadena, expressed in the following by Missionary Iversen,

> The consul (Rita) and I have been to see Samaniego in the Minister de Obras Publicas y Telecommunicaciones today. La Industria Paraguaya wants to take land from the indians in Paso Cadena. Now the work begins so they can obtain a title on the land.[184]

In the statement from missionary Iversen, the missionaries are represented as standing on the frontline, and on no occasion are the Indigenous represented as acting on behalf of their own community. However, from Horst, we learn that it was not something totally uncommon for Indigenous peoples to be represented in front of government agencies in cases involving their community. In 1963, the chieftain in Paso Cadena, Juan Pablo Vera, was present in Asuncion and talked about changes that had taken place in his community.[185] This shows that the interaction that involved Indigenous, missionaries, and the Government was more nuanced than what comes to be expressed in the KS journal.

Pressure on land does not only come from large companies and landowners. Horst wrote that during the same period, peasants also occupied more land and invaded the areas of several Indigenous communities in the eastern border region, including Paso Cadena and Fortuna, in 1975. [186] The increased pressure on Indigenous land made the issue of land a more urgent topic for the missionaries. Still, the mission's engagement in Indigenous security and land was not something unconnected from their mission work. Missionary Strømsrud wrote:

> These handsome young people seek a place where they can live in peace. And nothing was more natural than offering them a place to settle in Eben-Ezer. [..] Our aim with the colony is that they shall come under the influence of God's word, and we believe that the word will grow in their hearts. I want to give these people who have lived so restless lives, displaced from place to place, a new beginning in life and a good start.[187]

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[184] I. Iversen 1973: 4
[185] Horst 2007: 56
[186] Horst 2007: 96
[187] Strømsrud 1969: 7

The mission was represented as a safe haven where the Indigenous could live safe from eviction by forces driving them out of their traditional territory. The missionaries focused on making changes from below. Beginning with the Indigenous and offering them a new faith and land to settle in the colony, which they, with time, were to get ownership over. In Paso Cadena, the situation differed from that in Eben-Ezer since it was an established settlement beforehand. Still, the Indigenous did not legally own the land as a community,[188] which the missionaries saw as something they needed to take care of. The chieftain of the Colony in Paso Cadena, Juan Pablo Vera, was with his family portrayed as friendly and quite welcoming to the missionaries when they arrived, and his approval was described as important for them to work in the area.[189] Kjellås writes that,

> Chieftain Juan Pablo Vera got up, thanked us for coming, and was happy that his people could go to school and receive the Gospel. He belongs to the [Ava]Guaraní tribe and is a chieftain for around 1800 indians who live in different places. But our goal is to gather them so it can become a colony here. Then it is easier to work among them, and we get more control over all of it. Two other indians also said a bit to thank us for coming and for our wish to take care of them.[190]

The Indigenous are described here as thankful and happy that the missionaries are coming to take care of them, placing the missionary in a guarding role and the Indigenous as the helpless and grateful recipients. At the same time, it shows that the idea was to gather the Indigenous in one place, which was a break from their traditional living form and more in line with Eurocentric ideas. The Ava Guaraní were described as more open and also represented as more active and participating than other groups, unlike Mbya and Aché, which they saw as more uncivilized and passive. Both before and after the mission's arrival in Paraguay, the Aché tribe had been persecuted and victims of inhuman treatment.[191] As the development of the countryside increased, the Aché involuntarily came into increased contact with the non-

[188] Archetti et al. 1983: 84
[189] Mangersnes 1959: 378
[190] Kjellås 1958: 779
[191] Horst 2007: 16–17, 21

indigenous population, which had caused hostility. Missionary Nordmoen described her encounter with two Aché women like this:

> It is sad to know that there are tribes that are, to this day, uncivilized. Some miles from here lives the wild Guayaki tribe. A while ago, I had the possibility to see two of their women who had been captured with the lasso of some cowboys from a cattle ranch nearby. The tribe had killed several cows, and now they were going to startle them by capturing these women. It felt strange to stand face to face with two Indigenous women who did not know anything besides the forest, the animals in it, and their tribe. The strange thing was that despite walking around naked, they were quite light-skinned and quite similar to the Japanese. They have their own language that nobody knows. They are people like us and are also making demands to hear the Gospel. Therefore, it is serious when one is aware of the fact that these people have lived and died for thousands of years without having an opportunity to seek salvation.[192]

From the little contact missionary Nordmoen had experienced with that group, she still managed to represent an image of them back to their community. The Aché were described as people in a complete state of nature. Also note the limited way the Aché women are described: only knowing anything but the forest, the animals in it, and their own tribe. Indigenous groups' qualities are understood in a Western frame of being, and the Aché were seen as the most savage compared to the more assimilated Avá Guaraní. The wild and uncivilized also represented a state furthest away from God, and it was through God that their wild nature also would change. The Indigenous range from the most civilized, friendly, and easy-going to the wild, uncivilized, and dangerous. As severe as the distinction between the missionaries and the Aché was represented to be, Nordmoen still expressed their equality and highlighted that they were people like herself.

The passive state of the Indigenous and their lack of ability to change their situation are also qualities expressed when describing the non-indigenous population. They were, as we saw before, bound to what they deemed as a wrong form of Christianity. Likewise, their agency

[192] Nordmoen 1961: 220

and nature were outlined and described as absent and distinct compared to Western standards. The missionary couple Ingrid and Knut Stuksrud wrote,

> The flat and fertile soil with wide-reaching ‘campos’ – grasslands and miles-reaching forest with unknown richness, is inhabited by poor, thrifty Paraguayans and even poorer indians. Why all this poverty? Look at the immigrants, the Japanese, the Koreans and the Germans; it grows and blossoms around their pretty houses, and well-groomed children walk happily off to school. The neighboring house of the Paraguayan testifies of mess and impurity, lack of initiative, and laziness. The indians in the forest are uncivilized and illiterate, without an understanding of their own human dignity, living from hand to mouth without thinking about tomorrow and even less about life after death. Yes, there is distress everywhere, in the city and rural areas, in the great cities' crowd and the deep dark jungle.[193]

In this case, the Indigenous and the Paraguayans are set up against the immigrant population in a quite stereotypical way. This quote points to and enforces a north-south dichotomy where people's condition is seen because of laziness and lack of initiative, not considering the unequal precondition they had to begin with or the difference in what they considered valuable. These stereotypical ideas are not reserved for missionaries in any way and are not even a phenomenon of the past. We see these prejudices in our society today in how different groups and cultures are thought of in quite stereotypical ways and measured against Western ideals of family life and culture. Although the missionaries mostly expressed seeing the Indigenous beliefs and ways of living as backward and living in ignorance – both spiritually and culturally, they recognized another side of the Indigenous. Missionary Nordmoen wrote, “The Indigenous are strange people; they are people of the forest who know every animal and every plant, and their quiet, benevolent way of being is causing a foreigner's attention.”[194] They are also seen as still relatively unaffected by civilization, which is not necessarily framed negatively: “These people don’t follow the clock. The restlessness and bustle that these days mark the civilized world had not gotten its grip on these people yet.”[195] One can sense a bit of curiosity and admiration for the Indigenous unaffectedness from what they saw

[193] I. Stuksrud & K. Stuksrud 1968: 12
[194] Nordmoen 1958: 394
[195] Strømsrud 1962b: 622

characterizing modern society. On the other hand, these perceptions and comparisons are part of the same dichotomy where the hectic Western modernity is contrasted to the simpler Indigenous life.

In this period, we have seen that the mission's focus lay on evangelizing and saving the heathens. Colonial binaries and division come very much to expression and also include a religious dimension. The representation of the battle between good and evil is a dimension frequently expressed in these early years. The metaphor of light- and darkness is associated with spirituality as well as material progress. Thereby equalizing secular modernization ideals with the spiritual dimension of conversion. Receiving the Christian faith was seen as the foundation for solving the many problems that affected the Indigenous, and they perceived it as making a change from the bottom up. The missionaries saw it as their responsibility to bring civilization and progress to people whom they saw as unable to keep up with the modern world and, by that, represented the Indigenous in a passive state of being. They acted from what they saw as being in the best interest of the Indigenous, but in that process, they contributed to framing an understanding of what it meant to be Indigenous. Indigenous groups were compared to Western standards and defined from what they were not. The aspect of the life of the Indigenous that was emphasized was the negative sides – sides that caused pity. Indigenous culture was associated with backwardness, sickness, and ignorance. In comparison, the Christian faith was framed as equal to a better and more modern lifestyle, modern medicine, knowledge, and education.

7. Development Discourse 1973–1996

The Norwegian mission in this period continued its work in the colony of Paso Cadena and Eben-Ezer. From Paso Cadena, the mission, with time, also got closer to connection with other Indigenous colonies in the area. In 1983, Missionary Strømsrud, who had started the work in Eben-Ezer, started up a new work among the Indigenous Avá Guaraní in the Fortuna Colony in the department Canindeyú.[196] The mission's work in colonies of Paso Cadena and Eben-Ezer was seen as favorable for the Government, and in 1975, missionary Strømsrud had received a medal of honor from the Paraguayan Ministry of Defense on behalf of the mission work.[197] In 1978, the state had accepted the mission's request for a juridical person for the congregation under the name “Iglesia Filadelfia Evangelica”. From then on, the congregations established by the mission became understood as one and under the same name. They were given local independence, while properties would be in the community's name. The newly founded church had its own board consisting of nationals and missionaries.[198]

This period also marks a new phase of the mission, in which they became part of Norwegian development aid. The first project supported by NORAD in 1972/1973 was directed at the Indigenous settlement project at Eben-Ezer. The money was directed at developing the colony and was used for healthcare facilities, administration buildings, machines for agriculture, and a sawmill.[199] In Paso Cadena, NORAD supported financial healthcare activities and later projects related to school, healthcare, and agriculture. When the mission expanded its evangelizing work, development aid also came to include more Indigenous colonies. [200] For most of the NORAD projects, it was necessary to collect some percent of the amount. Therefore, requesting donations from their community was still necessary. Apart from that, they also still needed to collect money for the evangelization work and church buildings, which were not financed by NORAD. Involvement with NORAD also meant that they had to report back and stand responsible for how the money was used. An evaluation from NORAD from 1983 was somewhat critical of how the project was led and what had been

[196] R. Larsen 1998; Strømsrud 1985a: 16
[197] Korsets Seier 1975: 5, 15
[198] R. Larsen 1985: 16
[199] Svartdahl 1973a: 9; I. J. Bjørnevoll & Bjørnevoll 1976: 8; Larsen 2021: 12; Archetti et al. 1983: 11,101
[200] Archetti et al. 1983: 10; Lundstrøm et al. 1996: 2–3

accomplished. The report was long and illustrated both the positive and negative sides of the mission in Paso Cadena and Eben-Ezer. In the short term, the mission in Paso Cadena got more positive reviews, while the Eben-Ezer project and the colony were criticized on several terms and seen as failed in regard to the development of the community.[201] The rapport was positive toward the school initiative in Paso Cadena and Eben-Ezer, which had been established independently of NORAD's support, and to the fact that the mission had gotten the schools legalized and economic support from the Ministry of Education for the salary of some of the teachers. However, it was mentioned that the schools followed the content of official programs from primary education in the country and were viewed by the evaluators as a tool of government "integration–assimilation" politics.[202]

Throughout its work, the mission contributed to the development of health facilities and schools in the Indigenous colonies. When they expanded their work to the colony of Fortuna, the mission also prioritized the further development of the school that already existed there.[203] The mission did not manage to establish long-lasting work at Eben-Ezer among the Pai Tavytera, and in the last half of the 1980s, the Government took over the school and clinic.[204] In 1994, the land was officially transferred to the Indigenous community.[205] In the years that followed, the schoolwork was further developed in Paso Cadena and Fortuna, and middle and high schools were established.[206] In addition, to aid from NORAD, they received 1980s donations from Norwegian Church Aid and Action for Hope (an ecumenical mission foundation working with evangelization and humanitarian work).[207] This was used for well digging, school buildings, land purchase, and road construction for the Indigenous.[208] The second NORAD evaluation in 1988 recommended schoolbooks be made in the Guaraní language and that the content should focus on topics and history relatable to the Indigenous peoples,[209] which was something that slowly began to take form through the 1990s. The NORAD aid contributed to an increased focus on development and creating sustainable

[201] Archetti et al. 1983: 115
[202] Archetti et al. 1983: 100–101, 126
[203] Archetti et al. 1983: 126; Strømsrud 1985a: 16; Larsen 1986: 7
[204] R. Larsen n.d.
[205] Tusing 2022: 14
[206] R. Larsen 2012
[207] Aksjon Håp n.d.
[208] Strømsrud 1979: 16; Strømsrud 1998: 4
[209] Alvarson & Larsen 1988

societies that could, with time, be self-sufficient and be taken over and become nationalized. The same focus was also a fact regarding the congregation. Through the 1970s and 1980s, the independence of the congregation began to be spoken about, and there was an increased focus on integrating the Indigenous into the broader Pentecostal community in Paraguay.[210]

During this period, pressure against Indigenous territory increased since the development of the countryside seeped up. In addition, society directed increased attention towards Indigenous groups, and the missions also came under more scrutiny than before—from anthropologists, lawyers, and human rights activists in Paraguay.[211] In this period, the conflict between Catholics and Pentecostals was toned down.[212] However, a more apparent difficulty was the relationship between missionaries and anthropologists, who were critical to their work among Indigenous groups.

7.1 Development and a New Spiritual Battle

From the beginning, the mission was preoccupied with helping the Indigenous, and they offered education and health care financed by their Pentecostal community. They had access to medicine and had brought with them things from Norway that were used in their work. However, in the 1970s, the donor side came to include more than donations from their own community, both from NORAD and other organizations that made donations to the mission. Missionary Strømsrud introduced NORAD's support for their readers in 1972 when she wrote,

> We are infinitely grateful that the Directorate for Development Aid has set aside funding for the colony's social development. We know that this will contribute to realizing Eben-Ezer's real goal: that the place must be a rescue station for souls. [213]

[210] G. Iversen 1976: 11; J. Iversen 1977: 12; I. Bjørnevoll 1985: 5
[211] Bartolomé 1977a; Chase-Sardi 1972; T. Escobar 1989
[212] R. Larsen 1979; I. J. Bjørnevoll & I. Bjørnevoll 1976: 9
[213] Strømsrud 1972b: 8

The development aid was not directed at funding evangelization, but in this statement from Missionary Strømsrud, it can seem that these goals were overlapping. This statement places the Norwegian Government as a partner on the side of the mission's work among the Indigenous. The mission had become a part of a broader network of development aid that was directed from what was seen as a developed world to the undeveloped countries of the South. Health care was an important focus of the mission from the beginning, and in Eben-Ezer, a new infirmary was established with the support of NORAD.[214] In Paso Cadena, an infirmary had, years earlier, been built with the support of the Pentecostal community in Seattle and was later supported economically by NORAD.[215] It is emphasized by several missionaries that many sought out the mission to get help. Sometimes, they described it as too late, and long distances and bad roads made traveling difficult. On occasion, missionary Inger Johanne Bjørnevoll described a situation where a woman and her small child came to the station,

> All hope was gone, so the only thing was to take the mother and child with us to the mission station and do what we could. For the first time, the mother and child lay in a bed with a real mattress and clean white sheets – arrived from Norway. [..] The next morning, the mother and the closest family went back to the poor cabin with the light coffin. This family lives in a remote place that is rarely or never visited by the missionaries. They are not under the influence of the power of the Gospel.[216]

They describe the situation as hopeless, and the poverty that existed outside the mission was connected to a place distant from God and the power of the Gospel. The real mattress and clean white sheets of the mission stood out in contrast to the outside. Norway and the mission are associated with cleanliness and comfort and are regarded as generous donors. Describing the sheets as coming from Norway established a sense of connection to their community back home so they could relate and feel engaged in their work. This can be seen as part of the mission propaganda, which intends to show that there is an urgent need for people to be saved and a continuous need for their community's support. Including the aid from NORAD, their community continued to be an important donor in supporting their work among the

[214] Archetti et al. 1983: 101
[215] B. Nordheim & O. Nordheim 1969: 12; Archetti et al. 1983: 124
[216] I. J. Bjørnevoll 1974: 8

Indigenous. The mission also received donations from Action for Hope to build a school in Paso Cadena, and in regard to that donation, Missionary Førland wrote,

> The current chieftain was one of those who, many years ago, was a student at the missionary school, and under the inauguration of the new school[..], he thanked the mission for the possibilities the indian children now will get. [..] It is good to see that aid collected so spontaneously from the Norwegian people gives results. Two hundred thousand kroner were collected and given to Paso Cadena, resulting in three beautiful school buildings and a restored teachers' residence.[217]

The support and development of the Indigenous colonies now included donations from a broader Norwegian community. It placed the people of Norway as generous givers and the Indigenous as grateful recipients that one can connect to a more general development discourse, which represents a new form of division. Additional organizations also have cooperated with NORAD to develop projects among Indigenous groups. Some years after the Colony of Fortuna had received development aid from NORAD and Kirkens Nødhjelp missionary Strømsrud wrote:

> Through the past years, it has been interesting to see how God has watched over us and given us the resources that we needed. Since then, it has been several exciting projects. In 1987, [..] we received funding from NORAD and Kirkens Nødhjelp, among others, to buy land and build roads. I know there are anthropologists who say that indians don't need roads, but the indians themselves want this. When they feel that we don't take advantage of them, we win their confidence. [..] It has become a school, teachers building, storehouse, church, and healthcare center. The soil is fertile, and because of the new roads, the indians can easily transport their products to the market in Curuguaty.[218]

The mission had become a part of the Norwegian Government aid politics and was to a greater extent than before, expressing what Gullestad labeled the communicative modality of development. It was not just the division between Christians and heathens – a view the

[217] Førland 1986: 1, 20
[218] Strømsrud 1998: 4

mission continued to express, but it also, to a greater extent, came to include the division of the developed and non-developed understood within a larger frame of Western development discourse. Mission organizations around the globe became actors who continued to uphold this dichotomy of "us and the other". The religious aspect of the mission work became closer connected with the more general development aid discourse. Note how the funding they have received over the years is understood by missionary Strømsrud – as God watching over them and that God worked through secular forces like NORAD. With the help of NORAD and other organizations, they were able to increase their focus on projects related to land and economic sustainability, but it is never disconnected from the mission task of evangelizing. The project the mission introduced was also received with skepticism. The missionaries were criticized by anthropologists and others who saw their work as destroying Indigenous traditional culture. However, the missionaries did not see their work as assimilating the Indigenous into Paraguayan society and erasing their identity but as integrating them so that they could sustain their lives in the colony. Missionary Strømsrud wrote.

> If the indians don't get an education, they lose the struggle for their livelihood and workplace in the colony. Day by day, civilization consumes more of the indians' forest, and there is an increasing need for high school education. [..] It is important that the indians get their education without having to go to the cities since they often don't come back after having finished their education. The colony needs them.[219]

Education is framed as important to the survival of the Indigenous colonies, and more than in the period before, framed as something that could help the Indigenous communities in their encounter with society. The intention was to create sustainable and self-sufficient colonies, and education was a part of that development. Regardless, the evangelizing aspect of the mission is always present, and conserving the colony can also be seen as safeguarding the Christian community in the colony. Education and health work were still closely connected to the mission's evangelizing aspect and a way to reach people with the Gospel, even if it is now also argued in terms of the development of the colony. In the transition to the 1990s, the mission, in cooperation with NORAD, started a project that was supposed to make the

[219] Frislie 1995: 15

Indigenous as self-sufficient as possible regarding agriculture production.[220] In an interview with Missionary Rasmussen it was stated:

> When she came to the small village almost two years ago, they were about to initiate a project among the people there [PasoCadena] where the goal was to make the inhabitants as self-sufficient as possible in terms of agriculture. [..] the final goal was to transfer healthcare work and the school to the state that has cooperated well with the Pentecostals. [..] one is on the right path, but there is still a way left for them to manage independently without support.[221]

This reflects a more general development discourse. The goal of development aid was to create sustainable societies where aid was seen as a process that, in the end, would lead to self-sufficiency. The idea of West and its development aid leading the way can be understood as a similar thought as the idea of the trustee, which was mentioned in chapter 6, when the native population is not seen as ready, and where the land, and in this case, the project, will be handed over when they are ready to take responsibility. This reflects a similar division and creates a sense of teacher-student relationship. The missionaries, or, in other words, Norway, exported resources and knowledge, and the Indigenous and Paraguay were placed as recipients of knowledge who needed to be taught and were dependent on Norway's generosity. This is an example of how colonial ideologies of unequal power relations are transferred, changed, and expressed in new forms. This can also be seen to reflect ideas on a religious level in relation to the independence of the churches. The idea is that the congregation should be independent and pay their own expenses. That process is also described as taking time, and some missionaries emphasize that they are not ready to manage on their own. Strømsrud expresses: “The nationals take over more and more, but few that can carry the responsibility alone and need the missionary by their side.”[222] This resembles and reflects the larger development discourse and ideas that locals must mature before responsibility can be handed over.

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[220] Folkestad 1994: 12
[221] Folkestad 1994: 12
[222] Strømsrud 1985b: 9

Missionaries had more than ever taken on a role as development workers, and NORAD also financed missionaries that were specially sent out to oversee projects. Their roles as evangelizing missionaries and project missionaries highly overlap, and the projects initiated – both spiritually and materially – were met with resistance by some. Missionary Stuksrud writes,

> Great resistance from their own people can hinder many indians from experiencing liberating salvation. When outside power also works against the mission, the indians become even more confused. Many anthropologists and ethnologists work hard for the indians to maintain their uniqueness and encourage them not to take advice from other whites but to continue to live in their traditional way. They particularly warn about evangelical missionaries and many lies have been told about them.[223]

Anthropologists were seen as a force that worked against the mission. Reaching out with Christianity and reaching out with development are framed as part of the same struggle. Indigenous religion and culture, which the anthropologist wanted to preserve, were not only framed as standing in the way of a religious change, but also as standing in the way of development and modernization. The missionaries emphasized that they did what they thought was best for the Indigenous, and they saw it as necessary to have a change in culture and lifestyle to survive in a changing society, and accepting Christianity was an essential part of that. Missionary Strømsrud also addresses the disagreement with anthropologists and describes it directly as a spiritual battle.

> Unbeknown to many friends of the mission in Norway is the ongoing spiritual battle, in which those most suspicious of the mission are not primitive spiritual leaders or medicine-men but modern anthropologists. The indians who have become Christians do not always have an easy time with the ideology carried about by the anthropologists. Their doctrine of faith consists of maintaining the indians in the way they traditionally have been, and they see every development in the direction of a modern lifestyle as a failure.[224]

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[223] I. Stuksrud 1980: 13
[224] O. Johansen 1996a: 16

Anthropologists represented as new enemies in the spiritual battle. In the same way that God was working through forces like NOARD to assist their work, dark powers were represented as working through anthropologists to maintain the traditional Indigenous society. The world was interpreted from a religious worldview, where evil power could take many shapes in the physical world. This transferred the good-evil dichotomy into development discourse, and the opposition against the development and opposition against Christianity became one and the same.

7.2. The Christian Agency of the Indigenous

The missionaries saw the Indigenous religion and traditions as holding them back in several ways. As we saw in Chapter 6, their religion was understood as oppressive and as a hopeless state of being. This understanding of their religion persisted through this period, but as we shall see, it became contrasted by the liberated and saved Indigenous. When Missionary Stuksrud described what characterized an Indigenous, she wrote,

> As dark and mysterious, weighed down and impenetrable like the forest is the indian himself. He does not let people in easily and is not very receptive to new things. He has grown up in his narrow world, with his distinctive mythology and culture, and is both proud and embarrassed. His whole orientation makes him skeptical of new ideas, especially when they come from the white man with whom he, through time, has had such bad experiences. When this new stranger has a new religion with him, it makes him resist.[225]

The Indigenous world was described as living in a narrow world. A narrow world can be seen as a space that is limited, and one gets the sense of them being trapped in a state of ignorance. The Christian world, on the other hand, represents freedom, truthfulness, and knowledge. It implies a division between the Christian and heathen world, between those who possess the truth and those who do not. The missionaries saw themselves as distinct from the Europeans

[225] I. Stuksrud 1980: 13

who came before them and saw their role as restoring the damage done to the Indigenous population. Missionary Strømsrud states that,

> It is the damage brought by civilization we must try to diminish as best as possible. One can say that it has surged a great vacuum that needs to be filled. We have means of action. The Gospel can correct and create a new culture that is built with faith in God and compassion. I think the best thing that can happen to them is that they take part in our Christian cultural heritage.[226]

They understood their role as restoring the wrongdoings of the past and building up their pride as a people within the framework of Christianity. The mission saw its role as alleviating suffering and overcoming oppression to which the Indigenous had been exposed to by society, and they understood the acceptance of the Gospel as part of that restoration. The oppression and victimization are not only understood as something related to their experience with colonization or the majority culture surrounding them. Placing them in this state of helplessness places them as passive and people in need of guidance. The Indigenous are also seen as victims of their own religion and the power that connects them to the spirits. Missionary Stuksrud wrote:

> The priest – the wizard – has great power in the society. He is the intermediary between the people and the sacred, and he is responsible for taking care of and bringing forward the old customs and ceremonies, the mythology, and the traditions. If one indian breaks away, converts and becomes baptized, he will come under the wizard's spell. He will be expelled from society if he does not, as many apparently seem to do, keep a balance between the evangelical church and their old religion.[227]

The spiritual leader and his power are described as a force that causes fear, and the Indigenous are portrayed as victims under his power. He is framed as a power that stands between the Indigenous and freedom and one who keeps some Indigenous from completely embracing the Pentecostal faith. Missionary Stuksrud continues,

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[226] Korsets Seier 1975: 5
[227] I. Stuksrud 1980: 13

> What will happen to this proud Guaraní people? Will they become extinct as so many other ethnic groups? Or will the assimilation continue as intensely as before? That must not happen. Maybe we as a mission can support the integration of this pure Guaraní tribe that is left in the Paraguayan society by helping them out of this identity crisis that affects many. They struggle with the inferiority complex to the white population at the same time as national sentiments are awakening again. If they learned to know Nandejára [the Christian God], not as a slave owner, but as the loving father who gave his son for the world, also the Guaraní people, they would become free from sin and guilt, inferiority and oppression, then life would take on a different meaning. They would have something to live for and something to reach. They could discover their own race's intrinsic value, and that is necessary for them to survive as a people.[228]

She expresses that if the Indigenous knew the Christian God, they would be free from sin and guilt, as well as feelings of inferiority and oppression. Through the Catholics, they were first introduced to the Christian God – The slave owner. In contrast, the Pentecostal God is expressed as kind and loving. Their discrimination in society and the poverty they suffer are blamed on culture and religion and are framed as something the Pentecostal faith can fix. At the same time, missionary Stuksrud distances herself from the assimilation of the Indigenous. Indigenous identity and who they are as an ethnic minority is not in itself represented as opposite to Christianity; it is more a question of their culture, traditions, and religion. One can argue that these are difficult to separate. Still, it can seem that the missionaries saw them as designable as they saw Christianity helping them out of what they saw as an identity crisis so they could be proud and active participants in society. Missionary Strømsrud expressed similar thoughts:

> [..]There are many good sides to the original Indigenous culture, and the missionaries try to conserve these parts. But [..] witchcraft, blood vengeance, magic, and superstition are things that they manage without when the changing power of the Gospel takes place in them.[229]

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[228] I. Stuksrud 1979: 21
[229] O. Johansen 1996a: 17

In this quote and the quote from Stuksrud above, one clearly sees that they saw the Indigenous identity as an ethnic minority as separable from their culture and religion. At this point, many Indigenous had converted and represented exactly these ideals. Indigenous who had become Christians were represented as more active people, taking charge of their own lives, in contrast to the oppressed and passive Indigenous heathen. One can observe a before and after and get an insight into how their conversion had changed their lives spiritually, mentally, and materially from what it was before. They were described as becoming more involved in education, organization, and congregation and described as taking more responsibility, leading the meetings, and preaching. Missionary Nordheim stated, "It is now more indians and Paraguayans who take over more of the responsibility, leading reunions and preaching the Gospel. From that, we see that it gives results."[230] When converted, the Indigenous went from being a passive group in the background to active participants. They illustrate to their readers that conversion to Christianity has changed people's lives – which can also be understood as part of the mission propaganda for arguing for the continued support of the mission. In several places where the mission started up, congregations had been established with their own pastors.[231] It became important to integrate the Indigenous into the larger Pentecostal community with roots in the mission and for them to participate on an equal footing as the non-indigenous in Bible study, gatherings, and conferences. Missionary Iversen writes,

> Some good words need to be said about our Paraguayan believers. To my knowledge, there is no discrimination, but with the heart, they treat our brothers respectfully without any line of separation dividing them. Here, the missionaries probably contributed in that they led these people together naturally and did not in any way treat the indians as special human beings. Are they saved and competent they are included in everything that is going on in the congregation, which we are now about to hand over to the nationals. Think about what damage it would have done to separate the indians from the rest of the awakening. But this has not happened. A great miracle

[230] B. Norheim 1985: 13
[231] Førland 1978: 6

> has occurred. The indians are naturally united with the rest of the population and get to take part in the Christian community without being looked down upon.[232]

The changing aspect of the Gospel is not just reserved for changes within the Indigenous communities. It's a way for Paraguayans and the Indigenous population to meet on an equal level. It is framed as if discrimination would end when they were united through the Pentecostal faith. The congregation was portrayed as an area free of oppression and discrimination. They highlight equality, and from the statement it was expressed as important not to make a distinction between the Indigenous and the rest of the population in church matters. Missionary Iversen here states,

> What is great here in Paraguay is that the indians (we are, of course, not using that term here; we use compatriots) are together with Paraguayan Christians in youth camps, conferences, and Bible schools, and, in this way, they join a pulsating Paraguayan life. This has contributed to knowing civilization in a good way. [233]

This statement can be said to be a form of emphasizing equality within the Christian community. Not referring to them as indians or the Spanish word indio was most likely to highlight that the Indigenous were seen as equals. The Spanish word indio has a very negative connotation and is often used in discriminating terms. Civilization is here used in reference to the Christian Pentecostal community, which represents something good. Whereas, as we have seen earlier, the use of the term civilization was also used related to the surrounding society in Paraguay and was then used in negative terms. There is an idea of equality within the Christian community. On several occasions, the equality aspect is emphasized. In the 1970s, there was a marriage ceremony in Eben-Ezer where three Indigenous couples were to be married. Missionary Strømsrud had invited the Minister of Defense to join the celebration. Some people had wondered how they could make such a great fuss over just a marriage between a few Indigenous when there were more important people in the area. Missionary Rudolf Larsen, on that occasion, wrote, "[..] for us it was important to show that these also are regular people, with rights just as anyone else. They are not 'just indians'!"[234] In this

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[232] J. Iversen 1977: 12
[233] J. Iversen 1977: 12
[234] R. Larsen & B. L. Larsen 1978: 8

statement, missionary Larsen shows that they saw the Indigenous as just as worthy as others, and he also acknowledged their right to be treated as such. The word “right” can seem to refer to equal treatment independently of social status. Marriage was part of the process of going over to the new faith, and the mission goal was for the Indigenous to be integrated into society and follow its rules regarding marriage, which they expressed were also recommendations from the Government.[235] Integration in society also meant integration in the church and church matters. They wanted to include the Indigenous in the spiritual awakening so they could participate at an equal level with the non-indigenous.[236] Iversen wrote,

> Emiliano Vera [..] belongs to the group Chriripa, which has their settlement around Paso Cadena [..]. Emiliano has really experienced salvation and has gotten a completely new way of living. He has his little field patch and his own little store. He knows how to manage his money, and he is an elder in the congregation in Paso Cadena. We who are used to seeing him in our Bible studies and conferences often forget what he really was before the Gospel came his way. But now he stands here in front of other witnesses from Paraguay and says that he, under no circumstances, would prefer that kind of life. Only those who know the world of the indian under the wizard's power and the spirit's stronghold on their mind, their hopeless condition facing death, can really understand what Jesus has done for someone like Emiliano. He is surely not just thinking of the spiritual changes but of everything new. He walks around in the conference area, respected, and truth be told, there are few who think about his origin.[237]

This statement expresses a strong contrast between before and after, and a division is on several levels. On the one hand, the Christian life is associated with responsibility, respect and prosperity in life. In contrast, it is emphasized that what he was before represents the complete opposite. The insinuation was that a good life and being respected by the rest of society could only happen through conversion. In a spiritual sense, it was possible for the Indigenous and Paraguayans to be seen as equal to the Pentecostal missionaries. However, there was an underlying imbalance of power, where the missionaries had the resources and

[235] R. Larsen & B. L. Larsen 1978: 8
[236] J. Iversen 1977: 12
[237] J. Iversen 1977: 16

organizing principles to follow. For that reason, the equality can be seen as an imagined sameness. Agency and empowerment are mostly expressed as part of the Christian conversion. The Indigenous who are described as actively participating and making a change in their life comes from those who have converted. However, at the end of this period, one can sense something that is unrelated to the conversion to Christianity happening among Indigenous groups who had kept their distance from the mission. Missionary Norheim wrote:

> The Apytere indians [another name for Mbya], who initially wanted nothing to do with the mission, are now asking for help for their tribe. They want help with school and medical care. [..] the door is open. Let's go to them with the Gospel.[238]

The fact that new tribes sought out the mission for education and medical help was presented by Missionary Norheim as an opening for the Gospel, and the initiative of the Indigenous was interpreted into a religious worldview. At the end of the 1970s and through the 1980s, Indigenous groups' organizations increased as a result of the regime's politics. Indigenous communities also used their connection with Protestants and Catholics to get support and secure land,[239] which can explain these approaches disconnected from the religious worldview of the missionaries. Getting an education enabled the possibility for opposition and was becoming more necessary for groups that previously had managed to keep their distance and now experienced increased pressure. Horst recounts that in the 1980s, religious and political leaders from nine Avá Guaraní communities met in Paso Cadena to organize their struggle to maintain their tradition and culture and to secure land.[240] This role of Paso Cadena is not present in the missionaries' writings. However, missionary Larsen spoke in an interview about what was happening in some Indigenous communities:

> The indians are becoming more conscious of their own culture. They get land from the Government, and the indian priests strongly resent the work of the mission and encourage the nationals to level the mission's buildings to the ground. [..] The Government and anthropologists expedite the awareness of their own culture, and that

[238] B. Norheim 1985: 13
[239] Horst 2007: 101
[240] Horst 2007: 144

> is why the indians are in the middle of a strong liberation process, and much is going to happen.[241]

It is not specified where this was happening, but it shows that the missionaries have noticed this trend, which was expressed in the journal. When Indigenous groups are represented as acting agents within the community, it is often not independent of the Christian experience. This statement, however, shows that there is a liberation movement among Indigenous groups that is unrelated to the mission work. However, the consciousness of their own culture is represented as an opposition to the mission and, in that sense, contains negative undertones.

In this period, we can observe a new turn, which includes a stronger presence of development discourse. The evangelizing aspect was still very much present, but there was less use of darkness-lightness metaphors. However, the colonial binaries and divisions are still expressed but with renewed wrappings of the developed and the underdeveloped, where the locals are represented as still too immature to handle the responsibility, both regarding the development project and church matters. The secular development dimension was more visible in their writings, but at the same time, interpreted into a religious worldview, where God was understood as working through secular earthly forces to assist their work. In the period before, education was mainly expressed as a means to reach the souls. However, in this period, education and development were also connected to secular arguments, which argued for the survival and development of the colony. At the same time, this was not unconnected from the religious dimension, which saw it as important to maintain the Christian community in the colony. The agency of the Indigenous is also a new dimension in this period, in contrast to the period before. However, this agency was strongly connected to spiritual change. The ideas of equality and inequality were values expressed interchangeably and come across as idealized equality. The Cooperation with NORAD resulted in larger projects and included the mission as part of global development aid financed by Western states, which makes this about more than the relationship between Indigenous groups and the Pentecostal missionaries; it was also a relation between the Paraguayan state as a recipient of aid and Norway as a donor country.

[241] Janøy 1986: 3

8. Support Partner and Cooperation Discourse 1996–2015

In 1996, the schoolbook project – Proyecto Kuatiañe'e – was initiated with support from NORAD. According to the NORAD documents, the creation of schoolbooks was meant to serve the Indigenous groups Avá Guaraní so they could have a curriculum in their own language that reflected their own culture and would preserve ethnic pride and identity. [242] The book project had originally started at the beginning of the 1990s as part of another project related to school, health, and education in Paso Cadena, and it was said to follow up on the recommendations from the NORAD evaluation from 1988. In 1996, this became a separate project and focused on developing schoolbooks preserving Indigenous culture, religion, and history in close cooperation with Indigenous groups.[243]

The mission had, in the 1990s, come into contact with the tribes Mbya and Aché and, after 2004, these tribes were also included in the book project. In the NORAD documents, missionaries explained that all the country's textbooks relied and built on the dominant group's history and culture. What was called multicultural education consisted of textbooks from the dominant groups, translated from Spanish to the mestizo version of Guaraní.[244] In 2000, the project was nationalized and came under the auspices of "Facultad de Lenguas Vivas" and submitted to the Evangelical University in Paraguay.[245] NORAD conducted two evaluation reports during this period. The first was in 2007, and the second was in 2014. The evaluation from 2007 stated that the missionaries and the coordinator of the textbook project showed respect and interest in Guaraní culture, and there were "no attempts to weed out content that may clash with Church teachings."[246] The report went on to say that the mission had, over the years, addressed rights issues – such as land – by purchasing land that had become registered as belonging to the Indigenous community. The mission also played an important role in requesting that the State fulfill its obligation regarding teachers' salaries. However, the evaluation stated that was as far as the rights engagement went and that there

[242] Norsk Misjonsråd Bistandsnemd 1994a: 185
[243] Norsk Misjonsråd Bistandsnemd 1988; Norsk Misjonsråd Bistandsnemd 1994a 185; Norsk Misjonsråd Bistandsnemd 1994b: 1–2
[244] I. Bjørnevoll 2004
[245] I. Bjørnevoll 2004
[246] Borchgrevink & McNeish 2007: 14

was a lack of attention to wider rights issues.[247] This aspect had apparently improved when the last evaluation was done, and it stated that the human rights aspect had become more visible over the past few years. The project had held seminars on the importance of language, culture and Indigenous rights. Nevertheless, the evaluation stated that the rights-based approach was more or less the same project presented in different wrappings and that the project should increase its knowledge in order to apply a more rights-based approach.[248] The mission had, over the years, in line with NORAD's development and human rights discourse, become more confronted with and expected to address human rights issues both in theory and practice.

Regarding the organization of the churches, the elders' council, the pastor's role, and the organization of clinics and schools were, to a greater extent, left to the Indigenous themselves. In 1997, the Indigenous congregation was separated from the congregation founded by the mission, and "La Iglesia Evangelica Indigena" was approved and registered by the state as an independent congregation. The work among the mestizo and the Indigenous that the Norwegian mission had built up was then separated into different movements.[249] In 2003, La Mission Norma was dissolved, and all the organization's belongings were distributed between these churches.[250] All the schools and health care facilities had, by this time, been taken over by the State. The missionaries still saw their work as important as a support partner to the newly established church and continued to have a role in the NORAD-supported book project.

8.1. New Tribes and Old Divisions

Despite this increased focus on preserving Indigenous culture, religion, language, and history, as the NORAD document testifies, this was not reflected in KS until a while after 2000. In the 1990s, there was increased focus on evangelizing and not losing sight of their primary task as evangelizers, especially regarding new tribes such as the Mbya and Aché.[251] Furthermore, perhaps as a reaction to the focus over the years on development projects where many had

[247] Borchgrevink & McNeish 2007: 14
[248] Winje 2014: 4–5
[249] I. Bjørnevoll 1999: 12; R. Larsen 2021: 9; O. Johansen 2000: 10
[250] R. Larsen 2021: 9
[251] Korsets Seier 1996a: 17 O. Johannsen 1998a: 10

been project missionaries and had, as some missionaries pointed out, not been able to focus as much as they would have liked on the task of evangelization.[252] The Mbya community had been closed to the mission since the beginning. Even so, some individuals had, over the years, come into contact with the mission and become Christians. Indigenous communities from both the Mbya and Aché increased their contact with the mission during this period.[253] A new turning point had also taken place in the mission, where Indigenous themselves went to evangelize among other Indigenous groups, something that was addressed by some of the missionaries in their writings. This can be seen as a continuation of the agency of the converted Indigenous we saw in the last chapter. The Indigenous are said to have initiated outposts in several places and are represented as being on the same side as the mission.[254] In an interview with KS, missionary Ingvald Skretting stated,

> God had called an indian evangelist in Paso Cadena to spearhead this crusade. Apariosio has a wife and four children. Together, they will give their lives so Mbya indians may be saved. They have the spirit, courage, and language, while we have the money and other resources to succeed.[255]

The Indigenous Pentecostal community is here depicted as standing at the forefront regarding the continued evangelization among unreached Indigenous communities. The image of a crusade enforced the idea of division and that there was a battle between Christianity and heathenism. In regard to how the crusades have been interpreted, it can also be understood as a battle between civilizations – between savageness and civilization. This points to a gap, which, at this point, the Indigenous themselves were intended to close. The relationship between the missionaries and the Indigenous is portrayed as one of cooperation, which implies that there is a certain quality between them. Still, there is a visible distance and inequality in terms of economy and resources, as well as paternalism which comes to expression in this statement. The missionaries represented themselves as leading and one can sense a certain pride when they refer to these new evangelists. Missionary Skretting wrote,

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[252] O. Johansen 1996b: 16; Førland 1999: 11
[253] Korsets Seier 1998: 1; I. Skretting 1998b: 4
[254] G. Skretting & I. Skretting 1996: 16
[255] O. Johansen 1998: 10

> When the light of the Gospel breaks out, the darkness must stand down. This a reality we experience. But for many, the reality is full of struggle. I think about Patricino, who was baptized a short while ago. This simple Mbya indian was the first of his people to be saved and baptized but became unwanted by the chieftain and medicine man when he wanted to hold reunions in the colony. I went to converse with them, and it went ok. They wanted contact with me and wished that we would help them with medicines, but reunions were out of the question. There have been established outposts in several places by the indians themselves. It is almost as if an 'old' missionary can't keep up. With the fire burning in their hearts, the indians are ready to get going [..] Our thought is to cooperate with a national evangelist and not build the work around ourselves, but rather help to get work started.[256]

This statement underlines a certain degree of equality. It illustrated for their community that God had the power to lead every individual, despite nature and background, to spread God's word. On the other hand, the simple nature of the Indigenous underlines a certain distinctness from the missionaries. It also shows the unequal possibility of getting in contact and influencing the unreached, which is facilitated by the material help the mission provides. Missionary Skretting also recounts that spiritual leaders come to the mission asking for help.[257] In regard to the 40-year anniversary of the mission work in Paso Cadena, Missionary Skretting wrote,

> Few indian colonies have the same living standards as Paso Cadena. The old Chieftain Juan Pablo Vera, who welcomed the missionary 40 years ago, was invited to the celebration. His open-mindedness became a door-opener that would mean a lot to his people. [..] Not less than six indian chieftains joined the celebration. Most of them represented tribes that have not been reached with the Gospel. The chieftain from the Mbya tribe also arrived – A little late, but he had walked 40 kilometers to reach us. For him the celebration was not the most important. Most important for him was to

[256] G. Skretting & I. Skretting 1996: 16
[257] Tysland 1997: 8; I. Skretting 1998a: 11; O. Johansen 1998: 10

> invite the mission to come to his tribe. He had seen the results of the work of the mission and wanted his tribe to take part in the same.[258]

The mission was represented as having changed the colonies – spiritually and materially – which they wrote had become noticed by other tribes around them. The colonies the missions had worked in were held up as good examples of the mission's success. Paso Cadena and Fortuna were described as having viable and strong congregations where their Christian communities were growing.[259] It is implied that the new tribes need the help of the mission in order to reach the same level as these colonies. Missionary Skretting stated,

> The indians need the mission, both because of the changes the Gospel brings and for the support in adapting to today's society. [..] That it pays off just goes to show the work in Paso Cadena. Here, we have worked for over 40 years, and it is now a strong and viable congregation. In addition, there is a clinic and school led by the indians. Several young indians are now taking further education with support from the mission. This is an important investment in the future.[260]

These examples of viable congregations and high living standards are set in contrast to the outside. Contact with the mission is represented as obtaining the ability to prosper in life. The unreached colonies were still represented as primitive, while the colonies of Fortuna and Paso Cadena were seen as more developed and civilized. They were placed on the inside in spiritual and material terms, and the colonies outside the mission had now become the other. In an Interview in KS, Missionary Skretting stated regarding the Mbya tribe, “They are a primitive people. They work in agriculture and hunting and get jobs at the large farms whose owners have bought the land in the area of the reserve.”[261] Their primitive state was seen in contrast to Paso Cadena, which was understood as closer to civilization. Skretting continues, “He [an individual from the Mbya community] came to ‘civilization’ in Paso Cadena to search for work. He came in contact with the Christian congregation that the Norwegian mission had started, and after a while, he accepted Jesus into his heart.”[262] Note that here,

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[258] I. Skretting 1998a: 11
[259] I. Skretting 1998a: 11; Strømsrud 1998: 4
[260] I. Skretting 1998b: 4
[261] O. Johansen 1998a: 10
[262] O. Johansen 1998a: 10

Paso Cadena is represented as a "civilization" in contrast to the colonies outside that have not been influenced by the mission. However, the inverted comma gives the impression that this is not a civilization in the full sense of the word and points to an enduring division and a gap regarding the level of civilization. It is framed as the Indigenous wanting to experience civilization, which seems to be related to material as well as spiritual development. Skretting said in an interview, "The indians themselves want to experience civilization. We have seen their distress and degradation and know that the way in which some anthropologists want them to live is not a dignified life for them."[263] Civilization provided by the mission is represented as something good compared to one of the anthropologists. Missionary Skretting communicated that they listened to the needs of the Indigenous, which is part of Gullestad's communicative modality of cooperation, where local needs and wishes are becoming more significant in the writings. The desire to evolve and develop is, in many ways, equalized with the desire to participate in the Christian faith. The Indigenous agency comes to expression through that they seek a change in their life in terms of spirituality and development. However, there is still a need for help and guidance to develop and connect with God. Skretting writes,

> Doors are opening because the indians are basically spiritual people. [..] The medicine man wants contact with God, but they don't know the middleman, Jesus Christ. When they become filled with evil spiritual powers, they believe that they have contact with God.[264]

These Indigenous groups are framed as people who seek contact with the divine but who lack the knowledge and guidance to be successful. They were framed as in a state of ignorance where the missionary's role was to lead them to a state of knowing and to the true religion. The encounter with new tribes resurrected the binary of savage and civilized, dark and light, and good and evil, more similar to traditional colonial binaries, which were more frequently expressed in the early years of the mission. Skretting wrote,

> Like many other indians, they [the Mbya] worship different kinds of false gods. The fear of the gods is great, and many suffer from the torments this entails. The medicine

[263] O. Johansen 1998b: 11
[264] I. Skretting 1998b: 4

> man has great power over people. Four spiritual leaders control the village. [..] What they say is the people's law, and those who do not obey are in trouble. Spiritual leaders have such great control over people that they take them with them inside a house, lock the door, and do not let them out before spirits beset them. [..] The spiritual leaders are intelligent and discovered early on that the Gospel sets people free. Hence, they told us they would be out of a job if they allowed the mission to preach in the colony.[265]

Skretting here is framing the spiritual leaders as defenders of what he regarded as a false religion and, at the same time, as oppressors of their own people. The quote can be seen as part of the communicative modality of evangelizing, which most strongly enforced the propaganda dimension since it clearly showed the continuous need for evangelizing and saving the Indigenous – in this case, from their own spiritual leaders. Another aspect of this statement is that the spiritual leader is not described as ignorant but as someone who knows the truth even though he actively works against it for his own benefit to retain his power and position in the community. The spiritual leader is often represented as connected to evil forces. Jørgen Cloumann, field secretary to the Pentecostal mission in Latin America, wrote:

> After an encounter in a colony 4.5 kilometers from Paso, Martin [an evangelist from Paso Cadena] held a reunion. This colony has not opened itself to the schoolwork or the Gospel. As a result of the apparent hospitality, their medicine man attempted to poison the brother. He became ill only after two spoons of soup and started his journey home on foot that night. It turned out well, but you understand that there is a spiritual battle here that needs to be fought. [266]

The spiritual leader is described as power-seeking and cruel and one who uses drastic methods to get his way. This underlines the savage nature of his person and the religion he was protecting, which expresses a view in line with the colonial binaries of the savage and the civilized. Spiritual change was represented as taking people out of their savageness. In addition, embracing Christianity was essential for getting a better life, material development, and modernization. It was deemed preferable that a Christian community was in place before

[265] O. Johansen 1998: 10
[266] Cloumann 1998: 9

a development project was initiated. Missionary Larsen stated, “It is important that the mission work is established and succeeds first. We have seen that where it is not established a congregation work, the social project will have difficulty in surviving.”[267] This frames the current society and culture as less able to hold a project going, in other words, less equipped and organized. This establishes a direct connection between development aid and the need for spiritual change. In the same way, as they saw Christianity to end discrimination between members of the Christian community, as we saw in earlier chapters, Christianity equipped people with the necessary qualities to succeed in different projects. In this way, we can see how development and evangelization discourse become united as one and the same.

8.2 Indigenous Agency and Human Rights

The schoolbook project, which started as a pilot project initiated early in the 1990s, was not mentioned in KS until after 2000. A short informative article from 2000 recounts that the Bjørnevoll couple was working on collecting stories from the Indigenous groups and local history for different book projects from the area around Curuguaty. This article tells that in these books, one can, among other things, read about how Indigenous peoples experienced being forcibly removed when the first power plant was to be built in their area.[268] The fact that the project was barely written about in the first decade testifies to the controversy around this project. This is also something addressed by missionary Bjørnevoll in 2007 when he wrote about the project.

> When the book project started in the 1990s, many in Norway and Paraguay criticized it and felt it wasn’t spiritual enough. The missionary was supposed to preach the word of God and not help the indians to conserve their own culture as we did. In this project, older leaders, spiritual leaders, women, and others got to talk about their culture and history and it was produced books that will ‘speak’ long after they are gone. After we had given out around 10 of these books, one old spiritual leader said:

[267] O. Johansen 2000: 9
[268] Korsets Seier 2000a: 10

> ‘First, now we understand that you people care about us,’ which was something for us old missionaries to think about.[269]

The missionaries increasingly expressed that they were taking Indigenous perspectives and desires into consideration, even if it was something that there was not necessarily agreement on within their own community. It can appear that the path the mission has taken over the last decades, being a part of the Norwegian development aid with an increased number of project missionaries, had been a controversial subject within Pentecostal circles since it can by some be seen to take focus away from the task of evangelizing.[270] The missionary’s role in their spiritual project has also changed character over the years. Missionary Bjørnevoll stated,

> The missionaries do not automatically become great leaders anymore but go into cooperation with national leaders. The pioneer life is exchanged for teamwork. [..] A missionizing lifestyle is, first of all, one of walking companionship where we engage in the joys and sorrows of the people around us carry. But as the conversation goes on, ‘along the road,’ perhaps we can get to open the Scripture for them. [271]

This testifies to a greater cultural sensitivity, where they emphasize teamwork and cooperation. At the same time, it indirectly implied that the missionary’s role in the past was one of great leadership. Over the years, the missionary role has gone from being represented as a leader to becoming a support player who offers companionship and support and is consistent with the communicative modality of cooperation. The idea of cooperation also insinuates a form of equality. Equality has been continuously expressed through the mission’s work among the indigenous. Regarding the independence of the congregation, Missionary Inge Bjørnevoll stressed that “It is not about taking over responsibility from one level to the other, but a change that happens within the same level.”[272] This shows that Bjørnevoll expressed sameness between the missionaries and the people in the congregation.

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[269] I. Bjørnevoll 2007a: 8–9
[270] I. Bjørnevoll 1997b: 15; Førland 1999: 11
[271] I. Bjørnevoll 2007a: 8–9
[272] I. Bjørnevoll 1997a: 15

In this period the idea of equality can also be seen in the recognition of the possibility for mutual learning between the Indigenous and the missionaries, which has not been expressed before. Missionary Larsen wrote:

> We, the Norwegians, have a good organizational culture that has laid the foundation for our welfare state. Our ability to take care of and distribute economic goods is something that the indians can learn from. On the other hand, indians have an incredible ability to survive under very difficult circumstances. For many, the poverty is extreme, something that we, the Norwegians, have a lot to learn from. In addition, there is a strong desire and ability to take care of one's own culture instead of letting one be influenced by other people.[273]

Learning on mutual terms recognized a form of equality with the Indigenous. There is an increased sense of value and respect connected to Indigenous life and knowledge, compared to the periods before. Missionary Strømsrud, who had been a missionary for 40 years among the Indigenous in Paraguay, expressed similar thoughts,

> It is among the indians I have been most of my life, and I have learned so much from them. I have learned to respect other people in a new way, and there are many things in the Indigenous culture that I have learned to appreciate.[274]

Missionary Strømsrud was one of those missionaries who had been working with the indigenous for the longest, and it can seem like her time among them also has changed her views to some extent. There seems to be an increased sense of comprehension of Indigenous life and culture. There is also an increased expression of indigenous agency, not necessarily connected to spiritual change. The book project, which was expressed as cooperation, is expressed by Missionary Bjørnevoll in the following way:

> The book project originated from the indians themselves. Some old indians wanted to encounter their own culture in the education material. This is what this book project is about. The indians got to talk about their own culture. [..] In practice, the work is

[273] Søvde 2009: 6
[274] O. Johansen 2002: 8

> carried out by making recordings, most desirable by the indians themselves. People of interest, chieftains, and spiritual leaders recount what they want the generations to come to know about their own culture. In this way, the indians strengthen their identity with respect to the rest of society around them. [275]

Bjørnevoll expressed that the project was an idea coming from the Indigenous themselves and that they actively participated in its making. It shows an increased expression and recognition of Indigenous agency outside the Christian experience. Bjørnevoll also framed it as a restoration process where those who had lost contact with their community and family in the era of the Aché's persecution would be reconnected with their culture and history.

> The Aché, now living in six different colonies, are looking for their families. [..] Many children were taken away from their parents, and many parents were killed. These children are old today and are looking for their roots. Building bridges between those who once were abducted and their family is important. The goal is to preserve this side of history.[276]

In this way, the project also becomes part of the mission aim to restore societies destroyed by ruthless colonists and their successors, which has been part of the mission discourse since the beginning. The way to accomplish this goal is not just seen as having to go through a change in spirituality but also by strengthening the Indigenous peoples' identity through preserving traditions, culture, and history. The missionaries had mostly aimed at changing society from the bottom up by getting people to embrace Christianity. However, through their surroundings, they are becoming increasingly faced with the human rights discourse. This human rights discourse is espoused by international society, by NORAD and by activists in the Paraguayan society. In 2009, on the same page as an article about the mission's educational projects is an informative article that refers to part Five of the ILO Convention on Indigenous Rights regarding education and communication. The article refers to articles 26, 28, and 30, which emphasize the right to education in one's own language and the Government's responsibility to familiarize people with their rights and duties under the

[275] I. Bjørnevoll 2007b: 9
[276] I. Bjørnevoll 2007b: 9

convention.[277] In this way, the mission education work was represented as connected to Indigenous rights and multicultural education. Over the years, the missionaries have combined their mission work with their role as development workers, and closing up to our own time, the human rights aspect seems to have become more expressed in KS. The human rights aspect is quite subtle, but there is a development in that direction. Even if the discourse shows more recognition and respect for Indigenous culture, the contrasting other still appears in between the lines. In one of the last articles, Bjørnevoll reflects on the mission role,

> Most of the missionaries today travel to countries in the 'third world' and work among the poorest. Then, it is easy to think that we, with our money and administration, are going to change society and make it more like the society we come from. There are often created castles in the air and dreams for the future that our efforts will become the start of sustainable changes. But often, once the missionaries have gone home, and the money ends, society falls back into old patterns. Why? Simply because the efforts of the mission have not changed their way of thinking nor their lifestyle. Corruption, egocentrism, and power struggles that have been hidden while the work was ongoing come to the surface. Perhaps also because the missionary or the aid worker had led the work as 'king of the hill' without taking the time to converse, so people got ownership and co-determination.[278]

Bjørnevoll reflects and recognizes a problem in how some projects had been carried out. Still, it states a division where Third World countries are represented with a mentality that needs to be changed for the survival of the project and be more similar to Western ideals. This idea characterized the religious discourse of the heathens, as well as the development discourse where people in the Third World were represented as children in need of adult guidance, as Escobar writes.[279] It falls into the same dualistic pattern, where the other needs guidance to change. This view is expressed on the level of the development project as well as in relation to the congregation. The dissolution of the Norwegian Mission Norma in 2003 ended the mission as a juridical entity. However, the missionaries still saw their roles as support partners for the two established congregations as important, simultaneously as they had essential roles

[277] R. Larsen 2009: 7
[278] I. Bjørnevoll 2007a: 8
[279] A. Escobar 2004: 30

in the NORAD-supported schoolbook project. Regarding the continuous mission and its role, missionary Larsen stated:

> There is still a lot we can do in cooperation with the Indigenous of Paraguay. [..] Our task should, first of all, be education, guidance, and support for local leaders. [..] Christians in Norway and the West can help by using resources on the indians and supporting them in their struggle for their rights. The Catholic Church has practically given up evangelizing the indians but supports them in some political processes. Here, the evangelical missionaries have succeeded more in establishing congregations. We, and the growing evangelical church, must especially support the believers in their struggle to survive as a church.[280]

This places Norwegians as assisting the Indigenous in the struggle for their rights. Use of the term rights is not used much in the missionary's discourse through KS, but here it comes to expression that the struggle for their rights is a place where the mission and Christians from the West come in. There is still a sense of a teacher-student relationship where the missionaries are framed as educators and guides. Even if the gap between the Indigenous and the missionaries can be seen to have diminished, the gap still exists and is upheld by mission discourse representation of a persistent other in need for rescue. Bjørnevoll writes,

> People with a Euro-American background identify themselves normally with the good Samaritan in the story of Jesus. The Indigenous here in South America identify themselves with the mistreated traveler. Who, then, are the robbers? Yes, the European 'conquistadors' and all those who have oppressed and taken advantage of them over the past 500 years. Therefore, our evangelization is not enough for the Gospel to grow roots. Neither is a thorough Norwegian Bible education crucial to ensure that the message of the Gospel is made to come alive here. Without a real missionary lifestyle and cultural understanding, our message falls dead to the ground.[281]

[280] Søvde 2009: 6
[281] I. Bjørnevoll 2007a: 8

This directly characterized their relation to Indigenous peoples as one of victims and saviors – those who need rescue and the rescuer – a duality that goes back to the developed and the non-developed and the civilized and the savages. This statement also connected the cultural sensitivity approach and respect towards Indigenous culture to their evangelizing project and for it to have a chance of survival among the Indigenous. The work among the Indigenous and the book project, which, on the one hand, represents ideals connected to the human rights of Indigenous peoples regarding multicultural education, can, on the other hand, be linked to a long tradition of mission work for spreading the Gospel. In one of the last articles written about this project, one can read that the work is connected to the work of a Baptist missionary in India, William Carry (1761–1834), who translated the Bible into many languages, collected local history and focused on education.[282] In that way, this project can be seen as following the patterns of a long mission tradition, which reveals that the project both has a justification in a long Christian tradition as well as being connected to secular human rights.

In this period, we have seen that the encounter with new tribes caused an increased focus on the evangelizing dimension of the mission, where saving the heathens from their oppressive and evil religion was the focus. This division between the Christians and heathens, where the binarism of darkness-lightness and good-evil, gets renewed attention. It took time before the book project was addressed by the missionaries in KS, but when it was, one could also see another turn in the mission, which testified to increased cultural sensitivity and acknowledgment of Indigenous culture and tradition. The development and cooperative dimension in the missionaries' writings come most to expression in the second part of this period. However, they were never directly unconnected from the mission's fundamental task as evangelizes. The division and dualities expressed by the missionaries are fewer and more difficult to capture. Still, there is a duality, and the teacher-student relationship persists both as a part of the spiritual discourse and development and human rights discourse.

[282] Aquino 2012: 30

9. Conclusion

This investigation has addressed the mission discourse through a historical period and illustrated changes and continuities through different phases between 1952 and 2015. On the one hand, the communicative modalities presented by Gullestad coincide and are representative of changes in different periods, but as we have seen, these communicative modalities also overlap and work alongside each other. In the first period, the focus was on saving the heathens and the battle between good and evil, and lightness-darkness was a metaphor frequently used – both in terms of spirituality and material development. Colonial binaries with a religious dimension are expressed frequently in the first period. The Indigenous were represented as ignorant, uncivilized, and passive, and the mission took on the role of saviors and embraced paternalism as an essential part of their mission. The missionaries represented knowledge, civilization, cleanliness, and ideals of modernity. Simultaneously as division and inequality are expressed on so many levels the missionaries also express ideas of equality and the Indigenous were represented as equal human beings. This tension between sameness and distinctness is seen as most contrasted in the first period, where the gap between the Indigenous and the missionaries is represented as more extensive.

In the second period, the metaphor of lightness-darkness was toned down, and the discourse changed more in the direction of larger development discourse, not just related to education and healthcare, but included larger agricultural projects, roadbuilding, and developing the indigenous communities so they would be self-sufficient. This communicative modality of development imposes new forms of divisions where the dichotomy between the developed and undeveloped becomes part of the mission discourse of the other. Colonial ideologies and the division they represent are being constantly renewed and renegotiated. The mission discourse has quite many similarities with the development discourse, comprising similar ideas of paternalism and expressing a teacher-student relationship. Without the necessary intention to do so, it holds up an image of the others who mostly are represented in relation to what they are not seen from a Western perspective. In the encounter with development aid, Christianity and development became even more closely tied together and are almost inseparable from each other. Resistance towards the mission and development project became both represented as part of the same spiritual battle. Different from the period before is the level of agency regarding Indigenous peoples. The converted Indigenous was an active and

participating person who had the ability to take matters into his own hands and prosper in life. The activeness is connected to spiritual change, which also results in increased expressions of equality. This diminished the gap between the missionaries and the Indigenous, simultaneously as the missionaries continued to express a division and distinctness where paternalism and the teacher-student relationship are consistent.

Entering the third period, the missionaries directed increased focus on evangelization, which resurrected old binaries and division of the civilized and uncivilized, good and evil, and lightness and darkness. After the millennium, one can note an increase in cultural sensitivity, and while the human rights aspect does not appear strongly, it becomes visible in the writings. It can rather be seen as a process where they adapt to the human rights-based language and must especially be seen in relation to its connection to NORAD. The explanation for the great absence of human rights language throughout the years can be understood as the existence of the strong belief that the Pentecostal faith was the path to a just society and that it would change society from the bottom up. However, the relationship with the Norwegian government and development aid takes the missionaries down a new path, and they are postponed and confronted with human rights discourse, which they had to take into consideration. This human rights language appears more as a language used with NORAD and is not given a lot of space in the Pentecostal journal. The book project was the project most connected to Indigenous rights in the Pentecostal journal. However, it is expressed as preserving history, culture, and tradition, while the word religion, which is used in NORAD documents, is left out. This opens up the opportunity to express and interpret the project into a Christian mission tradition of earlier missionaries and their work in collecting history and local knowledge. This is a duplicity found frequently in the mission's discourse, where social, educational, and other development projects are justified both in the sacred and profane.

The relationship between the Indigenous people and the missionaries is complex. What I have done here is to look at how missionaries represented the indigenous when they wrote back to their community. Based on these representations, one cannot claim to have captured the whole missionary-Indigenous relation. Indigenous peoples had their own strategies and intentions in cooperating with the mission and should not only be seen as oppressed and marginalized. Neither should their relationship be seen strictly as one of power relations. These writings in the journal do not show a complete picture, nor reflect the whole experience

of the missionaries. The purpose of the journal also limits the missionaries' expression, and there were several more dimensions to their relationship than what was expressed by themselves in the journal Korset Seier. In regard to changes in the mission in the direction of Human Rights, one should neither underestimate the connections the missionaries had with the Indigenous communities, even if that is not addressed in this research. Being close to the Indigenous communities and seeing their issues and struggles not only contributed to producing an image they reflected back to their own community. It has also put them out there, experiencing the situation of Indigenous peoples firsthand, which must also have contributed to the changes that took place within the mission.

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11. Attachments – Translated Texts from Korsets Seier

Chapter 6.1. Spiritual and Material Darkness Page 37–47

Strømsrud 1963: 345 «Her er sterke krefter i gjære, hedenskapets mørke rår, katolikkene gjør alt de kan for å beholde sitt jerngrep over folket, kommunismen gjør seg mer og mer gjeldende, og Jehovas vitner er standig på fremmarsj.»

Nordmoen 1953: 650 «Jeg vet ikke hva forskjell det er på afrikanere som tilbeder sine guder av tre som de ofte henger om halsen, eller indianerne som ligger på kne foran Buddha og på katolikkene som tilber sine bilder eller statuer av hellige menn og kvinner som har levd i tiden.»

G. L. Johansen 1960: 91 «Det er ofte sagt i den senere tid at Sør-Amerika er det kommende misjonskontinent [..] Ennå ruger mørkets makter over mange av Sør-Amerikas land, millioner av mennesker er utestengt fra Lysets skaper.»

G. L. Johansen 1960: 91 «Folket her ber ikke til Kristus, men til Jomfruen. Kristus degraderes til helgen, en blant tusen. Og grensene må gå videre – til det indre av kontinentet – til de tusener av indianere som lever inne i de dype skogene, tusener som aldri før har hørt forkynnelsen om Jesus.»

A. Johansen & Johansen 1973: 8 «Men det skrikende behov fra de mange tusener av de såkalte siviliserte, paraguayerne, ble en stående appell til oss om å gå inn i det evangeliske virke blant dem. Katolisismens slaveri og helgendyrkelse, spiritisme og åndetilbedelse blant de «hvite» ble faktorer som gjorde at vi etter hvert innstilte oss på å arbeide blant den delen av befolkningen, [..]»

Strømsrud 1964: 124 «Vi har lovet å ha dem her på misjonsstasjonen for at de skal få anledning til å komme på skolen. Men fremfor alt ønsker vi å så livets sæd i disse barnehjerter, og ønsker å vise dem veien til Jesus og frelsen i han, ønsker å se dem løst ut av hedenskapets mørke, og ført over i Guds underfulle lys og frihet.»

Norheim & Norheim 1967: 12 «[..] og det første vi gjorde var å bade han og strø noe pulver i håret for å drepe lusa. Aldri glemmer jeg da vi fikk satt på han avlagt norsk nattøy og lagt han i en ren seng, for første gang i sitt liv. De store mørkebrune barneøynene tindret av lykke.»

Strømsrud 1967: 12 Så leste evangelisten Guds ord og talte enkelt til dem, og fremdeles satt de stille og lyttet til budskapet om Jesus for første gang. Det var gripende. Fillete, skitne, ennå bundet til sitt hedenskap satt de der, men nå fikk de høre om Jesus. De som sitter i mørke og dødsskygge skal få se dette underfulle lyset.»

G. L. Johansen 1960: 91–92 «Vi hadde uhindret fått holde møter hele dagen igjennom og illustrerte våre beretninger fra Jesu liv med flanellografbilder. Aldri før hadde de hørt budskapet om Jesus, og de fulgte levende med, men samtidig foregikk forberedelsene til festen de skulle ha ved mørkets frembrudd. Da vi hadde holdt til i selveste åndehuset deres fikk vi nå beskjed om å flytte ut derifra, [..] Medisinmannen begynte å nynne, ganske lavt til å begynne med, stemmen steg og sank, snart som en lav hvisken og snart lød den høy og truende. Stillheten fra den mørke og dystre skogen i bakgrunnen kjentes rent uhyggelig ut, hva ville dette bli til? Vi satt oppkrøpet i våre hengekøyer ved siden av og fulgte med – og ba til Gud, ba til Ham den eneste som formår å løse hedenskapets mørke bånd. Måtte Han i sin store nåde se til dette folk, skogens barn.»

G. L. Johansen 1960: 92 «Tre medisinmenn avløste hverandre, når den første var utslitt, kom en annen til, men hvordan det nå var eller ikke var, fikk de ikke den ønskede kontakten med underverdenen som de ville. Om det var vårt nærvær som bevirket det, skal være usagt, men etter flere timers villskap, tørket den siste trollmannen svetten og stønnet: 'Jeg skjønner det ikke, jeg får det ikke til', og han vaklet aldeles utmattet bort til det utdøende bålet, helt ferdig. [..] Må Gud signe det kjære pinsefolket til alltid å ta del i den verdensomfattende kamp om grenser i åndens rike.»

Mangersnes 1959: 379 «Disse indianerne er fredelige og vennligsinnet og ganske livlige og lett omgjengelige i forhold til andre stammer.»

Mangersnes 1959: 379 «En annen stamme som bor rundt om i disse distrikter, og som kalles Bhua, har vi enda ikke oppnådd slik god kontakt med. Det avhenger helst av høvdingen. Også disse taler guarani ved siden av sitt eget stammespråk. Og ikke så langt herfra bor en helt vill

stamme. Guajaki, som enda er farlige. De går nakne og holder seg skjult i skogene. De er visstnok ikke så mange, men noen hundre er det nok. Og de taler bare sitt eget stammespråk. Av og til kommer de så nær de siviliserte at de skyter kuer med sine piler.»

Nordmoen 1961: 221 «Vi gjorde opp varme og bandt våre hengekøyer så langt vi kunne, for vi visste at det finnes ikke så lite med ville dyr, og likeså var vi redde for den ville Guayaki-stammens giftige piler[..].»

G. L. Johansen 1960: 91 «[..] Guajaki lever enda dypt inne I skogen, nakne og ville og viser seg bare en sjelden gang, alltid med pil og bue spent, for så å forsvinne inn i tykningen igjen. Ja i sannhet får man inntrykk av den sterke kampen mellom lys og mørke, og hedenskapets uhygge.»

G. L. Johansen 1960: 91 «Hedningen ber til stokk og sten, er det sagt, men det er bare halve sannheten. Det er nemlig ikke stenen og stokken som hedningen ber til, han leker ikke, nei det er dypeste alvor. Han ofrer og tilber Satan ved hans stokk og sten.»

Haugstøl 1963: 592 «[..] jeg så på mens han skulle helbrede en kvinne som hadde fått et dyr i hjertet, han ristet og herjet med den stakkars syke kvinnen så det var vondt å se på, og etter mange, lange og hardhendte behandlinger satte han tryllestaven mot hennes hjerte og vred til, og så forestilte han at han fikk tak i dyret og sprang ut med det og kastet det. De lever i en fantasiverden.»

Strømsrud 1968a: 8 «Det er ni gutter i alderen 10–12 år som skal døpes. De kaller det så, men det er en grufull form for dåp. Guttene blir helt beruset av ‘chicha’ og trollmannen stikker et hull i underleppen på dem. Det er bare gutter dette blir gjort på. En liten pinne, omtrent som en fyrstikk av en utvalgt tresort blir brutalt kjørt gjennom leppen og inn mellom nedtennene. [..]Mens jeg sitter og hviler, kan jeg kjenne trykket av alle ondskapens åndemakter som sikkert er i aktiv tjeneste. Et sukk stiger opp fra mitt hjerte: Herre, skal det lykkes at lyset skal seire over mørket?»

Strømsrud 1965: 12 «Jeg skrev i overskriften at det lysner i Paso Cadena, og det gjør det både åndelig og timelig. Nå til jul fikk vi elektrisk lys. Det lyder neste som et eventyr at vi har elektrisk strøm her ute i villmarken, men det er nå sant likevel. [..] Men det er ikke bare lyset Olav har fått opp i de få ukene han har vært her. Sagbruket er også kommet opp, og det blir

nok ikke så lenge før det kommer i gang. [..] vi har hatt besøk av noen høye militære fra Asuncion. De er veldig begeistret for arbeidet og utviklingen her, og det er oppmuntrende å høre.»

Chapter 6.2. The Indigenous as Helpless and Passive Page 48–57

G. L. Johansen 1960: 91 «Måtte han I sin store nåde se til dette folk, skogens barn»

Strømsrud 1962a: 11 «Jeg kan ikke tenke meg noen mer fattige og hjelpeløse enn disse indianerne. Men de er like dyrebare i Jesu øyne som alle oss andre, som har hatt den store nåden å få vokse opp i et kristent land.»

G. L. Johansen 1960: 91 «[..] de innfødte setter nemlig pris på at vi besøker dem i deres hytter. Det viser at vi virkelig har interesse for dem som likeverdige mennesker, som brødre, noe de ikke er vant til ellers.»

Korsets Seier 1965 «Eg er liksom delt i to! Om eg er heime i Noreg, og har det så bra på alle vis, så er det ein del i meg som roper i lengt etter vennene mine der nede i Paso Cadena, dette ville primitive folkeslag, som Herren har sendt oss ut til for å nå med evangeliet»

G. Iversen 1973: 6 «Indianerne er vel en av de folkegruppene som er mest forfulgt og forhatt på jorden. Fattige, uvitende og fortrengt av en begjærlig sivilisasjon lever de en ynkelig tilværelse. Derfor er det en stor glede at nye misjonærer kalles av Gud til å dra ut for å hjelpe disse våre stakkars brødre.»

Strømsrud 1972b: 8 «Det er så gripende å se at ved korsets fot er det ikke plass for raseskiller mer. Der blir det ikke snakk om paraguayere, indianere, norske, vi er alle like for Gud, syndere som ene og alene kan frelses gjennom Jesus blod.»

Kjellås 1958: 779 «Inne i disse områdene bor skogens folk, fattige, fillete og lever sitt liv i uvitenhet. Og mens jorden er så fruktbar, sitter de nesten og sulter i hjel. [..] Det er ikke noe annet enn evangeliets kraft som formår å omskape en indianer.»

Nordmoen 1958: 394 «Når man ser disse store skogene og all denne udyrkede jorden, som er så fruktbar, og enda ser at folk som lever på sultedødens rand og med sykdom av alle slag, hvor 60 % av paraguayere og ingen av indianerne kan lese og skrive, så forstår man enda bedre at vi misjonærer har store oppgaver for oss for å oppbygge landet både på det kulturelle og det religiøse området.»

Mangersnes 1959: 378 «De fleste av dem arbeider halve året I skogen med å klippe blader og nye skudd av matte-treet. Det blir tørket og brukt til en te som er den nasjonale drikken i Paraguay og ellers rundt om i det indre av Sør-Amerika. [..] Noen av de eldre lever av å skyte vilt i skogen med pil og bue. En del planter mais, manjoka og andre ting, ja, noen har også griser, høns osv. Men de fleste er ikke kommet så langt ennå at de forstår verdien av å plante. Og derfor lider de gjerne mangel en del av året, både mat og klær.»

Kjellås 1961: 373 «[..] da jeg var i Paraguay og så de store områdene av jord som ikke var dyrket, og de mange menneskene som levde inne i urskogen. De hadde aldri hørt evangeliet til frelse. Vi hadde ved Guds nåde fått begynne å så Ordet i indianernes hjerter som var blitt renset for tornene ved kjærlighetens makt, og det spirte og grodde. Så i dag er det en liten åkerteig brutt opp, åndelig sett, men bare en dråpe i havet når en ser behovene, [..]»

Strømsrud 1968b: 6 «Jeg snakket med flere mens jeg var i Asuncion, høye militære sjefer, ministre, og til og med en av sekretærene til presidenten. Jeg taler indianernes sak. De har lovet å hjelpe oss. Tillatelse til å bruke jorden har vi, men jeg er ikke fornøyd med det. Jeg vil ha full sikkerhet for at mine kjære venner fra skogen kan bo trygt når de bestemmer seg for Eben-Ezer.»

I. Iversen 1973: 4 «Eg og Rita har vore hjå Samaniego I Minesterio de Obras y Telecominicaciones i dag. La Industria Paraguaya vil taka jorda frå indianerane I Paso Cadena. No er arbeidet i gang med at dei skal få eiga jorda framleis og få tittel på henne.»

Strømsrud 1969: 7 «De kjekke unge mennesker som søker etter et sted hvor de kan leve i fred. Og hva var så mer naturlig for meg enn å innby dem til å slå seg ned på Eben-Ezer. [..] Vårt mål med kolonien der ute er at vi til stadighet må få dem under Guds hørelse, og vi har tro for at ordet også skal spire i disse hjerter. [..] Jeg vil så gjerne være med på å gi disse menneskene som har levd så omflakkende fortrengt fra sted til sted, en ny start på livet, og en god start.»

Kjellås 1958: 779 «Overhøvdingen Juan Pablo Vera reiste seg og takket oss for at vi var kommet og var glad at hans stamme nå skulle få gå på skole og høre evangeliet. Han tilhører guarani stammen og er overhøvding for ca. 1800 indianere, som bor på de forskjellige steder. Men vårt mål er jo å få samlet dem, slik at det blir en koloni her. Da er det jo lettere å virke blant dem, og vi får mer kontroll over det hele. To andre indianere sa også litt som takk for at var kommet hit og ville ta oss av dem.»

Nordmoen 1961: 220 «Trist er det å vite at det finnes stammer her ute i S.A. som til dags dato er usiviliserte. Noen mil her fra finnes den såkalt ville Guayaki-stammen. Jeg hadde for en tid siden anledning til å se to av deres kvinner, som hadde blitt fanget med lasso av cowboyene fra en fedriftsfarm her i nærheten. Stammen hadde nemlig drept flere kuer, derfor skulle de skremme dem med å ta disse kvinnene til fange. Det føltes forunderlig å stå ansikt til ansikt med disse to kvinnene, som ikke kjente til noen annet enn skogen og dens ville dyr og sin egen stamme. Det forunderlige var at til tross for at de går nakne, var de ganske lyse i huden og svært like japanere. De har sitt eget språk som ingen kjenner. De er mennesker som vi, og gjør også krav for å høre evangeliet. Derfor er det alvorlig når en vet at der har de levd og dødd i årtusener uten å ha hatt en eneste anledning til å søke frelse.»

Stuksrud & Stuksrud 1968: 12 «Den flate, fruktbare landet med vidstrakte ‘campos’ – gress-sletter – og milevide skoger med uante rikdommer, bebos av nøysomme paraguayere og enda fattigere indianere. Hvorfor alle den fattigdommen? Se på immigrantene, japanere, koreanere, tyskere, det blomstrer og gror rundt de rene, pene husene deres, og velstelte unger vandrer fornøyd av sted til skolen. Paraguay-naboens hus vitner om rot og urenslighet, initiativløshet og latskap. Og indianerne i skogen er usiviliserte analfabeter uten forståelse av sitt eget menneskeverd, lever fra hånd til munn uten tanker på dagen i morgen, langt mindre på et liv etter døden. Ja her er det nød overalt, i by og på land, i storbyens vrimmel så vel som i den dype mørke jungelen.»

Nordmoen 1958: 394 «Indianerne er et forundelig folk, de er skogens folk, som kjenner til alle skogens dyr og planter, og deres tyste unnselige måte å være på, vekker først og fremst en utlendings oppmerksomhet.»

Strømsrud 1962b: 622 «Men dette folket går ikke etter klokka. Rastløsheten og travelheten som i disse dager setter sitt sterke preg på den siviliserte verden, har ikke fått grep på dette folket ennå.»

Chapter 7.1 Development Aid and a New Spiritual Battle Pages 60–66

Strømsrud 1972b: 8 «Vi er også grenseløst takknemlig fordi direktoratet for Utviklingshjelp har stilt en stor sum til disposisjon for den sosiale utbyggingen av kolonien. Vi vet at dette vil være med å bane veien fram til det virkelige målet med Eben-Ezer, det er: At stedet må bli en redningsstasjon for sjelene.»

I. J. Bjørnevoll 1974: 8 «Alt menneskelige håp er ute. Så er det bare å ta moren og barnet med tilbake til misjonsstasjonen, og gjøre det lille vi kan. For første gang ligger moren i en seng med skikkelig madrass og rene og hvite laken – kommet fra Norge. [..] Neste morgen går moren og den nærmeste familien tilbake til den fattige hytta med den lille lette kisten. Denne familien bor så avsides, så det er sjelden eller aldri de har besøk av misjonæren. De er ikke påvirket av evangeliets kraft.»

Førland 1986: 1, 20 «Nærværende høvding i Paso Cadena var en av dem som for mange år siden var elev ved misjonens skole, og under innvielsen av de nye lokalitetene i Paso Cadena [..] takket han misjonen for den muligheten indianerbarna nå vil få. [..] Det gjør godt å se at de midler som så spontant ble samlet, gir resultater. 200 00 kroner ble bevilget Paso Cadena til dette formål, og resultatet er blitt tre vakre skolebygg og en restaurert lærerbolig.».»

Strømsrud 1998: 4 «Gjennom disse årene har det vært interessant å se hvordan Gud har sørget for oss, og gitt oss de midler vi har behøvd. Siden ble det flere spennende prosjekter. I 1987 fikk vi anledning til å kjøpe mer jord til kolonien. Fortuna begynte å bli for liten for de 200 familiene der. Vi fikk midler fra NORAD og Kirkens Nødhjelp til å bl.a. å kjøpe jord og bygge veier. Jeg vet det finnes antropologer som mener at indianerne ikke trenger veier. Men selv ønsker de dette. Når de merker at vi ikke utnytter dem, vinner vi deres tillit. Hele prosjektet ble innviet i 1992. Det har blitt en skole, lærerbolig, lagerhus, kirke og helsesenter.

Jorda er fruktbar, og på grunn av den nye veien kan indianerne med letthet få varene sine til markedet i Curuguaty.»

Frislie 1995: 15 «Hvis indianerne ikke får utdannelse taper de kampen om livsgrunnlaget og arbeidsplassen i indianerkolonien. Sivilisasjonen spiser seg dag for dag innover skogene til indianerne, og dette øker behovet for videregående utdannelse. [..] Det er viktig at indianerne får sin utdannelse uten å måtte reise til byen, da de ofte ikke kommer tilbake etter utdannelsen. Indianerkolonien trenger dem.»

Folkestad 1994: 12 «Da ho kom til den vesle staden for to år siden, skulle det startast opp eit prosjekt blant folket, der målet var å få innbyggjarane til å verte mest mogleg sjølvhjelpte med tanke på jordbruksdrift. Prosjektleiar var Inge Bjørnevoll, og det endelege målet er å overføre sjukearbeidet og skulen til staten, som har hatt eit godt samarbeid med pinsebevegelsen. [..] ein er på rett veg, men at det framleis er eit stykke att før folk vil kunne klare seg sjølve uten støtte.»

Strømsrud 1985b: 9 «De nasjonale overtar mer og mer, men de er ennå få som kan bære ansvaret alene. De trenger fremdeles misjonæren ved sin side.»

Stuksrud 1980: 13 «Den sterke motstanden fra sine egne kan hindre mange indianere fra å oppleve den frigjørende frelsen. Når det dertil kommer krefter utenfra som motarbeider det evangeliske budskapet, blir indianeren mer forvirret. Mange antropologer og etnologer arbeider nemlig hardt for å bevare indianernes egenart og oppfordrer dem til ikke å ta imot verken råd eller undervisning fra andre hvite, men fortsette å leve på sin egen gamle måte. De advarer spesielt mot de ‘evangeliske’ misjonærene, og mange løgner blir satt ut om dem.»

O. Johansen 1996a: 16 «Ukjent for mange av misjonsvennene i Norge pågår det for tiden en åndskamp, der den mistenksomme til misjonenes innsats ikke er primitive medisinmenn, men de moderne antropologene. Indianerne som har blitt kristne har det ikke alltid like lett mot den ideologien som antropologene har med seg. Antropologenes troslære går ut på at indianerne skal ha det slik som de alltid har hatt det, og for dem ser enhver utvikling som går i retning av et mer moderne liv for indianerne ut til å være et nederlag.»

Chapter 7.2. The Christian Agency of the Indigenous Pages 66–73

Stuksrud 1980: 13 «Like mørk og mystisk, tung og ugjennomtrengelig som skogen som omgir han, er indianeren selv. Han slipper ikke folk fort innpå seg, og er ikke lett tilgjengelig for nye ting. Han er vokst opp i sin egen snevre verden, med sine særegne mytologier og kultur, og er både stolt og flau over det. [..] Hele hans legning gjør at han er skeptisk til for nye ideer, og særlig når det kommer fra den hvite mann som han gjennom århundrer har hatt dårlig erfaring med. Når denne fremmede har en ny religion med seg, er det at indianeren steiler.»

Korsets Seier 1975: 5 «De skadevirkningene sivilisasjonen har ført med seg, må vi forsøke å dempe mest mulig. En kan si det har oppstått et stort vakuum som må fylles. Vi har et virkelig middel. Evangeliet kan rette opp og skape nye kulturer som er bygd med tro på Gud og nestekjærlighet. Jeg tror det beste som kan hende dem er at de får den kristne kulturarv.»

Stuksrud 1980: 13 «Presten, dvs. trollmannen, har usedvanlig stor makt i indianersamfunnet. Han er mellommann mellom menneskene og 'det hellige' og den som er ansvarlig for å ta vare på og bringe videre de gamle skikkene og seremoniene, mytologien og tradisjonene. Dersom en indianer bryter over tvert, blir omvendt og døpt, vil han komme under trollmannens forbannelse. Han vil bli utstøtt av samfunnet, dersom han ikke greier, som mange later til å greie, balansegangen mellom den evangeliske kirken og sin gamle religion.»

Stuksrud 1979: 21 «Hvordan vil det gå med dette stolte Guaranifolket? Vil det dø ut som så mange etniske grupper? Eller vil assimileringen fortsette i like sterk grad som tidligere? Måtte det ikke skje! Kanskje vi som misjon kunne støtte opp om integreringen av de få rene guaraniene som er igjen i det paraguayske samfunnet, ved å hjelpe dem ut av den identitetskrisen de befinner seg i. De strever med mindremannskjensle overfor den hvite befolkningen samtidig med at nasjonalfølelsen våkner til live igjen. De som måtte lære Nandejára å kjenne, ikke som slavedriver, men som den kjærlige far som gav sin egen Sønn for at hele verden, også Guaranifolket, skulle bli fri fra synd og skyld, fra underlegenhet og undertrykkelse, så ville livet få en helt annen mening for dem. De ville få noe å leve for og noe å hige mot. De ville kunne oppdage sin rases egenverdi, og det er nødvendig for å overleve som folk.»

O. Johansen 1996a: 17 «[..] det er mange gode sider ved indianernes opprinnelige kultur, og de forsøker misjonen å bevare. Men [..] hekseriet, blodhevnen, deres magi og overtro er ting som de klarer seg uten når evangeliets forvandlende makt får innpass i dem.»

Norheim 1985: 13 «Det er nå flere indianere og paraguayere som tar mer ansvar, leder møter og forkynner evangeliet. Av det ser vi at det nytter.»

J. Iversen 1977: 12 «Her må det sies noen rosende ord om våre paraguayanske troende, som så vidt meg bekjent, ikke øver noen som helst form for diskriminering, men av hjertet behandler våre brødre med respekt og uten at det vises noen form for skille mellom dem. Her har vel misjonærene sin store andel i at de på et tidlig tidspunkt har ledet disse to folkegruppene sammen på en naturlig måte og ikke i noen som helst form har betraktet indianerne som spesielle mennesker. Er de frelst og duelige, er de med i alt som foregår i menighetsarbeidet, som nå er i ferd med å legges over på de nasjonale. Tenk for en skade det hadde vært for arbeidet og ikke minst for indianerne selv om de skulle vært adskilt fra den øvrige vekkelse. Men slik har det altså ikke blitt. Et stort under er skjedd, indianerne ledes naturlig sammen med den øvrige befolkningen og får dele det kristne fellesskap uten å bli sett ned på.»

J. Iversen 1977: 12 «Det store her i Paraguay er at indianerne (her bruker vi selvfølgelig ikke den benevnelsen, vi sier landsmenn) er sammen med de paraguayske kristne på ungdomsleirer, konferanser, bibelskoler og på den måten kommer rett inn i et pulserende paraguaysk liv. Det har nok vært dem til uvurderlig hjelp til bedre å kjenne sivilisasjonen og det på en god måte.»

Larsen & Larsen 1978: 8 «Men for oss var det viktig å vise at også disse er vanlige mennesker, med rettigheter som andre. De er ikke ‘bare’ indianere.»

J. Iversen 1977: 16 «Emiliano Vera er indianer fra den store Guaranistammen og tilhører gruppen Chiripa, som har sine bosteder rundt omkring Paso Cadena i Alto Parana. Og Emiliano er virkelig frelst og har fått en helt ny livsførsel. Han har sin lille ‘chacra’ (åkerlapp), og han har en liten butikk. Han vet å styre penger og er eldstebror i menigheten i Paso Cadena. Vi som er blitt vant til å se han på våre bibeluker og konferanser glemmer ofte hva han virkelig var før evangeliet kom i hans vei. Men nå står han der foran en hel del andre

vitner fra Paraguay og forteller at han på ingen måte kunne tenke seg å leve et slikt liv. Bare de som kjenner indianerne under trollmennenes herredømme og åndsmaktenes sterke tak over sinnene, deres håpløse tilstand overfor døden kan riktig forstå hva Jesus har gjort for en som Emiliano. Han tenker nok ikke bare på den åndelige forandringen, men på alt som er blitt nytt. Han går der omkring på konferanseområdet, respektert, og sant å si er det vel få som tenker på hans opprinnelse.»

Norheim 1985: 13 «Apytereindianerne, som ikke ville ha noe med misjonen i begynnerfaser, ber nå om hjelp for sin stamme. De vil både ha skole og sykehjelp. [..] dørene er åpne. La oss gå til dem med det glade budskap!»

Janøy 1986: 3 «Indianerne er i ferd med å bevisstgjøre seg sin egen kultur. De får tildelt jord av staten, og indianerprestene går hardt ut mot misjonens arbeid og oppfordrer de nasjonale til å jevne misjonens lokaler med jorden. [..] Bevisstgjøringsprosessen påskyndes både av antropologer og myndigheter. Derfor er indianerne inne i en sterk frigjøringsperiode der mye kommer til å skje.»

Chapter 8.1. New Tribes and Old Divisions Pages 75–81

O. Johansen 1998: 10 «Gud har kalt en indianerevangelist i Paso Cadena til å være plogspiss for dette korstoget. Evangelisten Apariosio har kone og fire barn. Sammen vil de satse sitt liv på at Mbya indianerne skal bli frelst. De har brannen, pågangsmotet og språket, mens vi har pengene og andre ressurser som skal til for å lykkes i oppgaven.»

Skretting & Skretting 1996: 16 «Når evangeliets lys bryter frem må mørket vike. Dette er en realitet vi opplever. Men for mange er det en kampfull realitet. Jeg tenker på Patricino som ble døpt for kort tid siden. Denne enkle Mbya-indianeren, den første av sine som ble frelst og døpt, ble uønsket av høvdingen og medisinmannen da han ville ha møter i kolonien sin. Jeg dro av sted for å samtale med dem, og denne samtalen gikk greit. De ville ha kontakt med meg, og ønsket hjelp med medisiner, men møter var helt utelukket. Det er begynt utpostarbeid flere steder av indianerne selv. Det er nesten så en gammel misjonær ikke klarer å henge med på alt. [..] nei med ilden brennende i hjertet har indianerne fått fart på syklene sine. Vår tanke

er å samarbeide med en nasjonal evangelist, ikke bygge virksomheten rundt oss selv, men være med å dra det hele i gang.»

Skretting 1998a: 11 «Det er få indianerkolonier som har den levestandard som Paso Cadena har i dag. Den gamle høvdingen Juan Pablo Vera, som ønsket misjonærene velkommen for 40 år siden var også innbudt til jubileet. Med sitt vidsyn ble han en døråpner som skulle bety mye for hans folk. [..] Ikke mindre enn seks indianerhøvdinger var med på jubileet. De fleste representerte stammer som ikke er nådd med evangeliet. Høvdingen fra Mbya-stammen kom også. Litt for sent riktignok, men han hadde gått 40 kilometer for å nå fram. For han var ikke festen det viktigste. Det viktigste for han var å innby misjonen til å komme til deres stamme. Han hadde sett resultatene av misjonens virke, og nå ønsket han at de skulle få del av det samme.»

Skretting 1998b: 4 «Indianerne trenger misjonen, både ved den forvandling som evangeliet gir, men også den støtte de får til å omstille seg dagens samfunn. [..] At det nytter viser arbeidet her I Paso Cadena. Her har vi arbeidet i 40 år, og her er det nå en livskraftig menighet. I tillegg har det vokst fram klinikk og skole, som ledes av indianerne.»

O. Johansen 1998a: 10 «Mbya-indianerne er et primitivt folk. De arbeider med jord og jakter, og tar leilighetsoppgaver som de får av storbøndene som har kjøpt opp områdene rundt reservatet. Men det blir svært tilfeldig, og de tjener alt for lite til å kunne leve et noenlunde normalt liv.»

O. Johansen 1998a: 10 «Han kom til 'sivilisasjonen' i Paso Cadena for å skaffe seg arbeid. Der kom han i kontakt med den kristne menigheten som norsk pinsemisjon har startet, og etter å ha hørt en tid tok han imot Jesus i sitt hjerte.»

O. Johansen 1998b: 11 «Indianerne selv ønsker å oppleve sivilisasjonen. Vi har sett dem i deres nød og fornedrelse, og vet at slik bl.a. en del antropologer ønsker de skal leve ikke er et verdig liv for dem.»

Skretting 1998b: 4 «Når vi ser fremover, er det uten tvil indianerne som har det størst behovet for misjonærer. Det er i dag mange kolonier som ber om misjonærer. Dørene åpnes for indianerne er i utgangspunktet åndelige mennesker. De tror på en Gud som har skapt alt, og som de tilber på sine åndefester. I utgangspunktet ønsker medisinmennene også kontakt med

Gud, men de kjenner ikke mellommannen Jesus Kristus. Når de så blir inntatt av den onde åndeverdenens krefter, tror de at de har kontakt med Gud.»

O. Johansen 1998: 10 «Som mange andre indianerstammer tilber de [Mbya] forskjellige slags avguder. Frykten for gudene er stor, og mange lider under de plager dette fører med seg. Medisinmennene har sterk makt over folket. Det er fire medisinmenn som styrer landsbyen. De har total makt over menneskene der. Det de sier er folkets lov, og den som ikke retter seg etter deres ord, er ille ute. De har vært helt klart imot det budskapet vi forkynner. Medisinmennene er egentlig intelligente og oppdaget tidlig at evangeliet setter menneskene fri. Derfor sa de til oss at dersom misjonen får anledning til å forkynne sitt budskap i kolonien, ville de selv bli arbeidsledige.»

Cloumann 1998: 9 «Etter et møte I en koloni ca. 4,5 mil fra Paso holdt Martin et møte. Denne kolonien har hverken åpnet seg for skolevirksomheten eller evangeliet. Som et resultat av en tilsynelatende gjestfrihet prøvde medisinmannen å forgifte broderen. Bare etter to spiseskjeer suppe ble han syk, og tok fatt på hjemveien til fots den natta. Det gikk bra, men dere forstår at det er en åndskamp som må utkjempes.»

Johansen 2000: 9 «Det er viktig at menighetsarbeidet på misjonsfeltet etableres og lykkes først. Vi har sett ved noen anledninger, at der hvor det ikke er en etablert menighetsvirksomhet i bunnen, vil de sosiale prosjektene ha vanskeligheter for å overleve.»

Chapter 8.2. Indigenous Agency and Huaman Rights Pages 81–87

I. Bjørnevoll 1997a: 15 «Det er ikkje snakk om overføring eit nivå til eit anna, men skifte av ansvar innan same nivå.»

I. Bjørnevoll 2007a: 8–9 «Gjennom årene har medisinmenn og eldre ledere følt seg truet av den fremmede kulturen misjonærene førte med seg og som spredte seg mellom dem. Da lesebokprosjektet startet på 90-tallet var det både i Norge og her i Paraguay dem som kritiserte det og mente det ikke var nok ‘åndelig’. Misjonærer skulle forkynne Guds Ord og ikke hjelpe indianerne til å bevare sin gamle kultur slik vi gjorde. I dette prosjektet fikk eldre

ledere, medisinmenn – kvinner og andre fortelle om sin kultur og sin historie, og det ble bøker som vil snakke lenge etter at de selv er døde. Etter vi hadde gitt ut omtrent ti slike bøker, sa en av de gamle medisinmennene: 'Nå først forstår vi at dere virkelig bryr dere om oss!' Det var litt av et tankekors for oss gamle misjonærer.»

I. Bjørnevoll 2007a: 8–9 «Misjonærene blir ikke automatisk de store lederne lengre, men må gå inn som en del i et samarbeid under nasjonale ledere. Pionerlivsstilen er byttet ut med teamarbeid. [..] Misjonerende livsstil er framfor alt en medvandring der vi engasjerer oss i gledene og sorgene menneskene omkring oss bærer på. Men etter hvert som praten går 'langs veien' kan vi kanskje også få 'åpne skriftene for dem'.»

I. Bjørnevoll 2007b: 9 «Lærebokprosjektet har sitt opphav hos indianerne selv. Noen gamle indianere ytret ønske om å møte egen kultur i skolemateriellet. Det er dette lesebokprosjektet handler om. Indianerne fikk fortelle om sin kultur, og det ble skrevet ned og utgitt i lesebøker. Rent praktisk foregår arbeidet ved at det blir gjort opptak på kassett, helst av indianerne selv. Sentrale personer, høvdinger og medisinmenn forteller det de vil at kommende generasjoner skal vite om deres kultur. Disse opptakene er grunnlaget for bøkene, sammen med fotografier og tegninger av skolebarna i de forskjellige koloniene. Slik styrker indianerne sin identitet i forhold til storsamfunnet omkring dem.»

I. Bjørnevoll 2007b: 9 «Acheindianerne, som nå bor i seks forskjellige kolonier, leter etter familiemedlemmer. [..]Mange ble tatt i fra foreldrene, mange mistet foreldrene ved drap. Disse barna er gamle i dag, og leter etter røttene sine. Å bygge bro mellom dem som en gang ble bortført og familiene deres, er viktig. Målet er at også den siden av historien kan bli tatt vare på.»

I. Bjørnevoll 2007a: 8 «De fleste misjonærer I dag reiser til land I den tredje verden og arbeider blant fattige. Da er det lett å tenke at vi med våre penger og administrasjon skal forandre samfunnene vi har kommet inn i og få det likere de samfunnene vi kommer fra. Ofte blir det bygget luftslott og skapt fremtidsdrømmer om at vår innsats skal bli opphavet til bærekraftige forandringer. Men ofte også – når misjonæren har reist og pengene har tatt slutt, faller samfunnet tilbake til det gamle. Hvorfor? Enkelt og greit fordi misjonen ikke har forandret tankegangen og livsstilen der innsatsen ble gjort. Korrupsjon, egoisme og maktkamp som har vært skjult mens misjonsarbeidet pågikk, dukker fram igjen. Kanskje ofte

også fordi misjonæren og eller hjelpearbeideren har ledet arbeidet «som kongen på haugen», uten å ha tatt den nødvendige tiden til samtaler slik at folket fikk et eierforhold og medbestemmelsesrett i det som skjedde.»

I. Bjørnevoll 2007a: 8 «De nasjonale med sine språk og kulturelle kunnskaper formidler det kristne budskapet bedre enn oss utlendinger. [..]Likevel har vi en oppgave å fylle. Å leve Kristuslivet i det daglige der vi ut fra våre erfaringsbakgrunn og fagkunnskap kan tilføre samarbeidet viktige verdier. Vår oppgave blir dermed å støtte og oppmuntre og kanskje åpne vei der de nasjonale medarbeiderne ikke har fått gjennomslag.»

Søvde 2009: 6 «Det er fremdeles mye vi kan gjøre i samarbeid med urfolkene i Paraguay. [..] Vår oppgave bør først og fremst være opplæring, veiledning og støtte til lokale ledere.»

Søvde 2009: 6 «De kristne I Norge og vesten kan hjelpe ved å bruke ressurser på indianerne, og støtte dem i deres kamp for rettigheter. Den katolske kirke har i praksis gitt opp evangeliseringen av indianerne, men støtter dem i en del politiske prosesser. Her har de evangeliske misjonærene lykkes bedre med sin menighets-plantinger. Vi og den voksende evangeliske kirke må spesielt støtte de troende i deres kamp for å overleve som kirke.»

Søvde 2009: 6 «Vi nordmenn har en god organisasjonskultur som ble grunnlaget for vår velferdsstat. Vår evne til å ta vare på, og fordele økonomiske verdier er noe indianerne kan lære av. [..] Indianerne har en utrolig vene til å overleve under svært vanskelige kår. Fattigdommen er ekstrem for mange, noe vi nordmenn har mye å lære av. I tillegg finner vi et ønske og evne hos mange indianere til å ta vare på egen kultur, fremfor å la seg påvirke av andre folk.»

O. Johansen 2002: 8 «Det er jo blant indianerne jeg har vært det meste av livet mitt, og jeg har lært så mye av dem. Jeg har lært å respektere andre mennesker på en ny måte, og det er mange ting ved indianernes kultur som jeg har lært å sette pris på.»

I. Bjørnevoll 2007a: 8 «Mennesker med en euroamerikans bakgrunn identifiserer seg normalt med den barmhjertige samaritanen i Jesus fortelling. Urbefolkningen her i Sør-Amerika identifiserer seg med den forslåtte og mishandlede reisende. Hvem er så røverne? Jo de europeiske ‘conqustadorene’ og alle dem som har utnyttet og undertrykt dem de siste 5oo år. Derfor er ikke vår forkynnelse nok for at evangeliet skal slå rot. Heller ikke en grundig norsk

bibelskoleutdanning er avgjørende for at evangeliets budskap skal bli levendegjort her. Uten både en ekte misjonerende livstil og kulturforståelse, faller budskapet dødt til jorden.»