

**THE CONCEPT OF VOCATION AMONGST
MIGRANT WORKERS OF THE GMIM
(CHRISTIAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN
MINAHASA) IN POSTMODERN TIMES**

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**A DISSERTATION PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY
(SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY)**

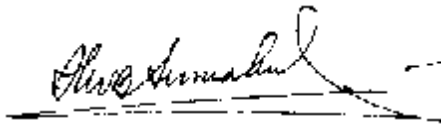
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MAY 2005

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis hereby submitted by me for the Ph.D degree at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another University/faculty. I furthermore cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Henny William Booth Sumakul', written over a horizontal line.

HENNY WILLIAM BOOTH SUMAKUL

May 31, 2005

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This present research has emerged from the struggle where I was raised in a community where people were encouraged to work hard. Subsequently, it pushed forward when, just after finished B.Div. program, I personally struggled with working in a 'secular place' (oil mining company). Relating to these experiences, what have appealed me to conduct the research is an interesting phenomenon whereby the Reformed church where I belong to, the GMIM church, as an institution, keeps teaching its members how to cultivate the world as part of church ministry, discusses it seriously, and therefore most of the church members are eager to work. What are the motives behind this phenomenon? Why does my community have such a zeal to work? Is it a culturally set value? Is there any kind of theological teaching, dogma, doctrine that constantly being taught in the church? Is that a particular teaching inherent in the doctrine of this church? What kind of theological axiology has been inculcated into the mind of church members?

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Above all, this research is my experience as to how to walk with the living Trinitarian God in undertaking my vocation.

Finally, I have to say that this painstaking research is a tribute to the Reformed churches, which constantly have to design the Christian ministry relevantly for the glory of God.

Soli Deo Gloria.

HENNY WILLIAM BOOTH SUMAKUL

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ABBREVIATION

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
CNN	Cable News Network
CO	Calvini Opera
CR	Corpus Reformatorum
DRSP	Doctoral Research Scholar Program
EC	European countries
GMIM	Gereja Masehi Injili di Minahasa (Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa)
GMIJ	Gereja Masehi Injili di Jepang (Christian Evangelical Church in Japan)
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMM	Association for International Manpower Development of Medium and Small Enterprise of Japan
INGO	International non-government organization
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JITCO	Japan International Training Cooperation Organization
KNIL	Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger (Royal Dutch Indigenous Army)
LW	Luther's Works
MOM	Ministry of Manpower
MTV	Music Television
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NHK	Nihon Hoso Kyokai (Japanese Broadcasting System)
NHK	Nederlandsch Hervormde Kerk
NZG	Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PCUSA	Presbyterian Church in the United States of America
PERKI	Persekutuan Kristen Indonesia (Indonesian Christian Fellowship). This fellowship exists in the Netherlands, and Germany
PGI	Persekutuan Gereja-gereja Indonesia (The Communion of Churches in Indonesia) (Ecumenical)

PII	Persekutuan Injili Indonesia (Indonesian Evangelical Fellowship)
SoW	Samen op Weg Kerken , Utrecht, the Netherlands
UCCJ	United Church of Christ in Japan
USCIS	(Bureau) of United States Citizenship and Immigration Services of the US Department of Homeland Security
VOC	Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie
WARC	World Alliance of Reformed Churches
WCC	World Council of Churches
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature

GLOSSARY

Aparto, a Japanese word means apartment.

Arbaito, a Japanese word means temporary job.

Baku cangkal mutually ruin each other, which negatively embedded individually and socially in Minahasan ethnic society.

Calo, Indonesian term refers to an unofficial recruiter.

Catoro werak, a sub-ethnic (Tountemboan) Minahasan term means do not be lazy.

Gai jin, Japanese terms: Gai: foreign Jin: people. Gai Jin= foreigner.

Gelijkgesteld, a Dutch term, means assimilated equality. See, *infra*, the meaning of *spijt optanten* and *tegen prestatie*.

Gemba. A Japanese term, means labourers working in construction.

Hatake, a Japanese term, means agriculture, plantation.

Hayaku, a Japanese word for ‘work quickly’.

Incaya, a Sub ethnic (Tountemboan) Minahasan term means “move fast”.

Jin, a Japan term, means people.

Kabasaran, a Minahasan war dance.

Kaisha, Japanese term, means company.

Kambate has a deep meaning, which Japanese refers to a mental commitment to pursue something without regarding of giving up in whatever condition one faces.

Kamisama, a Japanese term, means god.

Kawanua previously means a colleague (s) originally coming from the same village.

Wanua means village. Currently this term has a wider sense and applies globally and refers to the Minahasan social group living outside Minahasa land, either in other parts of Indonesia or overseas.

Kenshusei, a Japanese term, literally means trainees. These migrant workers must have previous training in their home country with the curriculum designed by Japanese government.

Ketai, the Japanese word for mobile phone.

Keter: a Minahasan word for potential.

Koksekitohong (Japanese), or Dutch: *stamboom* means family tree, genealogy. Japanese descendants who are living outside Japan and are not

Japanese citizens must show koksekitohong as evidence of blood relation with Japanese ancestor, to meet one of the requirements of Japanese government so that they can obtain their nikkei status.

Kolintang, Minahasan traditional music device.

Kubik, a Japanese term means temporary exclusion from work; lay off.

Maengket: a Minahasan tradition dance.

Mapalus is a socio- economic cooperation of Minahasan people in which one has to discharge one's duty toward other members within the group and some day one regain the help from other members of the group. Mapalus is not a voluntary cooperation but a reciprocal help of discharging duties.

Masawang-sawangan: a Minahasan admonition that encourages Minahasans to mutually support each other.

Matombol-tombolan: a Minahasan admonition that encourages Minahasans to mutually underpin each other.

Maupu-upusan: a Minahasan admonition means mutual affection

Mawee-reken, a sub-ethnic (Tountemboan) Minahasan term means pay attention to the advice.

Minahasa literally means "being united". This term is a 16th century historical product which refers to the alliance of the sub-tribes of Minahasa. The purpose of the alliance was for self-defense and for counter-offensive against the attack of other tribes. This alliance was tied up by an oath that has promoted egalitarianism (its negative effect is baku cungkel) and mutual cooperation (masawang-sawangan).

Nyukang, a Japanese term, means immigration officer.

Nikkei or Nissei, a Japanese term consists of ni=second and kei= generation. This refers to the Japanese descendants living outside Japan and has privilege to work in Japan.

Obase is a Japanese term for overstay. Obase is migrant workers who previously came to Japan as tourists and finally overstayed their visa in favor of keep work in Japan.

Pachinko, a Japanese word means gambling.

Pancasila or five principles of Indonesian ideology: 1. Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa (Belief in One God), 2. Kemanusiaan yang Adil dan Beradab (Just and Civilized Humanity), 3. Persatuan Indonesia (Unity of Indonesia), 4.

Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan/perwakilan (Peoplehood is led by wisdom and consensus/representatives), 5. Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia (Social justice for all Indonesian people).

Providentia Dei is a Christian doctrine: God is the creator as well as sustainer, perpetual governor and guardian of the movement of this world.

Predestination is a Christian doctrine asserts that God in some way has foreordained eternal life for some and eternal damnation for others by His sovereign act of will. Calvin, for example, in Institutes III. 24, states the relationship between predestination and vocation: “ God himself calls the elect, while blinding and hardening the impious or the wicked. By separating, discriminating, or predestinating the elect, God manifests or reveals Christian calling.”

Re'dem: a Minahasan Tountemboan word for diligent.

Rukun: a social gathering of sub groups among Minahasans for the purpose of keeping familial ties or economically to help each member in need.

Sacho, a Japanese term, means the owner of company.

Samurai, a Japanese special class refers to warriors and is always associated with kamikaze or hara-kiri means suicide.

Sharia Islam, an Arabic term means Muslim-social political- law.

Siyakso, a Japanese term, the officers working in mayor's office.

Spijt optanten, a Dutch term, which, in this research refers to the state of feeling guilt by the Dutch for having colonized Indonesia.

Sumengkot, or pasengkotan, a Minahasan term, means a spirit of expatriation. This is one of the cultural expression of the Minahasan bravery (waraney)

Tegen prestatie, a Dutch term in Latin “Quid pro quo” means “something that is given by or taken in return for something else; substitute, one thing in return for another.” In this research, tegen prestatie refers to the gelijkgesteld (full political right) which had been given in the 1960s by Dutch government to Minahasans in Holland as a show of the spijt optanten (feeling guilt of having colonized Indonesia).

Vocation, (Lat: vocare) means to call. Theologically, God calls His believers to undertake the duty, task and responsibility in social, political, economic and family spheres in this present world as a response to His grace in Christ for the sake of His glory.

Waraney, Minahasan bravery or spirit of heroism.

Wa kon yoh sai, Japanese motto in Meiji Era meaning Japanese spirit combined with Western knowledge/technology.

Yakuba, a Japanese term means the city council.

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INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The Trinitarian God has constituted the Christian church to undertake the task that brings God's salvation (Hebrew: *shalom*; Greek: *soteria*) to the world. This task is given to the church and in fulfilling this task the church has to consider several aspects, such as who are the executors of the task, how is it going to be undertaken, and the contexts in which the task is conducted.

One of the doctrines of the Reformed church, the doctrine of the priesthood of believers, exhorts church members to undertake earnestly the vocation that God assigned to them. This undertaking of vocation is significant, crucial and decisive in church life, for at least two reasons.

The first reason is that there are ongoing constraints emerging from a dualistic view of human life, viz. the spiritual sphere and secular sphere. In the GMIM church, this dualistic point of view maintains itself, e.g., through the way some preachers interpret the Bible. These preachers base their sermons on the dualistic view which is not critical of the platonic, dualistic secular world¹ and probably derived their sermons from the pietistic missionary tradition of the NZG in the 19th century² on which the evangelization of Minahasan people was based; contemporary conservative charismatic Christianity (Budiman, 1980: 167-252), or from the primal ethnic religion which Minahasans previously adhered to (Honig, 1966:43; Koentjaraningrat, 1980: 93-102; Kalangi, 1979:160-162). This religious dualistic point of view tends to position the clergy (pastor, presbyter, deacon) and their spiritual activities (worship, singing spiritual songs, etc.) in a more holy sphere than those working in secular occupations. This view regarding Christian ministry bears the risk that God and the roles of Christians can be perceived as being removed from secular activities. This

¹ In Greek philosophy, Gnostics, for example, interpret work as a curse and meaningless while idleness is highly esteemed. Work is part of a natural cycle involving birth, life and death which indicates its impermanence. Withdrawal from it (work and other worldly activities such as family life, trade, etc.) in favour of contemplation of eternity is meaningful and highly desirable (Cf. Hardy, 1990:6-16).

² *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap* (Dutch Missionary Society) evangelized Minahasans in the 19th century. They emphasized the subjective experience of Christian faith and viewed this world from a dualistic point of view, viz. spiritually and physically and the former is of more importance than the latter (Runia, 1967). They used social development, such as modern education (Kroeskamp, 1974), for the sake of spiritualistic mission.

perception ignores the realms beyond spirituality such as economy, politics, and family life. According to this view, there are no Christian norms to judge people who are being lazy or are workaholics, and work in the secular or “non-spiritual realm.” In this dualistic view, people regard spiritual ministry as of greater value than secular occupations. This view deprecates “secular” activities, while the teachings of the Bible and of the Reformers (Luther and Calvin)³ emphasize the fact that a holistic undertaking of vocation forms a significant part of Christian faith.

Secondly, the modernist view of human life frames people as living in a fragmented and segmented world. Christians exist within this modernistic framework. This fragmented world can be seen, for example, in the view that working in an industrial company is different from working domestically. In this fragmented modern society a question emerges from a Christian point of view, as to whether this modern paradigm⁴ can be applied to daily life. Is work within the modernist framework similar to vocation in Reformed theology? Is vocation merely referring to paid work? Is vocation the same as work, occupation and job in modern era? Beyond paid work, occupation and profession, other activities are taking place. Is doing domestic work such as serving husband, wife and children; cooking, and cleaning the house, not be categorized as work? From an axiological point of view, especially from the Christian perspective, can modernism judge modern people who face problems such as overwork and consumerism, to mention but a few things, which are essentially meaninglessness?

Furthermore, some scholars (Lyotard, 1986; Foster, 1989) who have analysed contemporary society, contend, and this will be one of the contentions in this thesis, that contemporary people in the 21st century are entering the so-called postmodern era. People are facing intense pluralism, ambiguity and incoherency and in the empirical social stage the intense of consumerism and the quick pace of information inevitably overwhelms them. How can Christian vocation be applied in the postmodern era?

Related to the relationship between religious value and actual social life, it is generally accepted that people’s values are determined by and are always in dialogue

³ This topic will be explained in detail in chapters I and II.

⁴ Paradigm is “some accepted examples of actual scientific practice- examples which include law, theory, application, and instrumentations together-provide models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research” (Kuhn, 1970:10).

with the zeitgeist. The conception of work, for example, in the social world of preliterate people must be distinguished from the conception of work among economically more advanced groups.

This present study will examine vocation and postmodernity. The analysis will begin with how the Christian vocation, based on biblical teaching, analysed by Luther and especially Calvin, challenged the zeitgeist of the Medieval ages (chapters I and II). The analysis of Christian vocation is followed by a discussion as to how the GMIM church, as a Reformed church,⁵ has to undertake Christian vocation in the era influenced by the zeitgeist of postmodernity. It is a scientific challenge to examine Weber's analysis of Luther's and especially Calvin's concept of vocation and its application by their followers (Weber, 1976). This study, *mutatis mutandis*, intends to critically examine how Calvin's doctrine of vocation as a religious value has been inculcated by GMIM, as a Reformed church, in the minds of its members, and accordingly how this religious value (Christian doctrine of vocation) is applied by GMIM church members in their zeitgeist (postmodernity).

Based on this reasoning, this present study will investigate the concept of vocation the Reformed church disseminates in the postmodern era. There are two variables (key terms) in this research: the ideas of vocation and of postmodernity. Each of these variables will be examined as well as the correlation between them.

It is necessary to point out the key terms used in this research.

The first key term is *Reformed vocation*. Vocation is an ethical theological term. Vocation is derived from the Latin *vocare*, to call. The elements of calling include: Who is the caller? Why does He call? What is the content of calling? Who are called? How does the caller discharge the content of calling? How should those who are called respond? To what extent is the content of the calling actualised? All these questions will be addressed in chapters I and II.

From a Reformed theological point of view, God is a merciful God who justifies and saves, through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the hopeless sinful humanity. This salvation compels a response from those who are saved. This vocation is an act of God. God calls those whom He wants to call in His sovereignty, to undertake what He has assigned. Therefore, Christian vocation is a response toward God's salvation. From a sociological religious point of view, the meaning of vocation refers to

⁵ GMIM is a member of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the second largest Reformed church in Indonesia, the biggest Christian denomination in North Sulawesi Province, Indonesia.

religious values, and from a philosophical, ethical point of view, it is an axiological term.

In order to have theoretical, theological measurements that can be tested at an empirical level, the ethical theological analysis of vocation will be addressed in chapters I and II. In the theological arguments put forward by Luther and Calvin, the ethical dimensions of vocation, e.g. working hard, neighbourly love, honesty, frugality, thrift and relief from hardship will be pointed out. Vocation, according to these Reformers (Luther and Calvin), applies to three social spheres: political, economical and family. How and to what extent do Protestants, especially Reformed Christians, apply the meaning of vocation to their lives? These will be the theoretical, theological basis which will be discussed in the first two chapters of this thesis.

The second key term is *Postmodernity*. The researcher of this present study argues that the concept of vocation does not exist in a vacuum. It exists in social reality. In this research, the social reality of vocation is found in postmodernity. Postmodernity is the contemporary social setting within which vocation exists. The researcher contends that this postmodernity has spread to every corner of the world, beginning with the first world and then moving to the third world with its unique local and regional articulation and expression. Postmodernity is a complexity of factors that emerged towards the end of the 20th century. It is a continuity of modernity but also a critic of it. Postmodernism is a term used in aesthetics which in essence rejects absolutism, is an anti-theory, anti-aesthetic (Foster, 1989:16-42; Taylor, 1989:29,250). It rejects single prevailing theories and expressions. Linguists refer to this as *deconstructionism* or *poststructuralism* (Derrida, 1982). It questions the absolute truth. Lyotard explains that in postmodernism there is incredulity towards the metanarratives (of truth of modernism) (1986: xxiii). He continues by saying that “in contemporary society and culture - post-industrial society, post modern culture - ... the grand narrative has lost its credibility, regardless of whether it is a speculative narrative or a narrative of emancipation”(1986:xxiii). Sociologically speaking, this deconstructionism manifests in three characteristics of social life. Taylor equates them with a postmodern dilemma: a sense of tradition, celebration of plurality, and resistance to dominance (1989:31-40).

Perhaps it will be helpful to identify the reality of postmodernity, and its characteristics as explained above, with the reality of globalization. Waters explains that in theoretical debates, “globalization is a recent phenomenon associated with

other social processes called post-industrialization, post-modernization or the disorganization of capitalism” (Waters,1996:4). He continues: “In a globalized world there will be a single society and culture occupying the planet. This society and culture will probably not be harmoniously integrated although it might conceivably be.... Importantly territoriality will disappear as an organizing principle for social and cultural life, it will be a society without border and spatial boundaries” (1996:3). He defines globalization as “A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding” (1996:3).

In this regard, it is necessary to view globalization as a *precedent condition* to postmodernity. In other words, it is impossible to analyse postmodernity without identifying the globalization process in contemporary society. It will be plausible to see postmodernity within the boundaries of globalization. *In other words, postmodernity is a way of looking at the impact of globalization in a certain society and how globalization generates ideas of postmodernity in a certain society.* In this research the researcher views globalization in terms of sociological, political, and economical perspectives while postmodernism is seen in terms of philosophical, cultural, and ethical ones.

Postmodernity in this research is *a tool of analysis* (using a postmodern paradigm, models and categories) to see and to identify the research population, and *a way of persuading the postmodern actual situations* of migrant workers of the GMIM church and the people who are close to them, as to how postmodernity is shaping and motivating their ways of thinking and behaving in achieving their obedience to the teachings of the church (viz. vocation).

Postmodernity as a tool of analysis means that it is *a way of looking at the impact of globalization in the minds of migrant workers of the GMIM church,*⁶

⁶ The GMIM church is a church of the PGI: *Persekutuan Gereja-gereja* (Protestant/Reformed) *di Indonesia* (The Communion of churches in Indonesia). One of the undertakings agreed in the PGI is that member churches are not allowed to build a church outside the geographical border of their synod. This is the reason that prohibits GMIM from expanding into other areas in Indonesia and abroad. However, the researcher contends that migrant workers in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA, even though they are active in a local church in the countries in which they work (Japan: GMIJ; the Netherlands: PERKI; USA: *Marturia* Presbyterian Church, Lutheran Church or Reformed Church of America), are still GMIM church members. The reasons are, firstly, they are reared in the theological environment of the GMIM church; secondly, they adhered to the Reformed theological stance of the GMIM church; thirdly, pastors who serve migrant workers are organizationally part of the GMIM church; fourthly, there is formal cooperation between the GMIM church and the churches or congregations of the Minahasan migrant workers and the host churches in the countries in which they

meanwhile postmodernity as *a way of persuading the postmodern actual situations* of Minahasan migrant workers abroad and Minahasans in Indonesia, the researcher contends that, since globalization processes have permeated every corner of the world, they (Minahasans abroad and in Indonesia) are in fact experiencing postmodernity.

This scientific frame of thinking helps one to see objectively, and phenomenologically, the understanding of vocation, in the postmodern era, in the research population and to systematize it according to the scientific principles of research.

How do these variables or key terms of research (Reformed vocation and postmodernity) relate one to another in this research?

Firstly, the researcher will argue that the GMIM church as a denomination adhering to the Reformed tradition is teaching the idea of vocation. This teaching certainly has been inculcated in GMIM church members since the 19th century.

Secondly, the spirit of time shifts from the archaic to modernity and postmodernity. This research will examine the challenges and threats of postmodernity to the concept of vocation of the GMIM church as an institution and the execution of this concept by church members.

These two variables will be examined in the research population, viz. GMIM church migrant workers working in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA.

B. Limitations of the study

Three definitions must be discussed in order to ensure a clear understanding of the scope and limitations of study.

Firstly, the essence of this research is to investigate the concept of vocation in Reformed theology. Therefore, this excludes vocation as understood by Roman Catholics and other Christian sects (e.g. Adventist, Pentecostal, Charismatic movement, etc.) and probably other religions. This research deals with vocation as understood only by Luther, and more specifically, Calvin. Vocation in the Reformed tradition deals with the underlying values of Protestantism (*sola gratia, sola scriptura, sola fide, solo christo*, etc.) and its implications in the ethical realm of

work; fifthly, if legal Minahasan migrant workers return to Indonesia, they reintegrate themselves with the GMIM church.

vocation. Theologically speaking, vocation as it is understood in the Reformed tradition, refers to the Christian faith in which God calls His believers to undertake their callings assigned by Him. Vocation is an ethical teaching of the Reformed tradition which derives from God's call and indicates how Christians should apply God's vocation in the spheres of politics, economics and family life.

Secondly, postmodernity in this research refers to contemporary society. Postmodernity has many facets and can be viewed from many perspectives. In this research, the reality of postmodernity is viewed sociologically and philosophically.

Third, migrant workers are defined as people who leave their home country and move to another country to pursue a better economic life. In this research, the research population is the migrant workers belonging to the GMIM church in Minahasa Indonesia, living in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA. Therefore, this study is demarcated only to those who are categorized as migrant workers in these countries. This means that the researcher does not intend to generalize this study to include every group categorized as migrant workers elsewhere in the world. The concept of vocation and the concept of the social understanding of postmodernity will be tested in this demarcated research population.

In this research, migrant worker analysis concerns itself with legal, geographical as well as psychological, and cultural matters. Geographically and legally, the migrant workers move from one country to another and therefore inevitably come into contact with the laws of the host country.

Psychologically and culturally, migrant workers face exhaustion, tense relationships with co-workers or with superiors and different cultural values because of their geographical relocation. The latter is the reason why, in this research, the Minahasan-Dutch citizens are included as migrant workers.⁷

In regard to the definitions above, the researcher of this thesis defines his own personal doctrinal stance and other basic assumptions:

⁷ In general, work is not just physical activity- it has psychological implication. "Why do people work? Not just for a pay check. Our work heavily influences our psychological well-being.... Work is ... the dimension of our life which absorbs the most time and energy and for many makes the strongest psychological impact" (Smith, 2002). This psychological impact manifests itself in personal stress, feeling meaningless, lack of time being spent with family, drowsiness, exhaustion, etc. In the context of this research, the psychological stresses of being migrant workers include loneliness, being foreign, homesickness and, subsequently, lost contact with the original culture, relatives and social setting in their home country. Due to their prosperity as a result of their working in the Netherlands and the intimate cultural ties, almost all Minahasan Dutch citizens regularly visit their home country.

1. The Reformed Church tradition stands on *sola fide*, *sola scriptura*, *sola gratia* and the priesthood of all believers.
2. The concept of vocation exists in the thought and ministry of the GMIM church.
3. Minahasa is a part of the global culture that is facing postmodernity.
4. Understanding postmodernity can become a valuable tool to help in understanding the culture of contemporary society in which the GMIM church exists. This understanding will help the researcher to use postmodern categories to explain scientifically the given reality and to see people's world-views as shaped by it.

The researcher will limit the scope of analysis to the concept of vocation in the Reformed theology of GMIM, because:

1. He is familiar with the church in which he was raised and in which he is now a pastor.
2. This church is a Reformed church which accepts the basic Reformed tenets of belief including *sola fide*, *sola gratia*, *sola scriptura*, the idea of calling, the priesthood of all believers.
3. The concept of vocation here is understood to mean work in a wider sense, as a faith calling, based on the teaching of justification by faith, and as a means of glorifying God through daily work activities.
4. Demonstration of this faith calling: vocation is executed by all GMIM church members including migrant workers abroad.

C. Formulation of problem

The proposed research is intended to examine:

1. whether the inculcation of the GMIM Reformed theology of vocation is influenced by postmodernity;
2. whether the present articulation and expression of vocation of the GMIM church as an institution and as God's people is conditioned by the challenges of postmodernity;
3. whether the host-country in which the GMIM church migrant workers stay determines the way they fulfill their vocation;
4. whether the ethos, which includes the system of values being implemented, the fundamental character, the underlying sentiments and moral elements of

the migrant worker of the GMIM church's concept of vocation, is achieved, interplays with, and is shaped by the postmodern condition?

5. to what extent the Reformed understanding of vocation, embodied in the social spheres of work, family life and politics, is applied by migrant workers of the GMIM church in the postmodern era?

D. The importance of this study and its contribution to academic research

Many analyses of Minahasan religion have been done.⁸ However, the researcher affirms that research based on the subject matter of this study (Reformed vocation and postmodernity) has never been investigated.

The majority of Indonesian Christians are members of churches in the Reformed tradition,⁹ therefore the investigation of Reformed theology in these churches is important. Due to the limits of time and money, the researcher focuses his research primarily on his home church, GMIM. No scholar as yet has ever seriously studied the interaction of Indonesian Reformed Christianity especially that of migrant workers with postmodernity.

The study can therefore become:

1. A unique contribution to knowledge, especially on the interrelation of postmodernity and migrant workers of Reformed churches.
2. A guide for the Indonesian Protestant (Reformed) churches, especially the GMIM church, to pursue their calling among their members working abroad.
3. An analysis of how the church, in its loyalty to God, undertakes vocation as one of its essential tasks, and accordingly how the church develops strategies that respond to the challenges and threats imposed by postmodernity.

⁸ See the bibliography especially on Minahasan study.

⁹ WARC has recently gathered data from reformed churches in the world. It explains that reformed churches in Indonesia could be divided into four groups:

1. Those originating from an established church (included GMIM)
2. Mainline Dutch and German mission boards.
3. Conservative Reformed Mission bodies in the Netherlands
4. Indonesian Evangelical Fellowship (Bauswen, J.J. & Vischer, L 1999:230-231). According to the research conducted by the *Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia* (The Communion of the [Protestant] Churches in Indonesia), in 1998 there were 72 synods of Protestant churches with 10.870.272 members. In East Indonesia, there were 23 synods of reformed churches with 4.272.547 members.

4. A portrait of the Christian teaching of vocation and its praxis of originally non-Western Christianity toward the challenges and conditions of postmodernity.

E. Methodology

Two kinds of method approaches are used.

The first approach is a literature study. This applies to chapters one, two and three. The first two chapters (Luther's and Calvin's basic understanding of vocation) intend to elaborate the object of research (vocation) within the theological realm, while the third chapter, on postmodernity, intends to elaborate the object of research in the scientific (philosophical and sociological) realm.¹⁰

The second approach deals with field research. This applies to chapter four. Chapter four deals with how migrant workers of the GMIM church undertake their vocation. In this sense, it is appropriate to use a field research model.

Because of the characteristics of the themes of this research, the researcher will also use diachronic and synchronic models of approach.¹¹ The diachronic model intends to examine the historical development of the idea of vocation, beginning with Reformed theology within its own time (Reformation era in the 16th century and its subsequence, chapters I and II), and the influence of Dutch Calvinism on the Indonesian Protestant Church, including GMIM. This model applies to the first part of chapter IV.

The synchronic approach will emphasize an analysis of the broader features of contemporary issues of postmodern society. With the help of sociology and philosophy as a theoretical framework (chapter III), the understanding of vocation in the minds of the research population (chapter IV) will be critically identified and examined.

These approaches (synchronic and diachronic) will help to expound the context in which the migrant workers of the GMIM church understand and execute their vocation. A combination of these approaches will be demonstrated in the conclusion.

¹⁰ Concerning the relationship between theology and science see the argument in chapter III.

¹¹ These models are suited to the historical inquiry of the subject Reformed Theology as an implementation of history of doctrines. Cf. Bradley, J.E. & Richard A. Muller, 1995:29.

The research population of this field research consists of GMIM church members. The research population is the GMIM church members working as migrant workers in Japan, the Netherlands, and USA. Data will be gathered mainly from this church as an institution¹² and from migrant workers of the GMIM church. Data concerning the institutional church will be explored by examining church documents, such as the GMIM church order.

In compiling empirical data from the research population, the researcher will use the sociological approach of Max Weber's *Verstehen* (Weber, 1964:8-29), in that the interviewees will subjectively interpret their vocation as a faith calling interacting with postmodernity. He will also use an anthropological approach, in that participant observation was conducted (Spradley, 1980).

To conduct field research, the researcher made use of interview and participant observation. Minahasan migrant workers in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA were interviewed. The researcher gained first-hand experience by actually staying with Minahasan migrant workers in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA for varying periods of time.

F. Outline of this thesis

In the Introduction, the background, limitation of the study, the statement of research problem, and the methodology of research are dealt with.

The first chapter will deal with Luther's concept of vocation. The reason why this subject is explained here is based on the argument that Calvin's concept of vocation, to a certain degree, was shaped by Luther. Kuyper (1961:22) indicates that one can investigate Luther's theology without Calvin, but not Calvin's without Luther. In this chapter, there will be a discussion of Luther's ideas, especially as he heralded a significantly new view on Christian vocation which differed from medieval monastic views. Luther proclaims his Protestant doctrine of *sola gratia*, which differs totally from the Roman Catholic view regarding Christian freedom, and its relationship to the concept of good works, the ecclesiological concept of the

¹² The researcher recognizes that sermons, pastoral care, etc., might shape the Reformed concept of vocation. However, this research is confined to institutional ministry such as the outline of sermons and daily meditations issued by the synod of GMIM church, and the articles of the GMIM church order immediately related to the subject matter of this research.

priesthood of believers, the concept of vocation, and the Christian's struggle to live in this world bearing a cross. His dialectical approach of ethical theology appeared in his cosmological concept of two kingdoms: kingdom of heaven and kingdom of earth. Christian vocation, in Luther's view is implemented in the kingdom of earth.

The focus of the second chapter is on the main theological objective of this thesis, viz. Calvin's concept of vocation. This analysis describes Calvin's theological concept of God's providence and predestination, within which the place of vocation in Calvin's wider cosmological point of view, is understood. Hence, to properly comprehend Calvin's theological understanding of vocation, *sola gratia* must be the starting-point. *Sola gratia* then gives meaning to general call, special call, sanctification, neighborly love and the existing world in which Christians undertake their vocation. Theologically speaking, in Calvin's view, God is the author of vocation. The realization of vocation involves its social dynamic, submission, and boundaries. The perseverance of Christians in undertaking their vocation is sustained by God. Calvin insists that the social sphere of vocation embodies family life, work and politics.

The third chapter will highlight postmodernity. To begin with, this chapter will analyse the necessity and purpose of dealing with postmodernity, the link between theology and postmodernity, and with postmodern methodology. Secondly, this chapter will analyse the meaning of the prefix 'post' in postmodernism, and different views of postmodernism: the attitudes toward postmodernism, historical postmodernism and postmodernity as a cultural change. There is also a discussion as to why postmodernity has superseded modernity. This will be followed by an exposition of postmodern conjuncts: post-structuralism, globalization and post-industrialization. This chapter will also try to explain the core of postmodernity, viz. characteristics such as postmodern media, postmodern consumerism, the ideas of difference, relativism, ambiguity, pluralism, local indeterminism, division of labor and postmodern impact on religion.

The fourth chapter will deal with the concept of vocation as understood and practised by GMIM church migrant workers in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA. An explanation of the current political context of Indonesia, postmodern Indonesia and GMIM as a Reformed church, will precede the elucidation of the results of field research. The national-political and ecclesiological backgrounds of migrant workers

of the GMIM church must be described, because these have shaped their perceptions before they embarked on their journeys to work abroad. The methodology of field research is also discussed in this chapter to indicate the process followed in data collection. Detailed information regarding the results of field research conducted by the researcher will be supplied.

Conclusion is the last part of this study. The researcher also makes certain recommendations to GMIM church and some recommendations regarding further research.

Chapter I

LUTHER'S CONCEPT OF VOCATION

A. Introduction

There is a strong presumption that Lutheranism influenced Calvin's Reformed theology and, subsequently, his understanding of vocation. This argument is supported by an assumption that Nicolas Cop's address prepared by Calvin (Cottret, 2000:73-75) should not automatically be conjured up in Calvin's mind, but be influenced by a Protestant movement that infiltrated France in Calvin's time (Cottret, 2000:23,39,42,48). Albeit Calvin and Luther never met each other; both Reformers read each other's writings solely in Latin since Luther could not understand French and Calvin could not understand German (Dankbaar, 1967:57-58). This 'indirect' interaction is the reason for pointing out Luther's idea of vocation in this study. The second reason for explaining Luther's idea is to show how Calvin later expounded his Reformed theology and subsequently the ethics of vocation, perhaps due to his educational background, which he owed to a certain extent to Luther,¹ in order to answer his view of church ministry. The last section of the next chapter provides invaluable input on how Luther and Calvin differ from each other and to what extent they are similar.

The first part of this chapter explains the starting point for understanding vocation in Luther's theology, e.g. *sola gratia*. This is followed by Luther's incisive criticism of the medieval Roman Catholic sacrament of monastic vow. The latter has distorted the biblical understanding of vocation.

The basis for observing Christian vocation is the faith in Jesus Christ who is the source of freedom from sin. Such freedom will, in essence, determine the actualization of vocation. According to Luther, human freedom is not linked to the human product of religious order, as expressed in the religious spiritualist dualism of Roman Catholicism that claims higher estates of monasticism and excludes the estate of lay people. Instead, human freedom derives from God's gift through Christ.

¹ Kuyper is right when in terms of historical sequence he states "Luther can be interpreted without Calvin, but not Calvin without Luther" (1961:22).

It will be noted that freedom in Jesus Christ, as the basis of Christian ethics, is inextricably intertwined with good works, which is the fruit of faith implying the recognition of social hierarchy. Luther states that vocation is actualized in a given social hierarchy consisting of politics, economics, and the domestic life of the Christian family.

Based on his interpretation of I Corinthians 7, the interesting point in Luther's ethics is how he proposed that in undertaking vocation Christians remain in the station which they were at the time God called them.

The last section of this chapter deals with the concept of vocation in toiling giving insight into investigating the response of the population of research of this study, viz. GMIM church migrant workers.

B. Terminology

Luther used the term *vocation* for the first time in 1522 (Althaus, 1972:39).² The German term *Beruf* is synonymous with station (*Stand*), office or function (*Amt*), and duty (*Befehl*). Concerning Luther's use of the term, Holl says, "Each Christian, in so far as he belonged to a class or profession at all, should also feel himself called to that vocation. The duties which his vocation places upon him are indeed the command which God himself directs to him" (1958:152-153).

Tauler, Gerson, Antoninus of Florence, and the German Dominicans Nider, Herolt, and Markus of Weida viewed and admitted the worldly calling undertaken by the God-fearing lay people, but their views were still bound to the system of monasticism in which a monk's vocation is ascribed superiority over all other callings (Boehmer, 1957:135). Luther's understanding of vocation no doubt refers to outer status or occupation, even though it cannot be denied that it also included the call to be children of God (Wingren, 1958:1-2). The latter refers to the "*interna vocatio*". Luther's use of vocation or *Beruf* refers rather to the call for work on earth (Wingren, 1958:3). Holl, quoted by Aalders, insists that monkhood is not a profession; the true

² Perhaps as monk in the Augustinian order, Luther learned much about the theology of Augustine. Augustine was the first theologian to write an organized theology of work. He contended that man's capability to think and do earthly works are proof of participation in God's creative power, and toiling was part of what Christ redeemed us from, a theme later picked up by Luther and amplified by the Puritans. However, he still insisted that it is better to do manual labor and contemplate in remote areas than to undertake earthly works. Augustine also stressed the strong division between clergy and laity (Augustine, 1999; cf. MacKenzie, 1997:2).

profession is God's presence in the believer's daily struggles. *“Erst hiess es: allein das Mönchtum hat einen Beruf. Luther sagt umgekehrt: gerade das Mönchtum hat keinen Beruf; der wahre Gottesberuf verwirklicht sich innerhalb der Welt und ihrer Arbeit....Jene Forderung, die das Mönchtum ursprünglich erhoben hatte: Gottes in jedem Augenblick des Lebens gegenwärtig zu haben, hat Luther wiederum erneuert. Nur meinte er, dass Gott bloss da als Wirklichkeit im vollen Sinne verspürt wird, wenn man zugleich das ganze Leben mit seinem Druck, seinen Enttäuschungen und Beklemmungen auf sich nimmt”* (“First, they said: only in the monkhood there is a profession. Luther said, in the other way around, monkhood is not a profession. The true profession of God realizes itself in the world and its work. The demand that the monkhood originally claims itself, namely that God is in each moment present in their lives; this claim is renewed by Luther. He meant that God is just felt as reality in a fully sense when God is in the daily life when you are in hardships, disappointments and anxieties of daily life. That is the true profession”) (Aalders, 1943:9). Luther's understanding of the term “vocation” is the opposite of the monastic meaning of vocation. The works of the pope and all that is related to monastic order, vow and status are not vocation due to their perversions of the *Stand* itself. Luther regretted this; it was a vow to do evil. Two kinds of perversion are committed by people in the monastery. First, truth compels people to leave the world, which was perceived as evil. This perception, in turn, substantially disregarded vocation. Secondly, due to the narrow view of vocation which was linked to monastic activities, they ignored the people's needs. They were egoistic and expressed no love and no responsibility towards others. The Pope, bishops, priests and monks were escapists and were committing sins such as robbery and usury. The monastic concept of vocation ignores responsibility towards neighbours. Yet, they did not acknowledge that the activities of lay people form part of church ministry as they understand ministry to be confined to monastic activities. Luther severed this narrow-minded view of church ministry, which led to a historical breakthrough in Reformation. Everybody is equal before God. What makes human beings different is whether or not they accept Christ in the community of the Church. If one is admitted in the Church as a gift of God, one has the right to undertake one's divine task whether one is a priest or a lay person. In Luther's view, the believers in Christ, whether they are husbands, wives, boys, girls, lords, ladies, governors, regents, judges, office-bearers, farmers, or citizens, and so on express true vocation (Wingren, 1958:3).

The main problem criticized by Luther was the Roman Catholic definition of vocation, which depends on the monastic vow. This will be explained later in this chapter. There is no dualism of spiritualism and materialism in Christian life. Luther claims that those who are saved will sacrifice their entire life to God. The concept of holy is no longer dualistic, but a biblically holistic way of life. Justification by faith implies that every Christian is equal before God. This is called priesthood of believers (Althaus, 1972:40-41).

C. Luther's basic ethics of vocation

C. 1. Vocation and *Sola gratia*

It is evident that Luther met God by reading Romans 1:16-17 (Ebeling, 1980:39-40; Berkhof & Enklaar, 1967:134-135). These verses answered his long struggle of how to be saved by God. The God of Roman Catholicism was a frightening Judge who, without mercy, punished the penitent sinners. After reading the above verses of Paul's epistle to the Romans, Luther found that the biblical God is basically the God of love, the God who revealed himself in and through Jesus Christ. Earlier, he was motivated by his *Anfechtungen* (anxiety) to enter the monastery. The ultimate answer was that salvation in Jesus Christ is the fulfilment of the law. Any attempts to obey the law based on human capability are futile. In a human attempt to attain salvation, the admiration of good works is misleading and is the source of religious perversion. In interpreting Galatians 1:7, Luther states, "Every teacher of work righteousness is a troublemaker. Has it never occurred to you that the pope, cardinals, bishops, monks, and the synagogues of Satan are troublemakers?" (1949:29-43). God calls the believers not because of their human good works but by God's grace. Interpreting Galatians 1:15, Luther states, "Did God call me on account of my holy life? Or, on account of my pharisaical religion? Or, on account of my prayer, fastings, and works? Never. Well, then, it is certain God did not call me on account of my blasphemies, persecutions, oppression. What prompted Him to call me? His grace alone" (1949:29-43). Meanwhile, medieval Roman Catholicism posed the question of the meaning of grace, of how a man can get rid of his sins? The answer to this question lies in the "*infusa gratia*," the "grace which is infused" into human beings (Boehmer, 1957:128).

It is obvious that Luther rejected the papal system of theology. The reason was the perversion of the authority, as the pope and bishops wrongly claimed that they held salvation. Humanity is tainted with sin which is an undesirable quality, thus making it impossible to gain salvation. Sin leads human beings away from what is right, the divine authority. This perversion was proved in the way in which the pope sold indulgence, and his arrogant ruling over what was the domain of the magistrates and the emperor.

Because of human sinfulness, salvation must come from an external source, from the Creator i.e. God through His son Jesus Christ. It can be stated that Luther's theology rests on the three "solas": *sola gratia*, *sola scriptura*, and *sola fide*.³ Thus, Luther's theology centres on the creed, *sola gratia*, that only God's initiative to save humanity enabling human beings to be freed from sins. This salvation of God is available through His only Son, Jesus Christ, who has sacrificed himself, in God's will, for the sake of the salvation of humanity.

Sola gratia is the starting-point for understanding the role of good works –not vice versa- and, in turn, vocation in Luther's theology. Thus, the place of vocation in Luther's theology is within his concept of good works, which proceed from and is the fruit of *sola gratia*. Consequently, it is wrong to state that Luther disregards good works. In Luther's theology, the concept of good works is essentially a matter of sequence: first there is *sola gratia*, which bears fruit in good works.

In explaining good works, Luther first clarifies the faith, *sola fide*, as the basis of the Christian truth, and in turn good works are the consequence of it. Good works are deeply related to vocation and to obeying God's law. Luther states "not the abandoning of one's earthly calling, but the faithful keeping of the Ten Commandments in the course of one's calling, is the work which God requires of us" (Luther, 1915:173-285).

Luther's theology does not end here. *Sola fide* promotes good works, including vocation. By undertaking vocation, the believers intensify their experience of *sola fide*: the God who gives salvation through Jesus Christ and the way in which Christ discharged God's salvation for human beings, e.g. the cross, suffering, loving neighbors and preserving God's creation. In this regard, Luther's concept of vocation is strongly linked to the *unio mystica* of Christian believers.

³ *Sola fide*, merely faith, *sola gratia*, merely grace of God in Christ, and *sola scriptura*, that is the truth is emerging from the Holy Bible alone.

C.2. Vocation and monastic vow

In 1074, Pope Gregory VII introduced the monastic rule of celibacy and compelled priests, deacons and the clergy to obey it (Calhoun, 1954: 97). Calhoun continues stating that monastic vows were believed to be a ‘second baptism’, the beginning of a new kind of life. Conversion implies being converted to cloistered life; put on Christ implies put on cowl; these were the soldiers of Christ, a process of becoming perfect, and above all only monks have a vocation (Calhoun, 1954:103; Holl, 1958:130-3). In his comment on monastic vow, criticized by Luther, Bainton (1950:22-3) states: “His critique of monasticism is made to recoil upon himself in that he is painted as a monk without vocation, and the vow is interpreted, not as a genuine call, but rather as the resolution of an inner conflict, an escape from maladjustment at home and at school.”⁴ Concerning “monastic vow” Luther states that the monk’s vow is not biblical, it is unfounded in Scripture. Furthermore, it ignores charity and liberty. Therefore, “marriage is good, virginity is better, but liberty is best. Monastic vows rest on the false assumption that there is a special calling, a *vocation*, to which superior Christians are invited in order to observe the counsels of perfection, whereas ordinary Christians fulfil only the commands; but, according to Luther, there simply is no special religious vocation since the call of God comes to each man at the common tasks” (Bainton, 1950:201). In this regard, Bainton (1950: 232-233) clearly expounds: “In one respect Luther was more conservative than Catholicism because he abolished monasticism and thus eliminated a selected area for the practice of the higher righteousness. In consequence, the gospel could be exemplified only in the midst of

⁴ Moreover, medieval Roman Catholicism emphasized the contemplative life (such as meditation) more than the active (such as tilling). Thomas Aquinas, the leading theologian in the medieval Roman Catholicism states “the contemplation of divine truth...is the goal of the whole of human life.” Frequently in his *Summa Theologica II* he highlighted the importance of *vita contemplativa* of the monastic people than the *vita activa* (Cf. Laurence, 1994; Arendth, 1958; Tilgher, 1977). Thomas Aquinas continues, “It is true that contemplation enjoys rest from external movements. Nevertheless to contemplate is itself a movement of the intellect, in so far as every operation is described as a movement; in which sense the Philosopher says, *De Anima*, iii, text 28, that sensation and understanding are movements of a kind, in so far as the act of a perfect thing is a movement” (Second part of the second part questions CLXXI-CLXXXIX. Aquinas, 1922:101). MacKenzie states that in medieval theological system “the *vita contemplativa* was oriented to the eternal whereas the *vita activa* had a place only because of the necessities of the present life” (1997:6). This inclination manifested in the monastic medieval institution. “Renouncing marriage, property, and related worldly entanglements, the monks abandoned their earthly occupations, withdrew to the cloister and committed themselves to the mortification of desires and the discipline of the mind, hoping that such a regiment would lead them to a mystical union with God” (Hardy, 1990:19).

secular calling, except that Luther refused to call them secular. As he had extended the priesthood of all believers, so likewise he extended the concept of divine calling, vocation, to all worthy occupations.” Luther claims that Christians do not worship an idle god. God himself has been working. “God has called men to labour because he labours...at common occupations. God is a tailor who makes for the deer a coat that will last for a thousand years. He is a shoemaker also who provides boots that the deer will not outlive. God is the best cook, because the heat of the sun supplies all the heat there is for cooking....” (Bainton, 1950:232-233).

Luther interpreted the instant reaction of the shepherds upon meeting baby Jesus in Bethlehem: “Surely that must be wrong. We should correct the passage to read, ‘They went and shaved their heads, fasted, told their rosaries, and put on cowls.’ Instead we read, ‘The shepherds returned.’ Where to? To their sheep. The sheep would have been in a sorry way if they had not” (Bainton, 1950:234). Luther claims that in order to preach the gospel, it is not necessary to leave one’s profession, as did the shepherds. Luther continues, “The lowlier the task, the better. The milkmaid and the carter of manure are doing a work more pleasing to God than the psalm singing of a Cathusian” (Bainton, 1950:234).

Beside the individual station as a means of vocation, Luther endorsed stations conducted in institutions instituted by God prior to man’s fall. They are the political, the domestic, and the economic institutions. Idleness and laziness are unchristian. Begging should be abandoned, abolished. Christians must work, except the aged who might lend ‘at interest not in excess of 5 percent or less depending on the success of the enterprise’ (Bainton, 1950:237). It is a disgrace that laziness of the idle monks causes poverty. God demands that human beings work hard. “The abolition of monasticism and the expropriation of ecclesiastical goods, the branding of poverty as either a sin or at least a misfortune if not a disgrace, and the exaltation of work as the imitation of God distinctly stimulated the spirit of economic enterprise” (Bainton, 1950:37-238).

Monastic vow is unbiblical and limits vocation within monastic boundaries. It ignores lay activities as part of church ministry. It has no theological basis since God is also working outside the monastery. Christian vocation embraces every worthy earthly act.

D. 3. Vocation and Christian freedom

Christ's divine work in Calvary is not only the ransom of sin, but also the source of freedom. This statement of Luther contradicts the Roman Catholic way of perceiving freedom. Religious acts are acts of escapism from earthly works. They concentrate on the mystical endeavours to be released from the bondage of sin. Theologically, this is not the *fundamentum* of salvation.

Luther is right when he claims the importance of the meaning of vocation in his general view of vocation in the biblical sense. In his *Concerning Christian Liberty*, Luther (1910:353-397) states that in faith, the Christian is lord and in love he or she is servant for the neighbour and everything.

In Luther's theology, this paradoxical statement means that in Christ, the Christian is set free, and this entails the destruction of human worldly hierarchy; in Christ every Christian is equal and simultaneously lord. Every believer is equal before God and lord due to God's freedom in Christ that is bestowed upon them. Those who are freed and become lords have responsibility. The gift bestowed is not idle, but is imposed upon them by undertaking responsibility towards their neighbours. This is realized through work.

Let us consider Luther's letter to Pope Leo X written on September 6, 1520, entitled *Concerning the Christian Liberty*. He blamed Leo X for the perversion of the pope's authority, stating that his fault was worse than Sodom and Babylon. Luther reprimanded Leo to be firm just like Daniel in the midst of lions, and, like Ezekiel to dwell among scorpions. Perversion of the popes led to prosperity for their own sake. It was worthwhile for him to realize that the true understanding of Christian freedom is not derived from the religious understanding of claiming the truth, but from Jesus Christ who is the source of all freedom. "A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to everyone" (Part I of the treatise *Concerning Christian Liberty*. Luther, 1910:353-397; cf. I Cor.ix:19 and Rom.xiii.8). The meaning of freedom is identical with God's salvation.

The central freedom is not derived from the good works of human beings in their attempt to attain it, but from Jesus Christ through faith. "Therefore the first care of every Christian ought to be to lay aside all reliance on works, and strengthen his faith alone more and more, and by it grow in the knowledge, not of works, but of

Christ Jesus, who has suffered and risen again for him as Peter teaches (I Peter v), when he makes no other work to be a Christian one” (Part I of the treatise *Concerning Christian Liberty*. Luther, 1910:353-397).

Hence, the statement that salvation solely derives from Jesus Christ gives meaning to the faith of believers. In Luther’s theology, there is a relationship between freedom in Christ and the importance of faith. First, Christ, the free gift of God, is solely the truth for believers and this is absorbed through faith. Secondly, faith alone enables believers to get hold of Him. This is the virtue of faith. The office of faith asks and invites the believers to be involved in honouring and pleasing Him. “The highest worship of God is to ascribe to Him truth, righteousness, and whatever qualities we must ascribe to one in whom we believe. In doing this the soul shows itself prepared to do His whole will; in doing this it hallows His name, and gives itself up to be dealt with as it may please God....Now this is not accomplished by works, but by faith alone.” Thirdly, the incomparable grace of faith unites the soul to Christ, as the wife to the husband, by which mystery, as the Apostle teaches, Christ and the soul are made one flesh. This sounds mystical. Being united with Christ means egalitarianism in office viz. priesthood of believers (Part II/Conclusion of the treatise *Concerning Christian Liberty*. Luther, 1910:353-397). Fourthly, Christian freedom in Christ is related to conduct vocation in a particular order. In interpreting I Cor.7:17 Luther asserts a paradoxical statement, “Faith and the Christian life are so free in essence that they are bound to no particular order or estate of society, but they are to be bound in and throughout all orders and estates. Therefore you need not to accept or give up any particular estate in order to be saved. On the contrary, the estate in which faith and the Gospel find you, there you may stay and find your salvation ” (LW 28. 1973:39). It can be inferred from this statement that, in Luther’s theological ethics, a particular order or estate (cloister) will not save a Christian but he or she must be in a particular estate to live out his or her vocation in which the Gospel finds him or her; God has called him or her in a particular estate.

It is clear that the source of freedom is Christ. This freedom of course refers to theological freedom, freedom from sin. Freedom in Christ does not end in abstract understanding but is acted out in the church community and social life. Freedom in Christ produces faith which entails honouring God and the mystical union between Christ and Christian believers. This union socially affects the community of the church in which everyone is equal, viz. priesthood of believers. Freedom in Christ and

Christian faith are not bound to a certain privileged estate but are actualized by every Christian in all orders, whether religious or non-religious.

C. 4. Freedom coincides with the understanding of good works

What is the place of vocation in Luther's Christian freedom and good works? If we heed Luther's writings we may be impressed with his struggle with the position of the good work in Christian theology. This is understandable because he was raised in the very sensitive religious moralism prevalent at his time. Those who would like to be saved must obey God's law and the rules of the church according to the magical maxim of the medieval Roman Catholic Church: *ex opere operato*. As explained above, after reading Romans 1:16-17, Luther encountered God's truth, which claims to be the starting-point of all theology: the justification of God. But this statement of the truth of faith did not free him from establishing the place of good work in the Christian faith.

Luther's enemies alleged that his teaching of justification by faith was ignoring good works. Luther's preaching on good works is his answer based on an evangelical understanding of faith. This was the reason why he wrote a *Treatise on Good Works* (1915). His teaching on justification by faith criticized Roman Catholic's formless faith viz. *fides informis* and human attempt to attain salvation through good works viz. *fides formata* or *informata*, a formed or ornate faith (LW 44.1966:18). Luther states "He (St. Paul) says, '*justus ex fide sua vivit*,' 'the righteous man draws his life out of his faith, and faith is that whereby he is counted righteous before God' (Rom.1:17). If righteousness consists of faith, it is clear that faith fulfils all commandments and makes all its works righteous, since none is justified unless he does all the commandments of God" (LW 44.1966:31). Luther insists that good works do not entail salvation. On the contrary, those who have faith must perform good works, thus realising vocation. Luther states: "The first, highest, and most precious of all good works is faith in Christ" (LW 44:23). Good works are derived from faith (*sola fide*) and Christ (*sola gratia*). Luther continues, "For the works are acceptable not for their own sake but because of faith, which is always the same and lives and works in each and every work without distinction, however numerous and varied these works always are, just as all the members of the body live,

work, and take their name from the head, and without the head no member can live, work, or have a name” (LW 44:26).

Again, Luther claims that good works cannot be the starting-point of salvation. It is the consequence of God’s grace. Good works must be justified by Christ. Good works are revealed in Christian piety. How about the relationship between piety and vocation? Piety, of course, is not a dualistic understanding but embraces the life of the believers (LW 44.1966:26,43). In his comment on Luther’s holistic understanding of the Christian piety, Heinrich Boehmer states: “In the first place, it overcame the dualism, the intellectualism, and the rigid arbitrariness of medieval ethics. The distinction between profane and holy acts, so characteristic of ancient and again of medieval thought, no longer existed for Luther. In his eyes everything was holy which was done with the right disposition toward God - even walking, standing, sleeping, eating, and whatever else may be done for the nourishment of the body and the common good. On the other hand, everything was unholy which was not done with this attitude, even the works which had hitherto been regarded as specifically holy - praying, fasting, making pilgrimages, saying and endowing masses, building churches and monastery. Like the dualism between holy and profane, the dualism between common morality and monkish morality was no longer valid for him” (Boehmer, 1957:312). This holistic understanding of Christian piety is, by the same token, the expression of vocation of the Christians.

Luther’s enemies accused him of neglecting good works. In his reply, Luther states, “If faith does every thing, and by itself suffices for justification, why then are good works commanded? Are we then to take our ease and do no works, content with faith? Not so, impious men, I reply not so” (Part II/Conclusion of the treatise *Concerning Christian Liberty*. Luther, 1910:353-397). Luther continues, “You might ask, if faith does everything..., why then do we have so many laws of the church and of the state, and so many ceremonies of churches, monasteries, and holy places, which urge and tempt men to do good works through them? The answer: Simply because we do not all have or heed faith. If every man had faith we would need no more laws. Everyone would of himself do good works all the time, as his faith shows him” (LW 44. 1966:34-35). This statement stresses the importance of good works, deeds, and actions by true believers. Christians must neither ignore nor neglect the fruit of faith as a token of good works. Good works assuredly cannot be the starting-point of being

saved by God, but justification by faith necessitates good works as a token of true believers in Christ (LW 44, 1966:26,31,37-38).

The essence of Christ's work is to bring freedom, freedom from sin. In this regard, Christians can call themselves the freed people. But the freed people must perform good works, not be libertines or anarchists, who are freed without rules. To counter the antinomians, "the preaching of the law, e.g., the Ten Commandments, is useful and necessary,...as a guide to the good works which are to follow true faith" (LW 47, 1971:101). The Christian freed people are to undertake their tasks, which are in themselves the Christian good works as the fruit of being justified by Christ. Luther stated earlier: "The Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to everyone" (Part I of the treatise *Concerning Christian Liberty*. Luther, 1910:353-397). The first statement states the divine work of Christ to set man free from sin. The second statement refers to the duty of Christians who are being freed by Christ. In this context we understand the purpose, significance and meaning of good works. Luther, again, frequently reminds us that good work will not save or sanctify the believers. Good work is the consequence of the salvation being given by God to the believers; a vocation forms an integral part of good works.

From this brief description, we can infer that Luther's claim that, because God has freed human beings from sinfulness through God's grace in Jesus Christ, then Christian believers have freedom. Good works are proof of the Christians' being justified by God. Luther's idea of good works includes the undertaking of vocation.

C. 5. Vocation and social hierarchy

Justification by faith does not *per se* necessitate good works. Good works do not lead to justification. Justification by faith is similar to Christian freedom. Justification by faith bears fruit in good works. Not the opposite.

The implementation of justification by faith and Christian freedom are the exercise of faith. It considers of the social hierarchy in the world as well.⁵ Therefore,

⁵ To discuss the fourth commandment, (in Calvin the fifth commandment) Luther states: "The exercise of faith, according to this commandment, consists in the faithful performance of the duties of children toward their parents, of parents toward their children, and of subordinates toward their superiors in both the ecclesiastical and the common civil sphere. The various duties issue from the various callings, for

Christian freedom ignores anarchy. Theologically, the believers are *Coram Deo* (equal before God), but socially, or worldly, believers exist in hierarchy. The latter is the place of vocation. The vocation “leaves men unequal, since the variety of human abilities and opportunities means a like variety in the kinds of works within society” (McLelland, 1960:39). In Christ or in faith there is a single vocation while in love toward neighbours there are many vocations.

Luther strictly stated that social hierarchy is a means of achieving vocation. To interpret the second table Luther states “...the excellent works of the first three⁶ commandments [say] there are no better works than to obey and serve all those who are set in authority over us. This is why disobedience is sin worse than murder, unchastity, theft, dishonesty, and all that goes with them” (LW 44. 1966:80-81).

Luther divided this ‘hierarchical’ obedience into three categories:

1. family : we honour our father and mother;
2. to honour and obey the spiritual mother : the holy Christian Church, and
3. to obey the temporal authority (LW.44.1966: 80-100).⁷

Those who are justified by God through Christ in faith respond to it by doing good works. Christ brings freedom to humanity and those who believe it are free human beings. The freedom of the freed human beings is expressed by means of subjection; the subjection to the social structures in this world. In Luther’s own words, “Although, as I have said, inwardly, and according to the spirit, a man is amply enough justified by faith, having all that he requires to have, except that this very faith and abundance ought to increase from day to day, even till the future life, still he remains in this mortal life upon earth, in which it is unnecessary that he should rule his own body and have intercourse with men. Here then works begin; here he must not take his ease; here he must give heed to exercise his body by fastings, watchings, labour, and other regular discipline, so that I may be subdued to the spirit, and obey and conform itself to the inner man and faith, and not rebel against them nor hinder them, as is its nature to do if it is not kept under” (Part III/Conclusion of the treatise *Concerning Christian Liberty*.Luther, 1910).

faithful performance of the duties of one's calling, with the help of God and for God's sake, is the true "good work" (Luther, *Treatise on good works*, 1915).

⁶ In Calvin the first four commandments.

⁷ Concerning this, McLelland says there are many offices or callings but Luther mentions “ Three kinds of calling are ordained by God; in them one can live with God and clear conscience. The first is the family, the second, political and secular authority, the third, the church or the ministry (McLelland, 1960: 39).

All that is related to government, social disciplines, politics and the need of neighbours is the realm of Christian social responsibility of the believers of God who are already justified by Him in Christ. Luther states, "...that Christians should be subject to principalities and powers and ready to do every good works (Titus iii.i), not that they may be justified by these things—for they are already justified by faith—but that in liberty of spirit they may thus be the servants of others and subject to powers, obeying their will out of gratuitous love. Such, too, ought to have been the works of all colleges, monasteries, and priests; everyone doing the works of his own profession and state of life, not in order to be justified by them, but in order to bring his own body into subjection, as an example to others, who themselves also need to keep under their bodies, and also in order to accommodate himself to the will of others, out of free love" (Part II/Conclusion of the treatise *Concerning Christian Liberty*, 1910).

Luther thus reprimands the Christians not to neglect their responsibility and duty in social life. The responsibility to support the needy is undertaken by the government and other institutions and every citizen submits to their super-ordinates. Luther did not clearly explain the issues of political justice due to his political quietism and his abstract and soundly mystical preference. However, what is certain in Luther is that vocation is inseparable from domination and submission. In this social hierarchy the Christian fulfils his or her vocation.

C. 6. Priesthood of believers and vocation

In his open letter to the *Christian nobility of the German nation* (1915; LW 44: 126-137), Luther mentions the three walls of the Romanists, e.g.

1. spiritual power (merely pope, bishops) was higher than temporal powers (princes, lords, etc.) and the latter had no jurisdiction over the first;
2. the pope has the only privilege to interpret the Scriptures, and
3. the pope is the only person to invite prelates to conduct a council.

These walls are remarkable since they were constructed on the idea of "pope-centrism." This prevented the lay people from participating in church ministry. Besides, their vocations were ignored by this theological mode of thinking. Based on this thought, papalism constituted its inventive truth that there are two estates: spiritual and temporal. The pope, bishops, priests and monks had higher authority over kings and princes. The pope was not only holier and closer to heaven compared

to the secular estates, but he also had reduced if not expropriated the political power of princes and kings. Yet, the ‘secular estates’ were excluded from the church life and the non-monastic people’s jobs were treated as unspiritual and unchristian. This is entirely wrong and devious. The dichotomy of spiritual and secular is not biblical. Every Christian is a spiritual person. Through baptism we are all consecrated to the priesthood (Cf. I Pet.2:9; Rev.5:10).

Luther criticized medieval church hierarchy, “Here you will ask, ‘If all who are in the Church are priests, by what character are those whom we now call priests to be distinguished from the laity?’ I reply, By the use of these words, ‘priest,’ ‘clergy,’ ‘spiritual person,’ ‘ecclesiastic,’ an injustice has been done, since they have been transferred from the remaining body of Christians to those few who are now, by hurtful custom, called ecclesiastics. For Holy Scripture makes no distinction between them, except that those who are now boastfully called popes, bishops, and lords, it calls ministers, servants, and stewards, who are to serve the rest in the ministry of the word, for teaching the faith of Christ and the liberty of believers” (Part I of the treatise *Concerning Christian Liberty*, 1910:353-397).

Luther contended that the pope’s *character indelebilis*⁸ has neither theological foundation nor scriptural warrant. He points out “Therefore, just as those who are now called ‘spiritual’-priests, bishops, or popes- are neither different from other Christians nor superior to them except that they are charged with the administration of the Word of God and the sacraments, which is their work and office, so it is with the temporal authorities,-they bear sword and rod with which to punish the evil and to protect the good. A cobbler, a smith, a farmer, each has the work and office of his trade, and yet they are all alike consecrated priests and bishops, and everyone by means of his own work or office must benefit and serve every other, that in this way many kinds of work may be done for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the community, even as all the members of the body serve one another” (Luther, *Christian nobility of the German nation*, 1915; LW 44:130). All Christians are priests. The difference is the characteristic of the work of every believer. Spiritual priests, bishops, pastors must administer the Word of God and the sacraments. This in itself is equal to that of lay

⁸ “The *character indelebilis* or ‘indelible mark,’ was given authoritative formulation in the bull *Exultate Deo* (1439). Eugene IV, summing up the decrees of the Council of Florence, wrote: ‘Among these sacraments there are three--baptism, confirmation, and orders--which indelibly impress upon the soul a character, i.e., a certain spiritual mark which distinguishes them from the rest’” (LW 44: 129).

Christians. Luther continues, “For if the mere fact that the temporal power has a smaller place among the Christian offices than has the office of preachers or confessors, or of the clergy, then the tailors, cobblers, masons, carpenters, pot-boys, tapsters, farmers, and all the secular tradesmen, should also be prevented from providing pope, bishops, priests and monks with shoes, clothing, houses, meat and drink, and from paying them tribute” (Luther, *Christian nobility of the German nation*, 1915; LW 44:130-131).

In commenting on Luther’s reason for claiming priesthood of believers, Boehmer states, “if the mass is not designed to help one to believe in Christ’s testament, the forgiveness of sins, it should be entirely dispensed with. Endowed masses ought at least to be reduced, the words of institution spoken aloud, and the whole mass liturgy translated or the Germans into their mother tongue. Finally, if the true sacrifice in the mass is prayer, who may make such a sacrifice? All believers, Luther answered, for ‘faith makes all people priests and priestesses, be they young or old, lords, or servants, women or men, scholars or laymen’” (1957:315).

By being involved in social works, theologically speaking, one should not be treated as second class before God. Therefore, we are equal before God (*Coram Deo*) due to the principle of the priesthood of believers. And this brings a positive recognition of the vocation of non-priests. The priest’s position is equal to that of the “lay people” since God in Jesus Christ is the only intercessor between God and human beings. The task of priest, or rather minister, is to administer sacraments and to preach the scriptural truth. The minister’s job is similar to that of the farmer. The farmer does his or her job as the actualisation of what God has called him or her to do through his or her vocation and the quality of work is similar to that of the minister.

The difference, of course, is the characteristic of the job although the quality is similar. The one is not higher than the others. Romanist dichotomy of spiritual and secular, in which the pope has higher “qualitative” truth than the farmer, for instance, is not biblical, therefore it is unchristian. We must eliminate the concept of dichotomy, which neither benefits nor respects the vocation of every Christian. In Christ’s redemption, every Christian is equal and a priest before God. Within this scheme of priesthood of believers every Christian undertakes the tasks assigned by God.

C. 7. Vocation and the Christian family

Sola fide is opposed to celibacy and confirms marriage. Celibacy, in medieval theology, was partly a product of the thought system of mysticism and dualism.

In 1522, upon discovering that monasticism is wrong in perceiving vocation, Luther took off his cowl and left the cloistered life. He married Catherine von Bora.

Luther claims that sex is a gift from God and God's good will and acts (*vide* Gen.1:27; 2:18. Althaus, 1972:83). The Christian lives out his or her life in marriage as an actualisation of vocation. In other words, marriage is a place in which the Christian vocation is undertaken. It is not worldly, secondary, and a deprivation of Christian faith. Those who are justified by God and admit this divine justification through faith, in turn, must not see marriage as a physical desire. "Luther explicitly rejects a secularistic view of marriage which treats marriage as though it were 'nothing more than a purely human and secular state, with which God has nothing to do.' On the contrary, marriage has been created and ordered by God. God's will and word make it a holy station of life" (Althaus, 1972:89; LW. 21: 95).

In his commentary on Galatians 3:3, Luther states "'Flesh' stands for the righteousness of reason which seeks justification by the accomplishment of the Law. I am told that I began in the spirit under the papacy, but am ending up in the flesh because I got married. As though single life were a spiritual life, and married life a carnal life. They are silly. All the duties of a Christian husband, e.g., to love his wife, to bring up his children, to govern his family, etc., are the very fruits of the Spirit" (*Comm. Galatians*, 1949:86-106). Marriage, for Christians, is not a fruit of the flesh. It is holy and instituted by God as a means to serve others.

A father caring for his baby should not be considered a despised act, but as a precious act of his vocation in the family life. "Now observe that when that clever harlot, our natural reason... takes a look at married life, she turns up her nose and says, "Alas, must I rock the baby, wash its diapers, make its bed, smell its stench, stay up nights with it, take care of it when it cries, heal its rashes and sores, and on top of that care for my wife, provide for her, labour at my trade, take care of this and take care of that, do this and do that, endure this and endure that, and whatever else of bitterness and drudgery married life involves?...Now you tell me, when a father goes ahead and washes diapers or performs some other mean task for his child, and

someone ridicules him as an effeminate fool – thought that father is acting... in Christian faith – my dear fellow you tell me, which of the two is most keenly ridiculing the other. God, with all his angels and creatures, is smiling – not because that father is washing diapers, but because he is doing so in Christian faith” (Luther, 1972:148-49).

These statements by Luther sharply criticize a distorted perception of Roman Catholic theology of marriage and domestic life. Luther criticized Roman Catholicism as a harlot as it prostituted herself to the Babylonian captivity of spiritualistic, dualistic understanding of salvation in which marriage had been deprived. Marriage and domestic life are places in which to conduct vocation, and serve the needs of others as an expression of our faith in Jesus Christ. Sex is a gift from God and marriage is the present from God, so the activities related to marriage (the tasks of husband, wife, parents, children) are the vocations of the Christians.

C. 8. Vocation and the cross⁹

Christians live out their faith by showing their love for neighbours. To Luther, Christians are living in the *simul iustus et peccator*; being simultaneously justified and redeemed is a doctrine of Luther. In this present world, believers cannot ignore sin, which continually strikes them in their vocation. Sin coexists with vocation. Therefore, it is the task of the believers to live out the meaning of baptism (Romans 6), to be crucified and resurrected with Christ. “The cross is not to be chosen by us; it is laid upon us by God, i.e. the cross comes to us uninvoked in our vocation” (Wingren, 1958: 53). Althaus comments “...being the kind of people that we are, we cannot fulfil any vocation without being involved in sin. Here again it is very important that all Christian ethos is ethos under justification. This is particularly true of our activity in our vocation, whatever that may be. Thus the work that we do in our vocation cannot be acceptable apart from the certainty that our sins are forgiven. No matter how impossible it is to avoid sins in our station and vocation because of our sinful human nature, however, our station as such remains pure and holy because it is established through God’s word” (1972: 41).

Christian vocation implies long-suffering, solidity, firmness, and patience. The Christian faces challenges and hardships. Each vocation in the station must be

⁹ In Calvin’s teaching, this is called perseverance of God bestowed upon the lives of believers.

performed properly according to God's will. The challenges for Christians are to avoid the perversion of vocation such as being robbers, usurers, and prostitutes. Luther also refers to the activities of popes, cardinals, bishops, priests, monks and nuns as distorted. Disloyal duties, dishonesty, deceit in work, marriage or politics are ways in which people conduct a sinful vocation (McLelland, 1960:40). To comment on the fourth commandment, Luther states, "to achieve this call is not simple and smooth," the believers would suffer "but even the civil magistrates must also suffer reforms to be enacted in their particular spheres; especially are they called on to do away with the rude gluttony and drunkenness, luxury in clothing, the usurious sale of rents and the common brothels" (*A Treatise on good works*, 1915; LW 44:95). The Christians undertake their earthly vocation amid the struggle between God and Satan, sin and Christ's victory. This reveals the relationship between vocation and the cross (Wingren, 1958: 251).

C. 9. Luther's interpretation: is vocation to remain in a given status?

In his important, even controversial (Weber, 1976) interpretation concerning vocation as found in I Cor.7 (LW 28. 1973:1-56), Luther gives a detailed exposition of vocation.

First, he explains St. Paul's meaning of social relationship, vocation, and living in peace. Living in peace with one another in marriage, even with a non-Christian spouse, is encouraged, as long as he or she does not interfere with the other person's Christian life, neither defy, drive nor force the Christian to deviate from Christian faith.

Luther, in verse 16, mentions that it is better for the Christian husband or wife to live in peace with his or her spouse and not to pressure him or her. If God orders you to convert your spouse, you should do it. Luther asks individual Christians to respect non-Christian spouses as long as they do not threaten nor persuade us (the Christians) to abandon our faith. From this argument, Luther claims the Christian who marries a non-Christian, does not necessarily have to opt out of marriage for the sake of conducting vocation.

Besides remaining in a particular estate in society, a Christian conducting vocation respects freedom. In social interaction, a Christian can marry a Christian or a non-Christian, whether good or bad. "All this is free, free. But if you are and remain a

Christian, then you will be saved; and if you remain a non-Christian, then you will be condemned” (LW 28:39-40). The important thing is the Christian identity that preserves divine value which is still embedded in Christian believers. The basis is not whether a Christian married or not, or whether he or she married a Christian or not. A Christian will be saved, but if one rejects salvation in Christ, one will be condemned. Christian freedom is given to the Christian; it will not block or limit one to marry a Christian or not, or to marry or remain single. Christian freedom is based on the faith in Jesus Christ and not on the rule bound to ‘religious truth’ as appeared in Roman Catholic spiritualistic dualism or Christian exclusivism. Being a Christian one is saved in and through Jesus Christ and one must remain in a particular order or estate given by society as this estate is instituted by God. Those who undertake vocation must live in a particular estate being given by God in social life.

The same case is *mutatis mutandis* applicable to that of circumcised and uncircumcised. Luther, who followed St. Paul, states that estate or order does not save. To live in a certain estate or order, being married or not, being circumcised or not will not guarantee your salvation. Rather, the Christian is saved in and through Jesus Christ and lives out his or her faith - the essence of vocation - in a given estate, whether he or she being married or not, circumcised or not. By actualizing vocation in that particular estate, the Christian contends with, and by the power of the Holy Spirit, keeps the commandment of God.

In verses 18-19 Luther mentions that being called does not shift the given estate (*Stand*). Vocation entails freedom to remain in the estate to which God has called the Christian. Estate does not determine the call. However, the estate is the place in which the vocation is realized. Furthermore, no estate is higher than others. Estate does not save but it is necessary for actualising the call. Every estate, whether a person is married or single, circumcised or not, Jewish or Greek, is equal before God. Christians should not perceive marriage as a deprived estate compared to that of the monks as claimed by the Romanists. Being a married person remains an estate of the Christian. Every believer has the freedom to choose. “Faith justifies you, whichever estate you are in, and it alone fulfils the commandment of God” (LW 28:41).

Estate is the gift of God and the place in which Christians actualise God’s call. They are involved in the struggle between good and evil; estate is the actualisation of duty, purpose and hope of life in this present world in which Christian responsibility is undertaken and through which Christians provide for the needs of others.

The problem is not whether one is married or not, circumcised or not, a freed person or a slave. Roman Catholic theology is deeply concerned with special estate and its privileges: the monk and monastic rule, spiritualist escapism, and celibacy. To Romanists, monastic estate is essential to attain salvation and, because of its privilege, in their view, it deprives the non-monastic people and ignores secular estates.

From a theological perspective, God in Jesus Christ is the source and basis of freedom. Outward status means nothing; it does not determine God's truth and Christian faith. The certain estates should not determine one to attain faith and salvation. Moreover, the poor are rich before God; lay people are priests before God. "All this is true because faith makes us equal before God and no difference of person or status will count" (LW 28:44).

The relationship of status and vocation in Luther's theology is based on the principle of God's grace. It should be emphasized that the call does not necessarily refer to the social status. Vocation is an evangelical call that respects socially different statuses; the essential difference is that those who are called will do God's will whereas those who have not received God's call will oppose God and substantially have no Christian meaning.

Those who have been called should not necessarily leave their estates. They can live with non-Christians as long as the latter do not compel them to commit sins. Every estate instituted by God and in accordance with God's will¹⁰ is the valid place in which Christians realise their vocation, express their freedom in Christ, and, in faith, share love with one another.

Luther's understanding of vocation remaining in the given status may cause people to think that he promotes in his followers (Lutherans) quietism in social life. "The Christian's task was not to change the world but only to 'repair and patch the best he can'" (McLelland, 1960:42). This differs from Calvin's recommendation of the Christian's involvement in social change (see Calvin's interpretation of the same passage in chapter II.C.3).

Perhaps Weber (1976:79) is right when he states that Luther interpreted Jesus Sirach xi.20, 21 and, later, I Corinthians 7:17, 20 not in the context of the original background and original text, but to answer his own theological social problems in his church. With his sociological method of the ideal type, Weber rightly comments that

¹⁰ This must be pointed out since gambling, prostitute, a gang of thieves, etc., endanger others and threaten the common goods, could be claimed to be estates.

Luther inserted his own understanding of the term into the text for a biblical support of his understanding of vocation.

Even though Luther may be considered as a quietist because he did not recommend that Christians invite non-Christians to come to Christ, he admired freedom which may no longer be a Christian freedom, but his interpretation of estates deserves significant attention. Estate does not lead to salvation. The source of salvation is Jesus Christ. It is fundamentally wrong to absolutize a certain estate as a determinant in attaining salvation. Estate or outward status is a means or place whereby the Christian fulfils what God assigns to him or her.

C. 10. The place of vocation in Luther's two kingdoms

In Luther's cosmological theology there are two kingdoms (Lat. *duo regna*): the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of the world (Althaus, 1972:43-82; Wingren, 1958:1-36). How did Luther place vocation in his ethics of the two kingdoms? To Luther, faith is related to the kingdom of Christ and subsequently everything is related vertically to God, including prayer, sacrament, faith and personal salvation.

Wingren brilliantly systematizes the place of Luther's idea of vocation in the earthly kingdom and its function in the domestic, economic and political spheres. In Luther, the kingdom of the world is for neighbours and prevails in this present world. Vocation has its place in the Christian perspective of the kingdom of the world. Love is for others and vocation forms part of actualising this love. To cultivate this world and to preserve God's creation is for others. Love is the human attempt to respond to God's salvation. In order to avoid egoism, the Christian proceeds to love others by working hard and by cultivating this world according to God's will. The other attempts refer to Christian undertaking a vocation (duty, purpose and responsibility) in relationships such as between husband and wife, parents and their children, master and slave, magistrates and people, and vice versa. Luther asserts that vocation is not for heaven, for the world beyond. God himself does not need human vocation. God is "omni rich." Even though God does not need human help, He strictly instructs His believers to conduct vocation in this present world as a profound exercise of their faith (Wingren, 1958).

Fundamental mistakes were made by the Roman Catholicism when it misperceived, reduced and contradicted the biblical teaching of vocation as

understood by Luther. The pope, bishops, and monks conduct vocation merely in the monastic realm; they do not cultivate the world because it is viewed as evil; they neglect to love others by ignoring the responsibility to help others because the centre of vocation is in the monastery. The world and the activities of lay people are not appreciated. The centre of salvation shifted from God to the church. They expropriated the non-priest's right such as the tasks of magistrates. This world must be cultivated, as God instructs in the Bible. Cultivating this world is a vocation in itself and forms part of actualising Christian faith. By doing so, the church appreciates the world as God's creation and the activities of lay people and their vocations. The problem of the world and non-priests is not that they are not holy. Non-priests and everything beyond the monastery are in themselves God's creation. The problem is whether or not people live in accordance with God's will and whether the creation is cultivated in accordance with God's purpose; therefore the problem is not with the world and the people. The tasks of ministers are to preach the Gospel, and to administer the sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion.

Thomas Muentzer made similar mistakes. In 1525, he recruited peasants to rebel against the magistrates. Peasants misunderstood Luther's understanding of Christian freedom and took advantage of it. To the peasants, freedom meant exemption from paying tax. Therefore this can be associated with social revolution. Moreover, this situation is taken for granted by Muentzer as a chance to realize the kingdom of God in the world.¹¹ Surely, it is the task, the vocation of every believer to show the sign of the kingdom of God in this present world. However, the ultimate accomplishment of the kingdom of God is in heaven. It is unchristian to promote justice by using religious values which entail social unrest and anarchism. Since it is in accord with the will of God, those who exercise political power are undertaking vocation. Politics is not a dirty sphere but a place in which Christians share the world with the truth of the Gospel. Christians should respect vocation in political life. Therefore, social unrest or anarchism emerging from the perversion of Christian

¹¹ To Muentzer, the kingdom of God, theocracy, must be realized in this world without respecting those in politics. To him, the government of the world is evil; therefore it must be set aside. The saints, the perfect people, must reign over this world. This model of cosmological theology perhaps attempts to set aside the 'secular government'. Muentzer attempted to put the tasks of the Christians into the spiritualistic realm. Therefore, this is an attempt to spiritualize every realm of human life. Subsequently, this does not define the position of vocation in this present world (Kooiman, 1973:138-143; Bainton, 1963:67,229).

freedom does not respect social hierarchy, and eliminates vocation in political spheres.

Hence, Luther contends that it is the responsibility of Christians to subdue this world by means of their vocations. God calls humans to reign over God's creation. It is irresponsible to escape from this task. God is perpetually maintaining this creation and human beings participate in sustaining their lives through the offices given by God. Everyone has a vocation, that is, love to one's neighbour.

By contrast to the worldly kingdom, vocation is not necessary in heaven (Wingren, 1958:10-23). God does not need our service. He has everything. He is rich. In heaven, there will be judgment of sin, individual matters or private sphere whereas on earth there must be earthly vocation, relationship in love, *lex naturalis*, the commandment of love for one another. Faith and love are not opposed to human institutions such as in marriage, government, business, and work. They are means of actualising vocation.

The responsibility and task of the believers is to respond to God's gift and salvation by working hard to serve others directly in love and through natural order, human order and human institution. In the world, Christian vocations are undertaken in the scheme of the law and difference of this world; they are gradual, active and tentative. In heaven, there are no activities; everything is uniform, passive and eternal. Everyone is equal before God but in the world, people's level and status differ. To the Christian, he believes that there is no position before God, except a divine position before human beings (Wingren, 1958:9).

Luther draws a clear distinction between the earthly kingdom and the kingdom of heaven. Christian vocation belongs to the earthly kingdom; therefore it is actualised within the scheme of this earthly kingdom, including *lex naturalis*, whereas faith belongs to the kingdom of heaven. In this constellation of thoughts, Luther describes his practical theological understanding of vocation.

C. 11. Toil, good works, and vocation

Toil is worth noting in this research, as the main activity of migrant workers, as the focus of field research (chapter IV), is related to work. This section considers Luther's view of hard working in his theological ethics.

Luther attacked the escapism of the spiritualistic and intellectualistic vocation of monasticism as subtlety, malice and impious doctrine. He also refused the spiritualistic perfectionism of preventing the Christian from being involved in world activities as advocated by Anabaptists.

Bainton (1950) mentions that in Luther's *The Treatise on good works, sola gratia* does not ignore work ethics in the frame of good works. Instead, he regarded good works as an integral part of *sola gratia* and it is crucial in the lives of Christians. The Christian vocation thus regains its true meaning, eradicating spiritualistic *ex opera operato* and *ex opera operantis* of Roman Catholicism and monasticism that deprives people of world activities beyond monastic walls. To Luther, the present world activities find religious meaning in vocation (1950:233).

Working implies that the Christian is a co-worker of God. Christians participate in the continuing work of God's re-creating acts in this world. The biblical God is not an idle god. God himself has been working. Let us recall this statement, "God has called men to labour because he labours...at common occupations. God is a tailor who makes for the deer a coat that will last for a thousand years. He is a shoemaker also who provides boots that the deer will not outlive. God is the best cook, because the heat of the sun supplies all the heat there is for cooking...." (1950:233).

It is a mistake to justify the analogical interpretation of the Roman Catholic, as reflected by Thomas Aquinas' understanding of spiritualistic intellectualistic hierarchism of Mary and Martha.¹² Although Jesus Christ did not prohibit Mary from working, Martha was not blamed for doing domestic work, and Mary was not justified because she did not work.¹³ Christ blamed Martha for her unwise use of time that is to have time for learning and hearing the teaching of Christ, and to spare time for working.

When interpreting Galatians 3:2 ("The only I would learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by hearing of faith"), Luther (1949:86-106) comments, "What did Jesus say to Martha when she was very "careful and troubled about many things" and could hardly stand to see her sister Mary sitting at the feet of Jesus, just listening? "Martha, Martha," Jesus said, "thou art careful and troubled

¹² In interpreting Luke 10:42 Aquinas states "Mary figures the contemplative life. Therefore the contemplative life is more excellent than the active" (Question 182 article1. Aquinas, 1922:140).

¹³ Bainton states, "she (*Mary*) did not vaunt herself but went back and milked the cows, scoured the kettles, and swept the house like any housemaid" (1950:234. *My italics*).

about many things: but one thing is needful; and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her." A person becomes a Christian not by working, but by hearing. The first step to being a Christian is to hear the Gospel. When a person has accepted the Gospel, let him first give thanks unto God with a glad heart, and then let him get busy on the good works to strive for, works that really please God, and not man-made and self-chosen works." In this regard, Bainton states "In one respect Luther was more conservative than Catholicism because he abolished monasticism and thus eliminated a selected area for the practice of the higher righteousness. In consequence, the gospel could be exemplified only in the midst of secular calling, except that Luther refused to call them secular. As he had extended the priesthood of all believers, so likewise he extended the concept of divine calling, vocation, to all worthy occupations" (1950:232-3).

Christians actualise their vocation by working hard. Ultimately Luther states: "Be diligent in the works of your earthly calling as commanded of God, but only after having first strengthened, by the consideration of God's mercy, the faith within you, which is the only source of all truly good works and well-pleasing to God" (*Treatise on good works*, 1915). This is certainly performed in faith as an exercise of faith. Christians must work hard as a way to live in Christ and to oppose the flesh. To Luther, resisting adultery is to avoid gluttony, frippery, indecent words, ditties, idleness, drunkenness, laziness, excessive sleep. Labour controls all this. Materialism and mammonism is the means by which people break God's law because they trust idols, expect more good from its money and dishonour God. Idolatry leads to covetousness. Killing people and dishonest trade have been stimulated by the worry of acquiring property or by laziness. Working hard must be combined with a stern discipline of the biblical spirituality. Working hard is not stimulated by worry and subsequently by greed and gluttony. Luther states "I do not say that a man shall not labour and seek a living; but he shall not worry, not be greedy, not despair, thinking that he will not have enough; ...for if you do worry and are greedy, wishing that the roasted chicken fly into your mouth: worry and be greedy, and see whether you will thereby fulfil God's Commandment and be saved!" (*Treatise on good works*, 1915; LW 44:108).

It is a Christian duty to help others; neglecting this duty will cause believers to be guided by lust that is to steal the property of others and to kill them mercilessly.

So, from a theological perspective, working is not for the sake of money, but because of faith to bring others to God's salvation.

E. Conclusion

Luther's theology in general emerged from his personal struggle with *Anfechtungen* (anxiety) conditioned by the medieval cosmology in which God was viewed as a Judge punishing the people who were unable to fulfil God's law. The human being attempts to attain salvation by obeying religious law. These had frightened, suppressed, and conditioned the religious mind of medieval people. Medieval humanism based on *ad fontes* - back to the source- in antiquity, had helped man to find the religious truth by interpreting the original languages of the Bible. Hence, he found that Romans 1:16-17 states that salvation is given by God through Christ's offering. Human beings are saved by His grace. The God of the Bible is a God of mercy. This changed his theology. This kind of theology emerged through his dialogue with and criticism of medieval monasticism. The difference of Luther's ethics of vocation is the way in which Luther enhanced vocation, including the non-priest people, and uncovered the perversion of vocation in the monastic boundary. His involvement in politics, and the challenge of laypeople toward his theology compelled him to generate social theology, including the theology of vocation. Social theology is not an ethics detached from his Protestant theological principle. Instead, he established the idea of vocation from the theology, which is based on the Bible and applicable to the church ministry. His writings on vocation were not arranged systematically but freely, and expressed in response to many of his practical-orientated issues as in, for instance, *Treatise on good works*, *Christian freedom*, and so on.

Luther's theology of vocation can be summarised as follows:

1. Vocation is theologically the consequence of the *sola fide*. That vocation must be viewed from justification by faith.
2. Luther's understanding of vocation is placed in his frame of practical, ethical theological thought. It flows from his understanding of good works. Good works are not the starting- point of faith but the consequence of justification by faith.

3. Good works are a must for every Christian, otherwise *sola fide* will be meaningless, have no practical dimension, ideal and abstract. Luther claims that good works must fill the lives of Christians; it is a *conditio sine qua non* of the practice of faith, as the fruits of faith of the justified Christians. Vocation is the external performance of Christians who have been justified by Christ.
4. Luther's concept of vocation was an incisive criticism of that of monasticism. The latter claims that their vocation is higher than that of the lay people. To Luther, undertaking earthly worthy activities constitutes divine works.
5. According to Luther, vocation has a wider sense and includes marriage, domestic work, economic (toiling) activities, and political order. This entails a participation in the kingdom of God in this world. Fulfilling the Christian vocation includes the experience of God's perseverance and the spiritual disciplines such as prayer, long suffering, and strict disciplines led by the spirit and not by flesh.
6. Luther understands vocation in a wider sense but he is still influenced by Catholic mysticism as is evident in his interpretation of I Cor. 7 which differentiates him from Calvin who is more dynamic and flexible.

Chapter II

THE CONCEPT OF VOCATION IN THE THEOLOGY OF JOHN CALVIN

A. Introduction

This chapter describes the theology of Calvin, in particular as it relates to vocation. The first section of the chapter discusses Calvin's doctrinal basis of vocation, as his idea of vocation must be placed within the overall basic theological notions in his writings.¹ Such basic theological notions generate and broadly frame his understanding of vocation and include doctrines on providence, predestination, God's grace, general call and special call, sanctification, and the attitude towards the present world. These doctrines will lead us to scheme Calvin's theology in a wider perspective and help in placing the idea of vocation in his overall theology.

The second section of this chapter explores the meaning of vocation in Calvin's theology, explains the meaning of the term vocation, how Calvin figures it in his *Institutes* and other writings, the theological basis of his statement that God is the author of vocation, and other topics that explicitly relate to his description of vocation.

The third section investigates how Calvin applied the meaning of vocation in the spheres of Christian life such as marriage, economics and politics, including the profound elements of social relations within these social institutions. This section provides the theological guiding principles in identifying the view on vocation of the contemporary Minahasan Christians. Before concluding this chapter, it is necessary to explain the similarities and dissimilarities between Luther and Calvin in an effort to show the link between chapters I and II of this research.

¹ The sources of investigation are mainly taken from Calvin's own writings: the *Institutes*, Bible commentaries, sermons, tracts, and letters. Most of the material is taken from *The Comprehensive John Calvin Collection 2.0. CD ROM. Ages Software, 2002.*

B. Basic doctrines in Calvin's theology

B.1. *Providentia Dei*

An understanding of humankind in Calvin's theological perspective and of human vocation goes hand-in-hand with an understanding of who God is. This theological notion will be analysed in this section as to how Calvin places the meaning of providence in relation to God's powerfulness towards creation, and man in particular, and to Christian vocation.

In order to understand Calvin's notion of vocation, one must start from his explanation of the knowledge of God in his *Institutes*. In the first book of the *Institutes*, Calvin explains that in order to understand God we must be aware of *who* understands God (*Inst.I.1.2.*), as such understanding does not start with the human understanding of God. In other words, the human understanding of God does not shape the meaning and knowledge of God, but rather God reveals His truth through the Scriptures (*Inst.I.6.1*). The true knowledge of God is stored not in the human mind but outside it. This does not seem to reject the human role in understanding Him, nor to ignore the human acquaintance with Him. The basic obstacles to our knowledge of Him are that humans are corrupted, evil and arrogant. Sin has so tainted human beings that they cannot see the holy, yet incomprehensible, ineffable reality of God. God is the Creator, yet He is incomprehensible (see, for example Ex.3:3-5; Is. 6; Mt.17:5-6). It is thus essential to understand God from His point of view as revealed in the Scriptures. Human roles in understanding God should not be abandoned. The pious humans, justified by God in Christ (*Inst.II.6.1-2*), must revere, love and worship God (*Inst.I.2.1*) and, in turn, they will understand God, His works and His goodness. One of these pious humans is John Calvin who wrote books witnessing God and His goodness. His writings will now be interpreted.

To begin with, it is better to scrutinize the idea of vocation being inseparable from Calvin's theology in the broader sense. Thus, it is necessary to know the place of the doctrine of vocation in Calvin's theology in a broader sense, in particular its relationship with *Providentia Dei* and predestination.

The following reasons reveal the importance of *Providentia Dei* in analysing the idea of vocation in Calvin's theology: first, *Providentia Dei* explores Calvin's idea of God as creator who perpetually sustains His creation. Secondly, Christians are

aware that undertaking their vocation takes place in God's creation; yet, the idea of *Providentia Dei* help Christians to view their vocation in relation to non-Christians. It is thus impossible to undertake vocation while ignoring God's creation as well as the existence and roles of others.

The doctrine of *Providentia Dei* is controversial and complex if treated from a metaphysical and logical perspective. In fact, this doctrine is undeniably the key to Calvin's teaching on vocation (Harkey III, 1985:106). In his *Treatise against the Anabaptists and against the Libertines* (1982:242), Calvin classifies providence into three aspects: universal, special and ecclesiastical providence.

1. In universal providence, or "order of nature", God "guides, upholds, vivifies all creation in accord with the qualities with which God has endowed each creature" (Harkey, 1985: 108). Calvin understands providence as follows: "God rules not only the whole fabric of the world and its several parts but also the hearts and even the actions of men" (Calvin, 1961:162). Moreover, the didactic dimension of this teaching denies Deism. Calvin states, "to represent God as a Creator for a moment, who entirely finished all his work at once, were frigid and jejune; and this it behooves us especially to differ from the heathen, that the presence of the Divine power may appear to us no less in the perpetual state of the world than in its first origin" (*Inst.*I.16.1.1. Allen's translation). God is not the Creator of a moment but a perpetual governor of creation. "...What is called providence describes God, not as idly beholding from heaven the transaction which happens in the world, but as holding the helm of the universe, and regulating all events" (*Inst.*I.16.4. Allen's translation). Faith cannot cease in believing that God is the Creator, but it must go further in believing that He is a perpetual governor and guardian of the movement of this world. This implies that Christian believers must undertake their vocation and take into account God's main role in this world in which He arranges every distinct creature in his whole secret counsel. The doctrine of providence states that God is the creator of heaven and earth, and that He himself is incomprehensible, but his incomprehensibility can be seen, in some sense, in the perpetual living movement of the creation. This means that God is the creator and sustainer of the world in which Christians undertake their vocations (Ps.104; Heb.11: 3; Ps.19: 1; Rm.1: 20; Ex.3: 3-5; Is.6; Mt.17: 5-8).

Providence is “the religious conviction and not a human logic and speculation” (Leith, 1989:108-109); therefore, the statement of faith denies atheism, scepticism, deism, and the Egyptian *Deus Otiosus*, the idle god. To treat God as being aloof from His creation contradicts the doctrine of providence. Providence is illustrated in detail in Psalm 104 as a eulogy in which the One behind the perpetual movement of the world is God. Humans undertake their vocation within the world in which God is always demonstrating His mighty power. Verse 15: “and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine, and bread which strenghteneth man’s heart.” Verses 22-23: “The sun ariseth.... Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening.” In the midst of God’s perpetual sustenance of this world, humans enjoy, take advantage of and cultivate God’s creation.

2. Special providence. In his *Against the Libertines* (1982:243-244, also quoted by Harkey, 1985:109), Calvin mentions, “God operates in His creatures...to serve His goodness, righteousness, and judgment according to His present will to help His servants, to punish the wicked, and to test the patience of His faithful, or to chastise them in His fatherly kindness.” Calvin quotes Psalm 107 as evidence that God provides salvation to the elected who are thankful for it. It is not a blind chance, but rather the goodness or justice of God (Calvin, 1961:163). It is interesting to note that this teaching advances that God trains or exercises His believers to suffer but He would not forsake them. Instead, He preserves them. The non-believers and Satan may be used as God’s instruments to train the believers or to reveal his salvage plan (cf. Judas, Esau and so on). This kind of providence, in particular, refers to God’s mighty power over human beings in which He exercises His absolute power to serve His will. This is closely related to Calvin’s doctrine of the Sovereignty of God.
3. Ecclesiastical providence. Calvin states “For though God shows Himself father and judge of the whole human race, yet, since the Church is the sanctuary in which He resides, He then displays His presence with clearer evidence; and there performs the office of father of His family, and honours it, as I may say, in its proper aspect” (Calvin, 1961:164. Cf. Ps. 33:18, 97:10; I

Pt.3: 7, Mt.10: 30). He further states that God is even closer to his believers “For the Church is God’s own workshop, in which He exercises His providence- the chief theatre of the same providence” (Calvin, 1961:164). Calvin continues “ ...Truly paternal protection with which He guards His Church, to which the present help of God is attached (which is joined and united with His own by means of His Son).”² Calvin also mentions that the usefulness of this doctrine advocates that Christians must be humble before God, since the inherent arrogance in human beings which originated from evil will always threaten their faith in God. Christians are urged to fear God and abide in Him (Calvin, 1961:165-166). Although there are many obstacles to the worship of God, “God tests our faith for every day obstacles arise to impede His counsel up and down through all creation” (Calvin, 1961:168). Theodicy endorses that God is right and that His righteousness is His justice and none would blame Him (Calvin, 1961:168-185).

It is evident Christians undertake their vocation in the world, in the midst of God’s creation, and interact with non-Christians. There is no doubt that “Calvin’s God is continuously involved in the direction of all human activities and all human institutions” (Trawick, 1997:101). In this conviction, one’s undertaking of vocation involves experiences of suffering and admiring God’s mighty and wonderful creation. This doctrine profoundly reminds Christians undertaking a vocation that God must be the centre of activity in their relationships with others. The experience of God’s might safeguards the lives of Christians who experience suffering in working, in being separated from family, heavy work load, burden imposed by their superiority, as well as the pressure and threat of temptation from non-Christians.

B. 2. Predestination, election and vocation

Is it worth discussing predestination in this research? To what extent does it influence and is it useful for analysing vocation? The answer is obvious, as Calvin did not accidentally place the doctrine of vocation under predestination (*Inst* III.24: “Election confirmed by the Divine call. The destined destruction of the reprobate

² The section in brackets is additional translation from the French text by Reid (Calvin, 1961:165).

procured by themselves”). Predestination and vocation occur in Romans 8:30 and in Calvin’s commentary.³ These two subjects are thus closely related. As the doctrine of predestination is similar to that of election, this will strengthen our understanding of vocation in which Christians confirm that through God’s election they are advocated to undertake vocation.

Calvin developed predestination into his theology by following the Strasbourg Reformer, Bucer and, of course, St Augustine, as it is apparent in his *Institutes* of 1536 (Wendel, 1963:140-141). The definition of predestination will now be noted. “Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which he has determined in himself, what he would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is foreordained for some, and eternal damnation for others” (*Inst.* III. 21. 5. Allen’s translation. Cf. Dt. 4:37; 7:7-8; 10:14-15; 32:8-9; Ps.47:4). This doctrine asserts that only God chooses the elected and destines the rest to damnation. In His eternal decree and sovereignty God elects and saves some while punishing others. The intention of this doctrine is as follows: “God saves whom he will of his mere good pleasure, and does not dispense a reward to which there can be no claim: ‘they who shut the gates to prevent any one from presuming to approach and taste this doctrine, do no less injury to man than to God; for nothing else will be sufficient to produce in us suitable humility, or to impress us with a due sense of our great obligation to God. Nor is there any other basis for solid confidence, even according to the authority of Christ, who, to deliver us from all fear, and render us invincible amidst so many dangers, snares, and deadly conflicts, promises to preserve in safety all whom the Father has committed to his care’”(Inst. III. 21.1. Allen’s translation).

Calvin allegedly brought the Stoic notion of fate into his doctrine of predestination (*Inst.* I. 16. 8; Wendel, 1963:33). However, he attacked the partisan of

³ Romans 8:30: Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified. (*Quos vero præfinivit, eos et vocavit; et quos vocavit, eos etiam justificavit; et quos justificavit, eos etiam glorificavit*). Calvin’s explanation of predestination can also be found in his other writings: *Comm.*Eph.1:15; Is.6:10; Calvin’s tract (21st November 1547) that interprets the sixth session of the Council of Trent; his letter dated 28th February 1539 to Farel, and in his other texts such as the Genevan Confession, the Catechism of the Church of Geneva, the Necessity of Reforming the Church, letter to Sadolet, and in particular articles on predestination (Reid, 1954).

free will⁴ and by the same token declared that human autonomy depends on and submits to the decrees of predestination (Wendel, 1963:44). He insists that predestination is a doctrine that admires God as sovereign in the lives of human beings. In principle, Calvin's doctrine of predestination also states the difference with the pacifism and escapism of the Anabaptists due to their concept of *ecclesia perfecta* and *societas perfecta* (Balke, 1981:267, 282-283; Wendel, 1963:141). Wendel interprets Calvin's 1539-1541 *Institutes* that the "election or reprobation of each individual is dependent upon the Divine predetermination, and the reason Calvin gives for both [election and reprobation] is for the manifestation of the glory of God" (1963:141). Predestination is always linked with election, the chosen people (Ps.33:12; 45:3-4; Is. 14:1; 41:8-9; I Sm.12: 22; Zch.2: 12).

The doctrine of predestination should not be treated as an arbitrariness of God over humankind⁵ but as a reverence and honour to his sovereignty. The doctrine of the sovereignty of God is fundamental to Calvin. Liston comments "Calvin does not analyze the concept of the glory of God and refrains from providing a theoretical definition. Instead, in conformity with his catechetical purposes and the biblical example, he explains that the entire world was created for the glory of God and that this glory should be manifest in creation by every person and by the entire Church as an exclusive, total, and absolute sovereignty. This affirmation is made in terms that recall the ideas of Roman jurists and Roman law on royal or imperial monarchy" (Cf. R.T.L.Liston, 1930 quoted by Ganoczy, 1987:188, 356). Moreover, predestination is an *a posteriori* (after experience) reflection based on the witness of the Scriptures,

⁴ Calvin proposes three elements of Christian liberty: 1). "That the consciences of believers, when seeking an assurance of their justification before God, should raise themselves above the law, and forget all the righteousness of the law. 2). ...which is dependent on the first, is that, their consciences do not observe the law, as being under any legal obligation; but that, being liberated from the yoke of the law, they yield a voluntary obedience to the will of God. 3). We are bound by no obligation before God respecting external things, which in themselves are indifferent; but that we may indifferently sometimes use, and at other times omit them" (*Inst.* III.19. 2, 4, 7. Allen's translation). Human free will cannot become a starting-point for attaining salvation. Calvin claims that Christians display free will as the consequence of God's gift in which they faithfully obey God's will as the fruit of justification by faith. For Calvin, to actualise free will is to do God's will and above all this is the sphere of undertaking vocation incumbent upon those who are called by God.

⁵ Hesselink comments "To claim as extreme as Neo-Calvinists, concerning Predestination might lead to follow C. H. Dodd who accuses Apostle Paul as "an unethical determinism to its logical extreme" (Dodd, 1932: 157-158; Hesselink, 1997: 96, 209). Or, A. M. Hunter who interprets Romans 9:18 by saying "we are simply puppets controlled by a cruelly capricious God...." (Hunter, 1955: 92 quoted by Hesselink, 1997: 96, 209).

derived from *a priori* (before experience) truth that extols the divine omnipotence [*potentia Dei absoluta*] (McGrath, 1999:164,166).

Calvin staunchly posits his idea of calling in the light of the ideas of God's sovereignty, predestination, and election. The question now arises as to who are elected and who are damned? What kind of evidence do we have to identify this differentiation? The answer is that it is impossible to speculate due to God's eternal sovereignty. However, vocation or calling of God is the evidence of those who are elected and adopted by God. In *Institutes* III.24, Calvin developed his argument on the notion of calling by describing it in the light of predestination: God himself calls the elected, while blinding and hardening the impious or the wicked. By separating, discriminating, or predestinating the elect, God manifests or reveals Christian calling. Romans 8: 29-30 states: "For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and who he called, them he also justified." Calvin stresses this verse by saying that even God adopts the elected to be His children but the possession of this blessing (adoption) is not achieved unless God calls them. Therefore, having been called, they can enjoy His election (*Comm. Rm. 8:29-30*).

Hence, predestination and vocation are intertwined in the work of Christ. Predestination and, in turn, vocation convince Christians that the source of salvation is the mercy of God (Leith, 1989:122). Therefore, Christians are not to pursue salvation stimulated by their capability but to experience God's salvation in Christ. Calvin did not accidentally shift the position of predestination in the *Institutes* 1559 from providence (book I) to Christian life (book III). The purpose of this deliberate shift is to persuade the readers that predestination is not an arbitrariness of God but part of the Christian experience of being united in Christ. Why is Christ important to predestination and, subsequently, to vocation? The argument is obvious: believers are elected in and through Christ. We are elected solely in Christ, in God's eternal decree. Predestination is a consequence of faith to experience the salvation in Christ. Christ is the core of predestination acts and through him, God gratuitously saves the elected people. The doctrine of predestination is intertwined with the daily experience of Christian faith (Leith, 1989:120). Such experience refers to God's salvation in Christ. Wendel states, "He (Calvin) connected predestination with the Christ and his work, in order to show more clearly that it is in Christ that election takes place...the doctrine of

predestination completes and illuminates the whole of the account of the Redemption” (Wendel, 1963:268).

Hence, the calling, Calvin claims, is the evidence of being elected and a sign of the glory of the kingdom of God. Predestination, vocation and the glory of God are linked to one another. Calvin states, “No one can enter into the glory of the heavenly kingdom unless he has been in this manner called and justified; seeing that without any exception the Lord promotes and manifests his election in this way in all the men he has elected” (Quoted by Wendel, 1963:265). In other words, the calling is the experiential dimension of the justification of God and the election of God. This statement also implies a pastoral and ecclesiological consolation in that those who are saved by God will not live in doubt and despair.

Concerning Calvin’s view of the function of preaching of the Word, the fact is that not everyone has the opportunity to listen to the message of the gospel; those who have listened to it may not be admitted in God’s salvation. This is a God’s decree and part of God’s predestination. God predestines those who are elected; He is the custodian of their salvation with His consolatory nature. In his *French Catechism* (1537) Calvin states “The seed of the word of God takes root and grows fruitful only in those whom the Lord, by his eternal election, has predestined to be his children and heirs of the heavenly kingdom” (quoted by Wendel, 1963: 266).

The practical question is whether or not the elected are of the same status as the church members “who confess faith in God and in Christ,” and who therefore differ from those who are excommunicated as a result of heresy and notorious evil acts (Wendel, 1963:140-141). With respect to the extreme way of rejecting the calumnies, Calvin states “It is not without reason that the negation is added, not we ourselves, that they may know that of all the benefits they enjoy, God is not only the Author, but derived the cause from himself, there being nothing in them deserving of such great honour” (*Inst.* III. 21. 5. Allen’s translation). This is explained in detail in *Inst.* III. 23. To Calvin, predestination is God’s eternal decree based on His free mercy and His adoption.

In conclusion, the purpose of the doctrine of predestination in Calvin’s teaching is to declare God’s sovereign power to choose the elected and destine the wicked. The teaching of predestination clarifies the meaning of the teaching of election. Hence, in the light of this teaching of election, Calvin explains the

importance of vocation in the life of the elected people. Vocation is not merely a task, duty or responsibility of Christians; it is part of God's election being discharged by God to his elected people. Conducting vocation confirms that God elects the people. It is evidence of God's electing His people. As the elected people, Christians believe in predestination, confirming their experience of God's grace, viz. God's salvation in Christ. From the election of God, vocation is the evidence of election and the elected live in the foreordination and promise of God. Christians experience God's chosen acts through the salvation available in Jesus Christ.⁶

This makes sense since vocation must be understood as God calling people to come to His salvation while urging them to undertake vocation. Christians realize the calling by assuming duties of social responsibility in marriage, social actions in economic activities, and political relations. Thus, the main purpose of the doctrine of predestination is to describe the eternal decree of a sovereign God, learn how to be humble before the sovereign God, fear and tremble on God's holy decision and within His scheme of holy decision. The elected people of God are called to discharge their duties.

C. 3. *Sola gratia*, the Church and vocation

As a Protestant theologian, Calvin had always scrutinized every aspect of the Christian teachings. He derived the theological truth of Christian life from the love and grace of God in Jesus Christ. So does the doctrine of election. "We shall never be clearly convinced as we ought to be, that our salvation flows from the *fountain of God's free mercy*, till we are acquainted with *his eternal election* which illustrates the *grace of God* by this comparison, that *he adopts not all promiscuously to the hope of salvation*, but gives to some what *he refuses to others*." (*Inst.* III. 1. My italics). This statement implies that the calling itself is not a human endeavour but rather a gift of God. The notion of election is inseparable from *sola gratia*. Protestant theology refuses *do ut des*, *ex opere operato* and *ex opere operantis*.⁷

⁶ It is unfair to accuse Calvinism as "predestinarian" (Horton, 2000:42), since the concept of predestination in Calvin's theology confirms the experience of God's salvation and conceives it as the seal of vocation.

⁷ These terms refer to the *soteriology* of the Roman Catholic Church. The tenet assumes that the sacraments will automatically work in the lives of the believers. The effect of sacrament emerges and works automatically in accordance with its achievement (*ex opere operato*). The tenet also includes the good works of the church members in the operation of the magical power inherent in the sacraments

As a Reformed theologian, Calvin centres his theology on the importance of the divine salvation of God through Jesus Christ. Christ is the gate of faith and from Him (Jesus Christ) the election of God is bestowed upon certain people in whom his eternal predestination has meaning and function. Calvin states, “Though our salvation was always hidden with God, yet Christ is the channel through which it flows to us, and we receive it by faith, that it may be secure and ratified in our hearts. We are not at liberty then to turn away from Christ, unless we choose to reject the salvation which he offers to us” (*Comm.* Mt.11:27).

God’s election leads to faith. The meaning of faith in this case refers to Christ (Jn.6:44, 45, and 46). To accept God’s invitation means to come to Christ. Hearing God’s voice means to let God take away the heart of stone and adopt it to become God’s children, accept his mercy for God’s glory (*Inst.* III.24).

The Greek term for church is *ekklesia* [ἐκ (ex) means “out”; καλεῖν (*kalein*) means “to call”). In this regard, the term church literarily means the called ones. This refers, as I Peter 2:9 testifies, to the individuals who received Christ so that they may leave darkness (sin, world, death) and come to the light (salvation, eternity). In this regard, Calvin states, “We must also notice what he says, that we have been *called* out of darkness into God’s marvellous or wonderful light; for by these words he amplifies the greatness of divine grace” (*Comm.* I Pt.2:9). God constitutes the Church by His gift so that believers may live in the salvation of God. By the work of the Holy Spirit believers are in the fellowship with Christ’s salvation. The Church consists of the believers themselves. In addition, God provides the institutional church (visible church) as an external means to help believers to live in God’s salvation in accordance with His eternal election (*Inst.* IV.1.3). The church is like a mother and her children: she bears, nurtures, and takes care of them (*Inst.* IV.1.4). Similarly, the ‘institutional’ church functions to educate (preach the Word), administer the sacraments, nurture (shepherding), keep from the temptation of deviating from the church teaching, and console the grief (*Inst.* IV.3. IV.1.9). Calvin even recognizes that we may find the hypocrites, envious, and slanderous people in this visible church. He urges “to believe that Church, which is invisible to us, and known to God alone, so this Church, which

(*do ut des*). The effect of magical acts assumes that the power of sacraments depends on the human attempts to do good works (*ex opere operantis*) (cf. Berkhof & Enklaar, 1967:112-127; Van den End, 1987:102-109).

is visible to men, we are commanded to honour, and to maintain communion with it” (*Inst.IV.1.7*). However, it is consolation that God preserves His Church to the last and keeps the secret election of God and His internal vocation as the *sigillum, signaculum* (seal) of the believers (*Inst.IV.1.2. Comm.2 Tm.2:19*). The foundation of the church is Christ; therefore, the members of the church are united in Christ. “It is a promise which eminently deserves our observation, that all who are united to Christ, and acknowledge him to be Christ and Mediator, will remain to the end safe from all danger; for what is said of the body of the Church belongs to each of its members, since they are one in Christ” (*Comm.Mt.16:18*).

The salvation of God is given to the called ones by means of *sola gratia* and not through human attempts. It is an act and evidence of God’s predestination and an eternal decree of God’s election. There is thus a close relationship between God’s grace and predestination. This kind of salvation is predestined since the beginning. Calvin states, “This giving of grace, which he mentions, is nothing else than predestination, by which we were adopted to be the sons of God. On this subject I wished to remind my readers, because God is frequently said actually to ‘give’ his grace to us when we receive the effect of it. But here Paul sets before us what God purposed with himself from the beginning” (*Comm. 2 Tm 1:9*). In this regard, Wallace states, “Justification refers to our status before God, and it involves the communication of the righteousness of Christ to us by imputation in such a way that apart from any inward change of heart and mind that may have taken place within us, and in spite of the fact that within us there may be nothing but unrighteousness, we nevertheless really possess by faith once-for-all and at the same time the perfect righteousness of Christ as our own” (Wallace, 1959: 24. Cf.*Inst.III.11.24*).

God’s calling is a divine act that incorporates the elected into His family. It is obvious that Calvin draws a line of thought from predestination via election to vocation. Consistent with the line of thought prevailing in Protestantism, he claims that vocation is not a human attempt but a gift of God. Human attempt, of course, is a defective endeavour *Coram Deo*. Human attempts, defined by the Roman Catholics as church rituals and by the Anabaptists as pious acts, cannot ratify the status of election. Election is a verified seal given by God to the predestined, elected believers. It is obvious that the doctrines of predestination, *sola gratia* and vocation are linked. “He places the sealing of salvation in the calling; for, as the salvation of men was

completed in the death of Christ, so God, by the gospel, makes us partakers of it” (*Comm. 2 Tm.1:9*).

As the calling is a divine grace of God, its meaning is in Christ alone. Calvin stresses that “How childish is the attempt to meet this argument by the following sophism! We were chosen because we were worthy and because God foresaw that we should be worthy” (*Com. Eph.1:4*). Calvin continues, “But if we have been chosen in him, we shall not find assurance of our election in ourselves; and not even in God the Father, if we conceive him as severed from his Son, Christ, then, is the mirror wherein we must, and without self-deception may, contemplate our own election. For since it is into his body the Father has destined those to be engrafted whom he has willed from eternity to be his own, that he may hold as sons all whom he acknowledges to be among his members, we have a sufficiently clear and firm testimony that we have inscribed in the book of life (*Rv.21:27*) if we are in communion with Christ” (*Inst. III: 24, 5*). The concept of predestined, elected people is confirmed by the so-called inner call, effectual call, and special call, and it is distinguished from the general or universal call and outward call, which will now be discussed.

B. 4. General and special call

Calvin states, “that the general election of a people is not always effectual and permanent, a reason readily presents itself, because, when God covenants with them, he does not also give them the spirit of regeneration to enable them to persevere in the covenant to the end; but the external call, without the internal efficacy of grace, which would be sufficient for their preservation, is a kind of medium between the rejection of all mankind and the election of the small number of believers” (*Inst. III. 21.7*). In terms of his words vocation manifests itself in the notions of general call and special call, which involve the task of preaching the Word, the work of the Holy Spirit.

It is wrong to think that God’s salvation is universally given to all human beings. God calls the elected and condemns the wicked, approves his predestination, and ratifies his election. These determine the idea of God’s calling of some people to be His people (*Inst.III.24.*). General call invites everyone through the church activity of preaching the Word. Special call is directed to believers in whose hearts, by the inward illumination of His Spirit, the Word preached dwells.

Calvin mentions “...Only when God shines in us by the light of His Spirit is there any profit from the Word. Thus the inward calling, which alone is effectual and peculiar to the elect, is distinguished from the outward voice of men” (*Inst.* III.24.8; IV.1.2.). In this case, the calling itself must include preaching the Word, or doing evangelism as part of the work of the Holy Spirit. Evangelists and preachers are confined to be instruments of the Holy Spirit. Inner call is the working of the Spirit that affects the hearers of the preaching of the Word to such an extent that they possess the call in their lives (I John.3:24). This calling is also referred to as *arcana vocatio* (secret, mysterious vocation) in which the spirit of God mysteriously works in the hearts of the called ones (Aalders, 1943:14). The effective work of the Spirit gives the elected a pledge and seal of salvation.

Calvin also criticizes the sophists, proving that free will does not depend on the election of God, but rather on the preaching of the Word, the efficacious work of the Spirit that will determine salvation. This is the secret predetermination of God (*Comm.* Lk. 13:34).

As far as external call, internal call, and the efficacious work of the Holy Spirit are concerned, Calvin claims, “Though it is sufficiently clear, that God, in his secret counsel, freely chooses whom he will, and rejects others, his gratuitous election is but half displayed till we come to particular individuals, to whom God not only offers salvation, but assigns it in such a manner, that the certainty of the effect is liable to no suspense or doubt” (*Inst.* III.21.7).

It must be noted that preaching the Word is a church activity in which God’s salvation is offered to everyone. Unless God effectually calls the elected by the illumination of the Spirit they are not truly called. Therefore, the role and function of the Holy Spirit is crucial in order to perpetuate and assure the election of His believers, and to provide a lasting impact on the understanding and function of vocation. Therefore, Calvin states, “If one asks me for a short definition of the vocation: I would differentiate between an internal and external (political) vocation, the internal should precede the external - and vocation is only legitimatised by God’s vocation” (Aalders, 1943:14).

Thus, effectual calling is a consequence which, admitted by faith, is the intense work of the Holy Spirit to persuade the elected people of God so that they may

experience God's mercy and grace. Once this has been effected, then the Christians can discharge their vocation.

B. 5. Sanctification

Luther claims that *sola gratia* must be accompanied by good works, whereas Calvin proposes that sanctification has an important role to play in revealing the fruit of salvation in Christ. Sanctification is a response to justification by faith. Sanctification requires a live response from the believers. Being justified is not automatically accomplished in the lives of believers. Nor does it neglect human religiosity. Justification by faith is challenging and demanding a human response. "Sanctification is not only a gift to be received, but is also a demand laid upon us" (Wallace, 1959:28; *Comm.* Rm. 12:1). The demand is to offer one's life to Him in whom the believers live "conformed to Jesus Christ in His death and resurrection, renouncing the world and all our sins" (Wallace, 1959:28-29; *Comm.* I Th.4:3).

We possess Christ by faith. Yet, Christians experience their union with Christ effectively. This effectiveness is related to the newness of life and gratuitous reconciliation. Repentance is not a result of human endeavours but the work of the Holy Spirit by means of faith. Faith and repentance are inseparable, yet distinct. Calvin states, "a true conversion of our life to God, proceeding from a sincere and serious fear of God, and consisting in the mortification of our flesh and of the old man and in the vivification of the Spirit" (*Inst.* III.3.5). Repentance is a commitment to put aside old human nature, renounce the world and the flesh, and forsake our lusts. All this proceeds from earnest fear of God. In other words, it is a mortification of the flesh and the vivification of the spirit. This is the effect of the possession of Christ in Christian life. Therefore, good works are signs of being saved or *Fides efficax*: faith "must confirm itself in outward deeds" (Harkness, 1931:183). While sanctification differs from the Pentecostal understanding of revolutionary conversion, viz. it happens once and at a certain time, to Calvin, it is a "gradual process of man's becoming more and more in the course of time conformed to Christ in heart and outward life and devoted to God" (*Comm.* Jn.17:17). Calvin continues by stating that repentance is not a sudden event but a gradual process. "This restoration is not accomplished in a single moment, or day, or year; but by continual, and sometimes

even tardy advances ...this warfare will be terminated only by death” (*Inst.* III.3.9). This is a lifelong process accompanied by the fulfilment of vocation.

Hence, vivification and sanctification are not human endeavours. It refers to God’s grace bestowed upon the predestined, elected ones. It is not a means to attain salvation as claimed by Roman Catholicism and the Anabaptists, but it is a consequence of God’s grace. Calvin combined vocation, predestination and sanctification in the gratuitous grace of God. “The foundation and first cause, both of our calling and of all the benefits which we receive from God, is here declared to be his eternal election. If the reason is asked, why God has called us to enjoy the gospel, why he daily bestows upon us so many blessings, why he opens to us the gate of heavens, the answer will be constantly found in this principle that he hath chosen us before the foundation of the world.... All our holiness and purity of life flow from the election of God” (*Comm.Eph.*1:4).

Sanctification of the church flows from Christ. By Christ’s offering, all saints are sanctified and consecrated. Hence, the Christians approach God “in worship and prayer and thus seek to live the Christian life” (Wallace, 1959:12-13).

Sanctification needs “regeneration to serve God and walk in uprightness of life” (Sermon on Mark 1:23:3-4. C.O.46:477 quoted by Wallace, 1959:14). In his commentary on Haggai 2:11-15, Calvin mentions, “*Cor purgatum est fide: et puritas illa diffunditur ad opera ut incipiant Deo placere*” meaning “our hearts are purified by faith, [then] purity is diffused over our works so that they begin to be pleasing to God” (Wallace, 1959:33).

Sanctification and vocation are not for human benefit but to glorify God. Every activity of believers is to glorify God. “It was for the glory of God that man was created, and God seeks always in the heart of the redeemed an ardent zeal to minister to His glory” (Sermon on Job: 1, C.O.33:56 as quoted by Wallace, 1959:37-38). The desire to glorify God is present in every activity in social human interaction: in super-ordinate and subordinate relations of family members, political and economic life; unless it renounces the law of God and is opposed to God. Loving others is accomplished for the sake of the glorification of God.

It can be inferred from the above statement that sanctification and vocation cannot be applied fragmentarily in Christian life. They pervade every phase of life. Calvin uses the French terms *rondeur* (resolute, free from all hypocrisy or double-

ness; frankness) and *intégrité* (honesty, sincerity, integrity). “To serve God with all our heart and all our soul is to serve God with *rondeur* and *intégrité*, a quality of heart which Calvin frequently refers to as if it were the one virtue to be aimed at by those who would serve God well” (Wallace, 1959:30). Subsequently, a whole-hearted offering and self-immolation will give effect to believers’ earthly activity. “When the wholehearted offering of ourselves is made in a response of faith and gratitude to Christ, then the rest of life becomes sanctified as an offering also acceptable to God. When the heart is offered to God in repentance sacrifice, then all the rest of our works can become sacred offerings” (Prayer in *Comm.Jl.2:14*). Thus, vocation must be seen as a whole or integrated in the lives of believers.

Vocation forms part of and manifests in the process of sanctification. It actualises itself in the struggle between being justified and being sanctified by Christ’s work through the help and guidance of the Holy Spirit so that vocation leads to sanctification. In actualising their tasks believers are experiencing many problems as well as opportunities. In this case, Christians feel and think of the invaluable gift of God and confront it with the amount of world suffering inflicted upon their lives. This demands bearing the cross and striving to feel and actualise God’s sanctification as embedded in the process of undertaking vocation.

It can be concluded that the doctrine of election, salvation by God’s grace, and the lifelong process of sanctification are stages in the process of Christians undertaking their vocation.

B. 6. Love of neighbours

To obey God is to admire His mighty sovereignty, but this does not imply that those who are elected and sanctified should live in solitude. Human beings are “social animal” (*Comm.Gn.2:18*); therefore, they must live out their faith and calling with others. They should not escape the social world, but be involved in social life.

What is the role of the law in the lives of believers created in the image of God? In other words, are there roles for the believers of Christ to practise the law as a process of sanctification?

To Calvin, experience of justification of God in Christian life involves rehabilitation of the fallen in the course of life. Thus, believers observe the law not as

a human attempt to attain salvation but as a repentance to reshape the image of God as God's work (Wallace, 1959:112). With respect to Calvin's urging Christians to observe the law, "There are two chief things in our life-to serve God purely, and then to deal with our fellow men with all integrity, and uprightness, rendering to each what is his due" (Sermon on Deut.5:16. C.O 26:309 quoted by Wallace, 1959:114). The first table of the commandment of love teaches "how to cultivate piety and the proper duties of religion in which the worship of God consists." The second table teaches that "in the fear of His name, we are to conduct ourselves towards our fellow men" (Wallace, 1959:114). This summarises the commandment of love. In other words, honour God first. This love is the "the foundation of our whole life and the inspiration of our service to our neighbour, since man's chief end is to glorify His Maker" (Sermon on Job.34:4-10). Yet, loving others is the outward sign of our love for God (Sermon on Eph.4:23-26). We cannot swop the first table for the second and vice versa because the second derives from the first. "This means that all the virtues we show in our relation to our fellow men should spring from devotion and obedience to God Himself and should in their exercise be consecrated to God—indeed should themselves be offered to God as a sacrifice" (Sermon on Gl. 5:4-6). This is an essential component of sanctification and self-denial that lead Christians to restore the human order in society and their environment (God's creation). "A Christian must love his neighbour, but even to love our neighbour is not to be regarded as an end in itself. Such a love must find its impulse in zeal for the glory of God" (Wallace, 1959:39).

The substantial obstacle to worshipping God and to love neighbours is human sin. Man fell into sin as witnessed in Genesis 3. Calvin interprets this as "concupiscence" or as in the statement of faith of Calvinism total depravity.⁸ What Calvin explains with "concupiscence" Wallace calls "an active principle or law of sin... or 'perversity,' which makes it, in its natural state, a positive and most productive source of evil, from which sin continually wells out even unprovoked as

⁸ It is interesting to note that Paul Tillich's understanding of sin is associated with existential estrangement and refers to concupiscence. Tillich, an existentialist protestant theologian of the 20th century, states "the three concepts of 'unbelief', 'concupiscence', and 'hubris' are the marks of man's estrangement." Concupiscence – the unlimited desire to draw the whole of reality into one's self... refers to physical hunger as well as to sex, to knowledge as well as to power, to material wealth as well as to spiritual values" (1957:47-53).

water from a fountain, or as flames and sparks are thrown up from a fiery and never-dying furnace” (*Inst.II:1:8. Comm. on Heb.12:1*; Wallace, 1959:53).

This ignites sin and crime. “Concupiscence must not be identified with mere lust or evil desire or appetite; concupiscence is what brings forth evil desire itself” (Wallace, 1959:54). This motivates the believers who are saved by God to continually struggle with this concupiscence. This is called self-denial which means “the mortification of our natural concupiscence and the denial of all the motions and impulses that arises from the ‘flesh’” (Wallace, 1959:57).

For Calvin this is a continuous struggle that needs a strict discipline. Humans are required to love others. This is a constant battle of mortification as part of sanctification. “The process of self-denial involves us in deliberate and continuous conscious effort to subdue and discipline the truly thoughts and passions that arise in our hearts and minds when the Word of God lays claim upon our minds and the Spirit of God seeks to control our hearts” (Wallace, 1959:59).

In practice, self-denial is significantly important in conducting vocation. In actualising this, the believers enter the crucial domain of life. This involves the constant battle of Christians between being saved and facing the sin within their hearts. The concupiscence could cause crimes, such as stealing, hurting others and deceit in their tasks, their home or their workplace.

Vocation is the means whereby Christians glorify God in the workplace, in family life, and in politics, as an expression of loving neighbours. This is actualised in human structural relationships such as lords and servants, husband and wife, parents and children.

It is thus fundamental for believers to accept all God’s works through Jesus Christ over his creation. Christians are compelled to respond to God’s salvation. This bears fruit in self-immolation which, in turn, pervades the Christian quality of the earthly good works. This will lead to a desire for the glory of God (Wallace, 1959:36-37).

B. 7. Vocation and the present world

In *Institutes* III.10 (the right use of the present life and its supports), Calvin fiercely criticizes the monastic concept that did not appreciate the present world.

Medieval Roman Catholics overemphasized the world beyond and neglected this present life. Evidences of this are found in the way they became friar beggars, and did not appreciate vocation of the “laity.” This is the reason for our appeal to understand Calvin’s view of vocation as it relates to the attitude towards this present world. As witnessed by the Bible, this present world is God’s creation (Gn.1-2; Ps.8). God created all creatures good. Calvin contends that such theological view causes us to regard that this present world is a place in which vocation takes place. Vocation cannot be conducted in the world to come. Vocations, which can be identified as work, status, occupation and all that relates to the functional and structural relationships among human beings, take place in this present world. Thus, it is important to understand the attitude towards this present world, its critical view of it, and its relation to the objects of the vocation, such as creation, marriage, politics, and economics. Since Platonism considers spiritual and intellectual spheres higher than the physical realm, thus undervaluing the latter, it is our responsibility to discard such non-biblical view and attitude towards this present world.

Calvin placed the topic of the right use of the present life and its support (*Inst.*III.10) after the teaching on eschatology or meditation on future life (*Inst.*III.9). This is to remind the Christians that, due to human sinfulness, human beings adhere to this world and loose the meaning of what lies beyond this world. This attitude, in turn, leads to misery and vanity. “To oppose this evil, the Lord, by continual lessons of miseries, teaches his children the vanity of the present life” (*Inst.*III.9).

Nevertheless, in his writings Calvin accurately views this present life as appreciative. Christians must not regard this present world as evil. God created it good. Thus, God’s creation in itself is good. The problem is the attitude towards it. Christians believe that God is the creator and possessor of everything in this creation. Consequently, Christians are urged to appreciate this life as the gift of God; they must be thankful and accept all that relates to human earthly existence (*Inst.*III.9.2). Calvin continues, “But believers should not accustom themselves to such contempt of the present life, as may not generate either hatred of life or ingratitude towards God. For this life, though it is replete with innumerable miseries, is yet deservedly reckoned among the Divine blessings, which must not be despised. Wherefore, if we discover nothing of the Divine beneficence in it, we are already guilty of no small ingratitude towards God himself. But to be believers especially it should be a testimony of the

Divine benevolence, since the whole of it is destined to the advancement of their salvation” (*Inst.III.9.3*).

It is essential that Christians be active in this world. Before entering heaven, the Christians must both fight in this world and enjoy the divine blessings available in this present world. Therefore, the Christians must use the terrestrial blessings correctly, and not neglect to cultivate and enjoy them under the aegis of the will of God (*Inst.III.10*).

We live in this world as pilgrims. Pilgrimage implies that Christians are fully aware of the Christian realism of this world and of the hope of the world to come. On the one hand, Christians should not renounce this world as the Catholic monks or the Anabaptists did in neglecting to participate in political responsibility in this present world. Christians must be conscious of the reality of the temporary nature of this world. Yet, they are not tempted to adhere thereto. On the other hand, this world is temporary and our life is transitory, therefore Christians must benefit from God’s grace and focus on the hope of a future life. Christians are taught to focus on the future. It is a mistake either to escape from this world or to adhere it. God saves the believers and encourages them to focus on and meditate about the future in this “present-ness” of life. This is the principle of Christian pilgrimage. Hence, undertaking vocation must be placed in this process of Christian pilgrimage.

We are thus both pilgrims and soldiers. As pilgrims, Christians are directed towards heaven and the future (*Comm. Mt.24:42; Inst.III.10*), and, as soldiers, Christians are called to fight the heinous dangers of sin and for the prevalence of God’s will (*Inst.III.2.21*). Calvin explains the concupiscence that is the slavish love, improper and intemperate tendency in human nature that impedes the true understanding of this present world. To love and support others by doing work is one of the means of avoiding concupiscence (Lk.16:2; Phlp.4:12). Like the writers in the Bible, Calvin warns against the heinous attack of concupiscence (*Inst.II.1.8*).

Concupiscence is a substantial element that constantly troubles Christian life. The wrong attitudes towards this present world are caused by human sin, concupiscence. What is important to the Christian is the right attitude towards this present world. To adhere to the lust of this world means to regard it as the goal in life and to ignore the focus on meditating the future as the complete fulfilment of God’s salvation. Consequently, this attitude implies a shift away from God’s gift, and

abandoning the precious gift of God. Christians are called to involve in a continuing process of self-denial and of meditation on future life (Wallace, 1959:53-57).

Calvin views this present world as God's creation. The problem is not the creation itself but the attitude towards it. A wrong attitude is caused by concupiscence. Concupiscence in human life tainted by sin (*Inst.* II.1.8) must be abandoned by allowing God to renew life in the divine and saving work of Christ (*Comm.* Gl.5:24) and the guiding work of the Holy Spirit (*Comm.* 1 Cor.6:11). Consequently, Christian vocation implies self-denial. Wallace states, "Self-denial for Calvin means the mortification of our natural concupiscence, and the denial of all the motions and impulses that arise from the 'flesh'" (1959:57). Hatred of this world does not necessarily mean escaping from it. In order to be constantly renewed in Christ, Christians must exercise the gifts given by God (*Comm.* Eph.4:7) in this present world, i.e. God's creation. Christians must cultivate God's creation for the sake of God's glory. In view of the above, Christian vocation implies a task of faith and an exercise of faith in this present world towards the future.

Other issues need to be addressed. First, the relationship of human beings before God is based on the biblical teaching of man. Theological ethics speaks of concupiscence as well as self-denial and mortality. Human beings are temporary and in transit. Indeed, what is to be attained is the kingdom of heaven. For Calvin, this does not mean that the Christian ignores this present life, the environment and creation. The meaning of the future life of the Christian is exercised in this present life. Calvin's theology does not ignore this present life. The salvation of Christ bestowed upon the believers and the meaning of the kingdom of heaven must be actualised in this present life. The latter is an entity in which God's salvation in Christians is acted out. Hence, this is the profound meaning of the lives of Christians in this present life; the Christian vocation has meaning as Christians act out their work, duties and responsibilities. The statuses in family life, social interaction, work, and occupation are viewed not as something worldly that needs to be avoided but as the "place" in which the Christian vocation is realized.

Christians should benefit from the richness of God's creation in this present world even though they are pilgrims. In his interpretation of the human role of toiling under God's guidance and blessing, Calvin states, "We must remember that the Prophet does not speak of the highest blessedness, which consists not in meat and

drink, nor is confined within the narrow bounds of this transitory life; but he assures God's believing people that even in this pilgrimage or earthly place of sojourn they shall enjoy a happy life, in so far as the state of the world will permit; even as Paul [1 Tm.4:8] declares that God promises both these to such as fear him, in other words, that God will take care of us during the whole course of our life, until he has at last brought us to eternal glory" (*Comm. Ps.128:2*).

From this, it can be inferred Calvin's concept of moderation in life. By moderation, Calvin means "It behooves, therefore, to observe moderation, that we may use them with a pure conscience; whether for necessity or for pleasure" (*Inst.III.10.1*). Allowing believers to excessively possess things in this present world is pernicious evil; on the other hand, to excessively restrict in order to meet a natural demand in this present world is a useless torture. It is a mistake to either overvalue or disvalue human need in nature. Exaggeration and underestimation deny Christian moderation.

The right attitude towards this present world depends on whether it is viewed from God's will or from human concupiscence. From the perspective of God's will, Christians are urged to view this present world as God's creation which is good. From the perspective of human concupiscence, human beings view it as something to avoid or adhered to. It is interesting to note that Calvin points out that both nature and the Gospel imply temperance, frugality, sobriety, and "*contemptus mundi*" (Harkness, 1931:159-177).

These aspects of Calvin's ethics are related to what is called Christian moderation. Calvin contends that "the mind of a Christian ought not to be taken up with earthly things, or to repose in them; for we ought to live as if we were every moment about to depart from this life. We must be constantly watchful, especially against becoming involved in a vain and excessive love of this earth" (Wallace, 1959:127).

In his creation, God provides human necessity, pleasure and delight. Human beings cultivate herbs, trees and fruits not only to meet their needs but also for pleasant odours. So, it is wrong to disrespect God's creation. On the other hand, human beings must not subject themselves to lust. Human lust is an act of exaggeration and can transgress the limit of using God's creation. Exaggeration will transgress the lawfulness of life. "What will become of thanksgiving, if you

overcharge yourself with dainties or wine, so as to be stupefied or rendered unfit for the duties of piety and the business of your station?" (*Inst.* III.10.3). Wine causes faces to shine but drunkenness jeopardizes both the drinkers and others.

Calvin points out that moderation is the ethical principle that guides living in this present world. One regards and enjoys God's creation, one can cultivate and improve them but it is his or her responsibility to avoid overcharging them. Christians must be diligent and active in cultivating and managing them but control them by meditating on heavenly immortality.

This present world should not mean the end of the actualisation of faith. It is a means to fulfil the end. The value of faith is the basis and the impulse of action in every activity in this present world.

This is the real, continuous struggle of Christians. It is compulsory for Christians to allow Christ continually involves in this struggle and to allow the Holy Spirit to continually regenerate them. Hence, the Christians are urged to be involved in the process of the mortification, and to meditate on the future life based on the victory of the resurrection of Christ. This entire attempt is actualised in this present world. One should not escape the reality of the present world. It is a battlefield, or arena, in which the process of regeneration, sanctification and the focus on future life in Christ are being actualised. Calvin accurately views this present world as an arena for the exercise of faith, the place in which Christians act as moderate pilgrims.

It can be concluded from the above that Calvin, theologically and ethically, formulates the sphere of vocation. Vocation takes place and starts from the admiration of God's sovereignty, the saving act of Christ, the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and ends up with the hope in the participation of the resurrection of Christ.

It has been noted thus far that that the providence of God, predestination, justification by faith, sanctification, and the Christian view of and attitude towards the present world as one of appreciation and Christians being pilgrims and soldiers alike are aimed at achieving Christian vocation. In other words, in Calvin's theology, it is unfeasible to address vocation without relating it to these Christian doctrines.

C. Vocation according to John Calvin

C.1. Calvin's usage of the term vocation and its ethical theological meaning

The term “vocation” is derived from the Latin word *vocare*, meaning, “to call.” In the Old Testament the Hebrew term is קָרָא (*qara*) and in the New Testament, the Greek term is καλεῖν (*kalein*), which mean, “to call” (McKim, 1992:335). In the Old Testament, *qara* refers to “a call to service” (Is.48:15; 49:1) as it is found in the call of Moses (Ex.3:4), Samuel (I Sm.3:4-6, 8), Isaiah, and Amos (Is. 6:1-13; Am. 7: 14-15). In the New Testament, *kalein* refers to “God’s call to salvation, holiness, faith, and service” (Hayes, 2000:92). This term refers to the Church, ἐκκλησία (*ekklesia*) or κλητοί (*kletoi*), the called ones.

In *The Random House College Dictionary* (1984) the term “vocation” has several meanings: “1). a particular occupation, business, or profession; 2). calling a strong impulse or inclination to follow a particular activity or career, 3). a function or station in life to which a person is called by God.” The first two meanings seem to refer to comprehension in modern paradigm. Vocational aptitude and vocational school are, for example, modern interpretations of the term which is, in essence, patchy, eclectic and fragmentary.⁹ The third meaning denotes a religious or Protestant aspect. This study will examine the term “vocation” in the Protestant, Reformed theology of John Calvin.

As far as Calvin’s use of this term in his writings is concerned, it is found that beside the term “vocation” scattered throughout his Commentaries and in a few of his tracts and letters, his overt explanation of “vocation” appears in only one section, namely in book III of the *Institutes*.

In *Institutes* III.10.6, Calvin explains what he means by vocation: The Lord’s calling as a basis of our way of life: “...it is to be remarked, that the Lord commands every one of us, in all the actions of life, to regard his vocation.” Every Christian must respect his or her calling. Vocation should not be neglected; it forms part of God’s instruction. Vocation is the *sentry post* of every Christian. Due to human stupidity and

⁹ The next chapter will expound the relationship between vocation and modern thinking, in particular with respect to the division of labour in modernity. Further analysis of this term in modern and postmodern society in relation to the strategic implementation of Christian vocation will be presented in chapter V.

rashness everything is disorganized if humans have no vocation. “Every individual’s line of life, therefore, is, as it were, a post assigned to him by the Lord that he may not wander about in uncertainty all his days” (*Inst.* III.10.6). Therefore, “he has assigned distinct duties to each in the different modes of life.” In Battles’ translation “...each individual has his own kind of living assigned to him by the Lord as a sort of *sentry post* so that he may not heedlessly wander about throughout life” (*Inst.* III.10.6. My italics).

Vocation is the post, the station, assigned by God. It is a blessing accompanied by duty and responsibility incumbent upon the believers. It should be neither abandoned nor neglected. Each vocation has its duty and responsibility assigned by God to an individual and each vocation is distinctive and unique. The bearer of vocation undertakes the duty and responsibility inherent in the vocation assigned to him or her. Nobody should transgress the boundary of the vocation itself. Defying this rule will endanger him or her and others.

Station or post is the means whereby Christians realize their lives with a purpose. It is “the status” and the “role site” in which he or she undertakes the duties which God has assigned and conferred to him or her. Persons without station, theologically speaking, neglect duties, aimlessly doing things without adhering to social status. They are passive, idle and are not motivated to undertake their social responsibilities.

Station is the means given to the believers in Christ; station is the position in which the believers are called to undertake human responsibility in accordance with God’s law and His holy will. Station is not used in an economic or social sense. In Calvin’s view, it has a theological meaning, “the place where God has assigned us to fill a need, to order our frantic lives. All stations are *in potentia* opened to all people, subject only to the discrimination of God’s choosing” (Trawick, 1997:96).

Everyone has a calling; nobody must abandon it. “That everyone should be *contented* with his *calling*, and pursue it, instead of seeking to betake himself to anything else” (Italics emphasized) and “everyone is bound to his calling, so that he must not abandon it” (*Comm.* 1 Cor.7: 20).

Calvin staunchly states that “A calling in Scripture means a lawful mode of life, for it has a relation to God as calling us, lest anyone should abuse this statement to justify modes of life that are evidently wicked or vicious” (*Comm.* 1 Cor.7:20).

This means that a vocation is a lawful mode of life. By contrast, not every activity may be called vocation if it does not conform to the will of God. Christians must be cautious with the abuse of the given works brought about by concupiscence inherent in the individuals. Distortions or ambiguities may lead to the wrong way of fulfilling a vocation due to sin. Vocation refers to the mode of life which is lawful and in accordance with God's will. In this regard, vocation is the result of conversion and continual repentance emerging from God and bestowed upon his elected predestined believers.

Vocation covers every lawful mode of life instituted by God; therefore, all vocations are holy. "One's calling is the principal part of human life..., all shepherds and field labourers, all mechanics and other similar people should regard their state as holy" (Calvin, *Briève instruction* OC 7, cols.81 and 83 quoted by Cottrett, 2000: 276). Vocation is part of the Christian response towards God's gift (Cottret, 2000:322).

Vocations are a gift of God; therefore, all vocations are equal, invaluable and holy before God. Calvin states "...that in following your proper calling, no work will be so mean and sordid as not to have splendour and value in the eyes of God" (*Inst.III.10*). All callings are precious and indispensable in God's eyes; they implore Christians to experience His gift and, therefore, one should not undermine or underestimate them.

Vocation is the means whereby believers discharge their duties that God assigned to them. Consistent with his Reformed theology, Calvin claims that human endeavours should not be the starting-point for attaining salvation. Christ is the justification of faith. As circumcision is a matter of outward religious conduct, it is a matter of indifference before God. Paul exhorts, as Calvin interprets, to concentrate "to exercise yourself in duties that are pleasing to God." "Do not occupy yourselves to no purpose in things of no profit, but, on the contrary, exercise yourselves in duties that are well pleasing to God" (*Comm. 1 Cor.7: 19*). And so is vocation; it is an "arena" in which to exercise Christian duty to please God.

C. 2. God is the author of vocation

Theologically speaking, the Scriptures provide a strong witness that vocation is from God who endows His chosen people to have and undertake vocation. Several

passages in the Bible clearly insist on this statement of faith. Calvin observes that God called Moses twice by name to make him feel the significance of God's calling deep in his heart (*Comm.Ex.3:4*). A call is necessary for Amos to fulfil his duty to prophecy (*Comm. Am. 7:14-15*). God revealed Himself to confirm that Isaiah is His prophet. Calvin states, "Why God appeared to him with such glorious majesty, in order to ordain him anew as a prophet. It was because he was called to deliver an incredible message...therefore he is more fully assured of his calling" (*Comm.Is.6:8*). Calvin explicitly states that God called and elected Christ since he was in the womb (*Comm.Is.49:1*). These passages *per se* as well as Calvin's interpretation of them confirm that all callings are derived from God. God is the caller and He discharges His calling to the elected who must undertake divine tasks in the world. Calvin insists that God is the author of vocation: "*l'Ecriture use de ce mot de Vocation, pour montrer, qu'une façon de vivre ne peut estre bonne ni approuvee, sinon que Dieu en soit auteur*" (The Scripture uses the word vocation to show or demonstrate that the way of living cannot be approved if God is not the author) (Aalders, 1943:10).¹⁰

Roels, who investigated business as a Christian calling, states, "*Vocation* implies a relationship to the one who calls us. Biblically, that caller is the triune God, the author of creation, redemption, and renewal. This Trinitarian caller asks each person to respond to the voice of God, as Scripture illuminates it through the story of creation, the experience of Israel, the work of Jesus, and the history of the church" (2003:358).

Calvin defines vocation as "lawful modes of life, which have God as their approver and author" (*Comm. 1 Cor.7: 18*). Vocation is derived from God and not

¹⁰ Aalders, who analysed Calvin's understanding of vocation also states, "*voorop staat, dat Calvijn, de theoloog, het woord vocatio gebruikend, begint met het van God af te leiden. Het is dus in de eerste plaats theologisch gericht: God roept. Dit is overeenkomstig de visie van Calvijn, die hij altijd laat gelden. Vervolgens wordt het woord anthropologisch gewend: de mensch wordt geroepen. Ten slotte heeft het zijn sociologische, of, wil men, cosmologische strekking: den mensch wordt geroepen ergens en tot iets, wat het dan ook zij, in tijdelijk of in eeuwigheids-verband, en dit iets omvat alles, omdat aan het beroep, dat God op den mensch doet, niets onttrokken is. Deze roep is totalitair.*" Meaning: It is prominent, that Calvin, the theologian, using the word vocation, starts by deriving it from God. Thus, in the first place, it is theological: God calls. This is in accordance with Calvin's vision. Consequently, the word is used in an anthropological sense: man is called. Finally, it has sociological, or if one wishes, cosmological sense: one is called somewhere and to something, whatever it may be, in temporary or eternal context. That something embraces everything because nothing is taken away from the vocation which God calls man to do. The vocation is totalitarian (Aalders, 1943:5). This indicates the difference between Luther and Calvin. Luther explains vocation in the dialectical sense: vocation belongs to the Christian effort in this present world whereas faith belongs to heaven (See Luther's idea of two kingdoms in chapter iii). Calvin includes vocation in inclusive thinking. Human efforts in this present world are included in the plan of God's vocation and preparation for the future/eternal life.

from human beings or society or given things. “A *calling* in Scriptures means a lawful mode of life, for it *has a relation to God as calling us...*” (*Comm.* 1 Cor.7: 20, italics are for emphasis). In his pastoral admonition to French Protestants, Calvin urged them to believe that “it is enough if we know that the Lord’s calling is in everything the beginning and foundation of well-doing” (*Inst.* III.10.6). In interpreting Ephesians 1:4, Calvin staunchly states “the foundation and first cause, both of our calling and of all the benefits...we receive from God” (*Comm.* Eph.1:4). The beginning of our calling is God, His grace and His invitation to come to His salvation. In his comment on the issue that all Christians are priests, Calvin states “that the Lord hath called us, that he might possess us as his own...” (*Comm.* I Pt.2:8). Ultimately our calling is to glorify Him. “He carefully points out the end of our calling, so that he might stimulate us to give the glory to God” (*Comm.* I Pt.2:9).

Because God is the author of calling, and is holy, so is vocation. This statement would defy those who despise sexual, working, economic and political domains as evil. Roman Catholics, for example, accept that the right vocation is in the monastic life while the activities outside the monastery are evil. Anabaptists prohibit Christians from being involved in economic and political activities. Fulfilling vocation in these spheres is not mean and wretched but precious before God. It forms part of Christian duties and responsibilities assigned by God. God calls everyone to undertake his or her vocation in the spheres of family, economic and political life. Calvin staunchly emphasizes “...that in following your proper calling, no work will be so mean and sordid as not to have a splendour and value in the eye of God” (*Inst.* III.10.6).

Theological understanding of Christian vocation begins with the creed, viz. vocation is God’s grace for God’s glory. Furthermore, God’s grace is not idle. It works in life through conversion.

Calvin himself experienced God’s call through his *subita conversio*. In his preface to the Commentary on Psalms, Calvin explains his own experience of *subita coversio* or sudden conversion.¹¹

¹¹ The following is a fuller explanation of Calvin’s conversion. In Calvin’s own words, “In reading the instances of his faith, patience, fervour, zeal, and integrity, it has, as it ought, drawn from me unnumbered groans and sighs, that I am so far from approaching them; but it has, notwithstanding, been of very great advantage to me to behold in him as in a mirror, both the commencement of my calling, and the continued course of my function; so that I know the more assuredly, that whatever that most illustrious king and prophet suffered, was exhibited to me by God as an example for imitation. My condition no doubt, is much inferior to his, and it is unnecessary for me to stay to show this. But as

Subita conversio totally changed his life, his way of perceiving this world, his interaction with other people, including his understanding of his vocation. Thus, it is not his intellectual ability but his encounter with God which shaped his understanding of vocation. Or, Calvin's *subita conversio* is *per se* a God's act.¹²

Calvin's understanding of vocation emerged from his unique experience of *subita conversio*. Nobody prevented him from realising God's call, and he undertook his vocation in Geneva. Yet, *subita conversio* endorsed, ratified and confirmed his vocation; afterwards he experienced God's salvation and calling. The perversion of Roman Catholicism's meaning of vocation in the ecclesiastical, political, social and economic spheres motivated him to find the true teaching of vocation and encouraged him to take God's salvation to his contemporaries in order to involve them in God's call.

he was taken from the sheepfold, and elevated to the rank of supreme authority; so God having taken me from my originally obscure and humble condition, has reckoned me worthy of being invested with the honourable office of a preacher and minister of the gospel.

When I was as yet a very little boy, my father had destined me for the study of theology. But afterwards when he considered that the legal profession commonly raised those who followed it to wealth this prospect induced him suddenly to change his purpose. Thus it came to pass, that I was withdrawn from the study of philosophy, and was put to the study of law. To this pursuit I endeavoured faithfully to apply myself in obedience to the will of my father; but God, by the secret guidance of his providence, at length gave a different direction to my course. And first, since I was too obstinately devoted to the superstitions of Popery to be easily extricated from so profound an abyss of mire, God by a *sudden conversion* subdued and brought my mind to a teachable frame, which was more hardened in such matters than might have been expected from one at my early period of life. Having thus received some taste and knowledge of true godliness I was immediately inflamed with so intense a desire to make progress therein, that although I did not altogether leave off other studies, I yet pursued them with less ardour. I was quite surprised to find that before a year had elapsed, all who had any desire after purer doctrine were continually coming to me to learn, although I myself was as yet but a mere novice and tyro. Being of a disposition somewhat unpolished and bashful, which led me always to love the shade and retirement, I then began to seek some secluded corner where I might be withdrawn from the public view; but so far from being able to accomplish the object of my desire, all my retreats were like public schools. In short, whilst my one great object was to live in seclusion without being known, God so led me about through different turnings and changes, that he never permitted me to rest in any place, until, in spite of my natural disposition, he brought me forth to public notice. Leaving my native country, France, I in fact retired into Germany, expressly for the purpose of being able there to enjoy in some obscure corner the repose which I had always desired, and which had been so long denied me" (*Preface, Comm. on Psalm*).

¹² It is not the researcher's intention to describe in detail Calvin's *subita conversio*. However, his encounter with God, has led to many disputes and debates among theologians. Despite entering the deep abyss of this religious experience, it can be noted, in this case, the result of the human encounter with God, or rather God comes to find human beings. As is apparent, the result of the encounter with God changed the way of thinking, and the way of behaving of the converted people as experienced by Calvin. This shift may be traced back to before 1532-34 and after his conversion (Ganoczy, 1987:241-266).

Calvin's conversion demonstrates that in principle one's vocation is based on God's plan and act. Subsequently, Calvin's thoughts, plans, struggles, and success involve vocation.¹³

¹³ After his *subita conversio*, Calvin perceived every activity of his path of life as vocation. Calvin states, "I was compelled to encounter these violent tempests as part of my early training; and although I did not sink under them yet I was not sustained by such greatness of mind, as not to rejoice more than it became me, when, in consequence of certain commotions, I was banished from Geneva. By this means set at liberty and loosed from the tie of my vocational I resolved to live in a private station, free from the burden and cares of any public charge, when that most excellent servant of Christ, Martin Bucer, employing a similar kind of remonstrance and protestation as that to which Farel had recourse before, drew me back to a new station. Alarmed by the example of Jonas which he set before me, I still continued in the work of teaching" (Preface, *Comm. Psalm*; Cf. Cottrett, 2000: 134).

It can be noted that the following comments expounded by a leading scholar of Calvin. Cottret comments, "Calvin's vocation was certainly 'extraordinary'—under the theologian's pen the word carries a very strong sense. The 'extraordinary' providence of God, without being equivalent to a miracle, which is accorded, often and no doubt wrongly, a spectacular quality, perceptibly approaches. The 'extraordinary' character of a vocation or an event—this is a miracle without prodigy or spectacle, the direct intervention of God in the course of history. Calvin's vocation, his intimate sense of a mission which surpassed in importance the common destiny of men, was therefore not accompanied by any visible stigma" (Cottrett, 2000:7). In one of his letters, Calvin reported, "Master Guillaume Farel kept me in Geneva, not so much by advice and exhortation as by a dreadful adjuration, as if God from on high had extended his hand over me to stop me (Quoted by Cottrett, 2000:118). Was Farel's invitation to Geneva a vocation?

Cottret continues, "The Calvin to whom Farel addressed himself was still only twenty-six. Farel, for his part, was forty-seven. But he had immediately realized the ability of this timid and frail young man. His summons to Calvin took the tone of a divine vocation. Did he not cry out, when called upon by the Catholics to justify his vocation, that he was 'ready to defend it with my own blood'? J.O. Calvin *Épître à Sadolet* (1539) in *La vraie piété*, ed. I Backus and C.Chimelli, Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1986:71-83 quoted by Cottret, 2000:120)

Even though church officials did not ordain him, his calling motivated him to become involved in the Reformation. It is not a pastoral consecration but a functional pastorate (Cottrett, 2000:120).

Cottret compares Calvin with Jonah who was the 'man with an irresistible calling, with a tormenting vocation that hemmed him in, pressed him, and badgered him even when he was cast into the sea... (Jonah) was the very type of the predestined soul; it was God who chose him, not he who chose God, God who pursued him and tirelessly addressed his Word to him...the theme of shipwreck, moreover, had remarkable standing. For Calvin it was inseparable from the idea of 'vocation' or 'calling'.

Cottret quotes Pierre du Moulin (*De la vocation des Pasteurs*. Sedan, Ardennes: Jean Jannon, 1618) in Cottrett, 2000:17) who distinguishes two kinds of vocation: ordinary vocation which, being instituted by God, should always be continued in the Christian church, and extraordinary vocation characterized by the possibility of discontinuities due to persecution, for example. The latter is evident in the case of Moses, John the Baptist, the apostles, and Saint Paul and of course John Calvin, who undertook His vocation, to preach the Gospel, to administer the sacraments, and to convert many (Cottrett, 2000:17). Calvin believed that God used others as His instruments and thereafter challenged them to execute His vocation. In this respect, Cottrett states, "The Protestant Reformation aimed at a complete transformation of the sense of community; Calvin in Strasbourg or Geneva was also a missionary, an envoy. His vocation was clearly assigned to him by the voice of Farel or Bucer" (Cottrett, 2000: 138).

On the other hand, some doubted Calvin's vocation. On July 10, 1538, in Strasbourg, Calvin took up the central question of his own vocation. Calvin was perhaps disappointed with the mission in Geneva before he moved to Strasbourg. "The Lord will direct us. I fear above all things to return to the duties from which I have been delivered, considering what perplexities I was in at the time when I was immersed in them. For although then I felt the vocation from God that held me bound, with which I consoled myself, no, on the contrary, I fear to tempt him if I again take up such a burden, which I have known to be unbearable to me. Calvin, *Correspondance fancaise avec Louis du Tillet*, wrote him a letter on September 7: "I doubt that you have had your vocation there from God, having been called there only by men..., who have driven you away from there, just as they received you by their sole authority (Calvin correspondance, quoted by Cottrett, 2000: 53). But Calvin was certain of his pastoral

Calvin's own experiences teach us the importance of basing Christian vocation on God's intervention over his chosen people.

C. 3. The dynamic of vocation

Unlike Luther who was inclined to view vocation as a station in life, Calvin perceived vocations as a means of change (Gritsch, 1996:245). Luther viewed vocation as a fixed station. This may be criticized if it does not support the needs of society and social justice (Boggs, 1962:102). It is reasonable that Calvin interprets vocation as changeable, whereas Luther considered a "static understanding of vocation." The reason is that, unlike Luther, a monk meditated on the Sermon on the Mount, Calvin was a jurist interested in how Christian faith impinged upon the social, economical and political life. Such interaction therefore challenged changing and dynamic vocation (Boggs, 1962:102; Troeltsch, 1958:72, 99).

In becoming a Christian, it is not necessary to change one's station unless the station is unlawful. As long as the subordinates (children, slaves) in the social structure fulfil their functions, the subordinates obey 'in the Lord' their superordinates (parents, lords, etc.). On the contrary, the superordinates should not abuse the power God has given to them by scolding or nagging the children or threatening the slaves. In Calvin's conviction, God constitutes the stations that are conforming in terms of His will. Therefore, Calvin, following St. Paul, states that the social structure must be maintained as a means of undertaking the duties of believers. For Calvin, God constitutes social structures; therefore each station has its function. The yoke must be continually borne. It includes the yokes of burden of works or the outward circumstances of life (*Comm.Eph.6:1-9*).

With regard to the dynamics or change of vocation or occupation,¹⁴ let us examine Apostle Paul's word in 1 Cor.7: 20: "*Unusquisque in qua vocatione fuit vocatus, maneat*" meaning, "let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called." In this case, Calvin interpreted that "abide in the same calling" because Apostle Paul was meant to admonish *not* to change the stations without reason or based on superstition or any other motive. Christians must keep what is suitable to their calling. Calvin continues, "He does not, therefore, impose upon any one the

vocation as an act for God's glory. The above reflects Calvin's experience and refers to his vocation. Nobody is detached from vocation.

¹⁴ In this context, we use the terms vocation, stations, 'professions,' and 'occupations' interchangeably.

necessity of continuing in the kind of life which he has once taken up, but rather condemns that restlessness, which prevents an individual from remaining in his condition with a peaceable mind....” (*Comm.* 1 Cor.7:20). A Christian is free to change station or he or she can work in several stations. “Now it were a very hard thing if a tailor were not at liberty to learn another trade, or if a merchant were not at liberty to betake himself to farming” (*Comm.* 1 Cor.7: 20).

A situation can challenge a person to perform other tasks. The reason is that ““Our calling is not always confined to its ordinary duties because God sometimes imposes on his servants new and unusual roles (*personas*)” (*Comm.* Nm.25.7), therefore, “men are not here bound by a perpetual necessity, so as never to have it in their power to change their condition, if at any time there should be a fit occasion for it” (*Comm.* 1 Cor.7:24). The phrase ‘fit occasion for it’ is not clear, but “God’s sovereignty cannot be contained by mere human possibility” (Trawick, 1997:92-93).

Perhaps the meaning of vocation in this context refers to a similar meaning of modern occupations (such as nurses, workers, typists, etc.) not to the statuses (parents, children, governor, citizen, master, and servants). In terms of this shift, Trawick (1997:92) claims that Calvin gave hints on social mobility. Vocation is related to social mobility. In this regard, Bouwsma comments, “In this usage, like that of providence, could give comfort in a changing world. It was deeply reassuring in a time of increasing social mobility, for peasants who had moved into towns, young men whose occupations differed from those of their fathers, exiles, all overwhelmed by a sense of arbitrariness, absurdity, rootlessness and danger, to know that God himself had assigned them these new roles” (1982:181).

The shift in vocation is an act of faith, viz. Christians must let God interfere for them in decision-making in the way God designs for the right time. Calvin points out between the shift of work and God’s opportunity “we are not to hasten but should wait patiently and with peaceful minds for the right time (*opportunitas*) to act” (*Comm.* Jn 12.1.and.8.19). God “has his own appointed time and knows the seasons (*opportunitates*) in which it is suitable both to punish the wicked and to assist the good” (*Comm.* Is.13.6; cf. Bouwsma 1988:194).

C. 4. Vocation and submission

Even though before God all vocations are equal (*Inst.* III.10), it does not mean that the Christians who undertake God's vocation neglect hierarchy. Undertaking vocation does not eliminate hierarchy of "superordination" and "subordination." Calvin "does not intend to annihilate social structural relationship, for example, the master-servant relationship" (Leith, 1989:192). Therefore, acknowledging social structure in social life and Christian community demands the respect of the boundary of one's vocation which keeps mutual honour, duty and responsibility. Like Luther, Calvin also emphasizes equality of vocations *Coram Deo* but the hierarchy in domestic life, economics and politics remains. "Those who cannot submit themselves to the magistrates, who rebel against their fathers and mothers, who cannot bear the yoke of masters or mistresses, sufficiently show that they jumble heaven and earth, as people say" (*Sermon* No.36 on Dt.313 as quoted by Bouwsma 1988:74,254). Thus, submission is necessary to avoid chaos and social disorder and to maintain one's boundary of vocation; nobody intervenes another person's boundary and *vice versa*. "On the other hand, subordination and hierarchy are antidotes to mixture in society; confusion in the ranks of society 'signifies a dreadful vengeance of God'" (*Comm.* Is.24:2; Bouwsma, 1988:74). It is chaotic for those who do not respect ranks in society and it will be dreadful vengeance of God for those who are anarchists. An authoritarian disrespects others. Similarly, inactive persons are uncooperative and unable to express their organic functions in social mutuality. These cases endanger vocation in social mutuality and cause social disorder and chaos.

Undertaking vocation involves carrying a "yoke." "Yoke" should not be interpreted as the consequence of human fallenness. It is designed by God himself. Gen.1:26-28 and Gen.2:18 witness that human domination over God's creation, Eve as the helper of Adam; these are examples of God's design, before the Fall, which involves yoke (Ryken, 1987:12-129). But after the Fall, this expression has been changed due to the sinful taint of human existence. In the "yoke," there is responsibility, in which vocation presents itself. The wife submits to her husband, the husband loves his wife, etc.; this explains the structure of human relationships and the verbs: submit, loves, and cares are the vocation itself. "Yoke" and submission in love are the means whereby people undertake vocation. Every individual mutually depends

on the other. This is *lex naturæ*,¹⁵ in which every one needs the help of others in social life.

Respect of submission intensifies cooperation in social life. In his commentary, Calvin points out the importance of cooperation in social life and the role of Christian vocation. “Were they alone, they could not plough, or reap, or perform other offices indispensable to their subsistence, or supply themselves with the necessities of life. For God has linked men so closely together, that they need the assistance and labour of each other; and none but a madman would disdain other men as hurtful or useless to him. Ambitious men cannot enjoy their renown but amidst a multitude. How blind are they, therefore, when they wish to drive and chase away others, that they may reign alone!” (*Comm. Is.5:8*).

Social structures, instruction and submission are a social constellation of human interaction in which vocation is undertaken. The Christian cannot avoid or escape this social reality. These are the means whereby the Christian executes his or her vocation.

C. 5. Boundaries of vocation and division of labour

The previous section explained Calvin’s claim that “Every individual’s way of life is therefore like a post assigned by the Lord so that he will not spend his whole life wandering about in uncertainty” (*Inst.III.10.6*). In fact, Calvin did not cease his explanation of Christian vocation with that statement. He staunchly confirms that undertaking vocation should not arbitrarily be executed without clear boundaries that limit one’s vocation. We are free to change our vocation; this does not mean that we are freely executing vocation without respecting vocational boundaries. Each vocation

¹⁵ In modern Christian states (European and American), Troeltsch contends that *Lex Dei* consists of *Lex Mosis*, *Lex Christi*, *Lex Ecclesiae* and *Lex Naturae*. The latter includes “the juridico-ethical and the scientific heritage of antiquity, and the natural claims of life” (Troeltsch, 1958:12-13). In principle, Calvin and Calvinism appreciate the *Lex Naturae*, in that it is a means of discharging human duties (McNeill, 1967:76ff., 395, 413,417). Haas, who explored *The Concept of Equity in Calvin’s Ethics*, states that in Calvin’s social ethics, the medieval humanist influence of treating natural law is, of course, apparent in his writings. However, as a theologian, Calvin understands God’s will is written in the Scriptures and all refer to Christ. God also imprinted in human hearts “the natural light of righteousness (*naturalem iustitiae fulgorem*) which provides certain ideas of justice and rectitude (*iustitiae ac rectitudinis*)” (1997:65-68) and this is essential to express equity as the Christian vocation to other people. Note Calvin’s word in the following explanation that following our vocation will bring peace while overstepping the boundary of vocation will cause social disorder.

has its limits; therefore, it is prohibited to overstep the domain of another person's vocation.

Calvin rigorously says "that every one should confine himself within his own bounds...that individuals are only endued with a certain measure of gifts, on which the distribution of offices depends" (*Comm. Ex.18:13*). One's inherent duty has its own limits and nobody is presumed to overstep his or her proper limits. "No one may thoughtlessly transgress his limits. Moreover, station, or mode of life, is a kind of station assigned him by the Lord, that he may not always driven about at random" (*Inst.iii.10.6*). Calvin frequently articulates this issue in his writings. "While husbandman employs himself in rural labours, the workman carries on his occupation, and in this way everyone keeps within his own limits" (*Comm. 1 Th. 4:11*).

This claim is fundamental in Calvin's thought on vocation. Every vocation has its work, job, task, duty and responsibility. The possessor of each vocation should not overstep the limit of the vocation unless it leads to "ἀταξία" (*ataksia*) disorder. "So soon as men turn aside from this, everything is thrown into confusion and disorder" (*Comm. 1 Th.4:11*). Overstepping vocation will lead to great disturbance or trouble while following our calling stabilizes social order. Unhappiness and arrogance can be the impetuses that motivate us to overstep the boundary of vocation. All this causes distortion and deviation of power in vocation as is apparent in relationships of master and servant, husband and wife, parents and children, governor and citizen, or *vice versa*. Distortion, perversion and violation of power are evidenced in the way one exceeds the boundary of vocation; afterwards, these ruin the relationships among people and before God. Transgression of the boundary of vocation in one's office is against God and brings "ἀταξία", social disorder (*Comm. Ac. 5:29-33*).

To consider the jeopardy of exceeding the boundary of vocation, Calvin admonishes "Everyone should examine 'what his own vocation demands and what pertains to his own duty, and avoid rashly dictating what others should do. For it would be too rigidly imperious to prescribe to others as a rule what we follow as right and consonant with our own duty" (*Comm. Gn.14.23*). Not trespassing on another person's vocation does not stimulate everyone to live in solitude nor does it promote a kind of rugged individualism as understood in modern society. Individual boundary regards individual responsibility as fulfilling vocation and disregards neglect of achieving vocation.

The limits of vocation respect distribution of duties and promote social division of labour. Bouwsma comments on this matter, “(Calvin’s) doctrine of the calling contributed in various ways to the efficiency of work, notably as it promoted the division of labour. He suggested this in what was also a warning to himself, distracted as he was by his many and diverse duties. Let God’s servants learn to measure their capacities carefully, lest they grow weak by ambitiously embracing too many occupations” (Bouwsma, 1988:74).

Concerning the relationship between the limit of vocation and social division of labour, Bouwsma continues, “Calvin’s emphasis on the importance of social differentiation for the maintenance of order is one source of his doctrine of calling. The calling to which every human being has been assigned by God was for him a kind of earthly equivalent of the orbit of a heavenly body. He emphasized its distinctness and the obligation of each person to remain within his own calling for the sake of order” (Bouwsma, 1988:74).

C. 6. Vocation and perseverance

Undertaking vocation inevitably involves yokes, suffering, threats, and persecutions inflicted upon Christians. It includes undertaking the hardships of doing work, duties, and responsibility. In this regard, prayer plays an important role in coping with the burden. God promises His believers that He will take care of them in time of need with His heavenly treasures. “So true is it that we dig up by prayer the treasures that were pointed out by the Lord’s gospel, and which our faith has gazed upon” (*Inst.* III: 20, 2). God advocates His believers in the time of suffering and misery to call upon Him in prayer. “By so doing we invoke the presence both of his providence, through which he watches over and guards our affairs, and of his power, through which he sustains us, weak as we are and well-nigh overcome, and of his goodness, through which he receives us, miserably burdened with sins, unto grace; and, in short, it is by prayer that we call him to reveal himself as wholly present to us” (*Inst.* III.20.2).

Christians pray regularly and steadfastly. Praying teaches the Christian that in misery it trains us continually to have heavenly power. We should not pray in accordance with our will but in God’s, because God hears the prayers of righteous

men (*Comm.* James 5:16). In addition, the Lord's Prayer mentions that the first three prayer requests are for God's glory and the other three are for the benefit of our needs (*Inst.* III. 20.35).

Theologically speaking, in suffering Christians bear the cross, faithfully obeying the law of God, and applying the truth of God's word in the Christian modes of life. As Reformed Christians, they work out this call due to God's election and predestination. Those elected must work hard, and undertake duties as far as his or her calling requires and the Lord commands. But excessive and immoderate anxiety must be replaced with a conviction that in God's providence they have consolation and care (*Comm.* Mt. 6.25-30). There is a consolation that "By the same token the doctrine of the calling is a remedy for ambition: those who are ignorant of their callings rashly trespass on the tasks of others and, slaves to ambition soon find themselves wandering in a 'labyrinth'" (*Comm.* Ps.131.1). However, worldly ambition is precluded by recognizing that all callings are equal before God. In the hardship of work there is one consolation: to know that 'no task is so sordid and base. That every work that in accordance with God's will is reckoned very precious in God's sight" (*Inst.* III.10.6). God constantly provides strength to those who diligently undertake their vocations. "Strength will never be wanting to God's servants, when they are encouraged by the knowledge that God himself is the source of their calling when they are thus lifted up, God supplies them with such invincible strength and courage that they are formidable to all the world" (*Comm.* 1 Tm.6.12; Jr.1.17).

For Calvin it is not a Christian duty unless it is acted out in accordance with God's will. Thus, those who oppose God's will be judged by God. Undertaking vocation in accordance with God's will is a Christian struggle. This endeavour alleviates the longsuffering of the Christian. To his church members and his readers, Calvin gives comforting words "... it will be no slight relief from cares, labours, troubles, and other burdens for a man to know that God is his guide in all these things" (*Inst.* III.10.6).

The Christian faces two problems in undertaking vocation.

1. To resist the evil things with the power of God.
2. To execute and discharge duties of vocation properly without exceeding the limit of vocation.

Thus, undertaking vocation is a struggle of faith. It is not merely the discharge of duties as they are inherent in the station of each individual; it is also an attempt to discharge duties faithfully in accordance with God's will.

Lawful modes of life are in accordance with Christian vocation unless they are confused with the tricky and sly will of human sinfulness. "A calling in Scripture means a lawful mode of life, for it has a relation to God as calling us, lest anyone should abuse this statement to justify modes of life that are evidently wicked or vicious" (*Comm.* 1 Cor.7:20). Perseverance of the saints states that God takes care of all the elected and causes them to persevere in faith and obedience to the end (Curt Daniel, n.p.:11).

D. The place of vocation in three social institutions

The following explains how vocation is undertaken in three social institutions: marriage and family life, working, and political life. As explained earlier, these institutions are some of Calvin's concerns in his social ethics. These are also relevant to our research and are expected to be guidance to the theological scrutiny of the contemporary Christian experience of undertaking vocation.

D. 1. Marriage as vocation

God constitutes marriage for the production of offspring and to replenish the earth. Marriage is holy and chaste because God formed this institution and vouchsafes it with His benediction. Calvin states, "Now, what I have said concerning marriage must be kept in mind; that God intends the human race to be multiplied by generation indeed, but not, as in brute animals, by promiscuous intercourse. For he has joined the man to his wife, that they might produce a divine, that is, a legitimate seed. Let us then mark whom God here addresses when he commands them to increase, and to whom he limits his benediction. Certainly he does not give the reins to human passions, **but**, beginning at holy and chaste marriage, he proceeds to speak of the production of offspring" (*Comm.*Gn.1:26). Before human fall marriage, like working, is a pure and stainless institution (Harkness, 1931:70).

When God created Eve to be Adam's helper we can highlight several aspects here. First, God wants Adam or humanity to live as *homo socius*. God created human being as social being. One of the manifestations of social being is being involved in marriage. Calvin states, "I, however, take the meaning to be this, that God begins, indeed, at the first step of human society, yet designs to include others, each in its proper place. The commencement, therefore, involves a general principle, that man was formed to be a social animal" (*Comm.Gn.2:18*). Concerning abrogation of celibacy, Calvin acknowledges that "continence is a remarkable gift, indeed a rare one, and bestowed upon very few" (CO v, 330; vii, 42.670 quoted by Harkness, 1931:133). However, as a Protestant theologian, Calvin admits that marriage is a safe and legitimate remedy. "Marriage is a veil by which the fault of immoderate desire is covered over, so that it no longer appears in the sight of God. Vow of virginity and reject the proffered remedy is to rebel against God" (*Comm. 1 Cor.7:8, 6. Inst. IV.13.17; II.7.42. Harkness, 1931:133*). Secondly, marriage is the institution in which each Christian undertakes his or her vocation. Commenting on the presence of Eve in Adam's life, Calvin states "Now, since God assigns the woman as a help to the man, he not only prescribes to wives the rule of their vocation to instruct them in their duty, but he also pronounces that marriage will really prove to men the best support of life" (*Comm. Gn 2:18*). Thirdly, celibacy counters God's approval of marriage "since it was not expedient for man to be alone, a wife must be created, who might be his helper. Now, the human race could not exist without the woman; and, therefore, in the conjunction of human beings, that sacred bond is especially conspicuous, by which the husband and the wife are combined in one body, and one soul; as nature itself taught Plato, and others of the sounder class of philosophers, to speak. But although God pronounced, concerning Adam, that it would not be profitable for him to be alone, yet I do not restrict the declaration to his person alone, but rather regard it as a common law of man's vocation, so that every one ought to receive it as said to himself, that solitude is not good, excepting only him whom God exempts as by a special privilege. Many think that celibacy conduces to their advantage, and therefore, abstain from marriage, lest they should be miserable" (*Comm. Gn.2:18*).

Marriage and family life is a vocation (Boggs, 1962:181). It is closed to God's call for the multiplication of human beings, includes motherhood (*Comm. 1 Tm.2:15; cf. Bouwsma, 1988:137,270*). Marriage is the institution in which Christians

experience how each individual underpins each other; it is the institution approved by God to preserve human needs, to legitimately release sexual needs of husband and wife, to shelter small community, and to teach and train the children about social civilization and Christian faith, and to share yokes and burdens of believers. Each has to achieve his or her duty and responsibility in family life. To explain the tasks of parents in family life, Calvin mentions that they, for example, comprehend that their children are שכר (*sachar*), the reward of God; parents not only ought to have πολυτέκνία (many children) but also shape ευγενεία, goodness of nature of the children (Calvin's appreciation of Aristotle's ethics). Parents aware that children are God's gift, therefore they are called to educate children in order that they succeed by God's grace, guidance and blessing (*Comm. Ps. 127:3-5*). The so-called modern 'informal education', in this regard, is an essential component of Christian vocation.

God bestows upon the members of the family to undertake vocation. "He (Calvin) used it (vocation), as did Luther, to signify God's assignment of human beings to their stations in the occupational or family structures of society" (Bouwsma, 1988:180-181).

Marriage is an important holy institution of God therefore every Christian must respect marriage. To violate marriage causes one's vocation to be defective before God and a disarray of responsibility towards spouse and children. "Therefore, they who, for slight causes, rashly allow of divorces, violate, in one single particular, all the laws of nature, and reduce them to nothing" (*Comm. Gn.2:24*).

Marriage is a holy institution and to commit adultery is against the chastity of marriage; adultery is an act of fornication that breaks the holy marriage. Divorce and modern sexual deviation and abuse are forbidden. In this perspective marriage is good because it "preserves respectability and checks lascivious wanderings," (*Comm. 1 Cor.7.14*) and monogamy is better than polygamy because "there can be no conjugal harmony where there is rivalry among wives" (*Comm. Gn.13.7*).

For Calvin, sexual deviation includes adultery, transvestism, and anything that leads to sexual appeals motivating people to disregard sexual life in family such as dances and romantic words. In Calvin's time, *samen leven* (illegal living together) and other things related to perversion of marriage and sexual conduct would be punished with imprisonment for six days on bread and water and the payment of sixty sous 'for the bank.' Adultery would be fiercely punished by death (Harkness, 1931:131). It is a

worse offence than robbery. For the married, the imprisonment for nine days and the payment are according to the seriousness of the offence. This was categorized as a leniency.

As in other lawful social institutions, vocation in family life admits honour and submission to each other in love. “God has bound us so strongly to each other, that no man ought to endeavour to avoid subjection; and where love reigns, mutual services will be rendered.... It is highly proper that all should be exhorted to be subject to each other in their turn” (*Comm.Eph.5:21*).

Marriage involves the lapse of status, a man must leave his parents and cleave with his wife as Calvin says, “If we should make it a point of conscience not to separate a father from his son, it is a still greater wickedness to dissolve the bond which God has preferred to all others” (*Comm. Gn.2:24*). Of course, this shift in relations will change their duties but, even in the new situation, marriage and family life constantly exist and keep becoming the “place” where each Christian undertakes his or her vocation.

From the above we can infer that, in Calvin’s ethics, it is clear that marriage is an institution constituted by God and each family member is called to undertake vocation in marriage and family life; the Christians are called to discharge our duties in accordance with God’s will. Like working, marriage and family life is lucrative to Christians who undertake their vocations for God’s glory and for their own benefit.

D. 2. Vocation and toil

Medieval Roman Catholic’s view of religious values, namely to gather material possession, is contradictory. On the one hand, they were escapists, negating world activities, such as trading, that might be the remnant of dualism in Platonism. Calvin scorned Papists’ disregard of working. “For Paul censures those lazy drones who lived by the sweat of others, while they contribute no service in common for aiding the human race. Of this sort are our monks and priests who are largely pampered by doing nothing, excepting that they chant in the temples, for the sake of preventing weariness” (*Comm. 2 Th.3:10*). On the other hand, as evidence in the case of “indulgences,” they conducted business by using religious sacred property; it was a sort of distortion that makes vocational boundary of the prelates and the laity absurd.

To explain the concept of vocation in the economic sphere, Calvin derived it from the witness of the Bible.

Calvin also faced a narrow-minded concept of cultivating God's creation. This concept is revealed in the Anabaptists, such as Jacob Hutter, who "prohibited possession of private property... [They] insisted that all vocation serve their ideal of reinstituting true apostolicity based on biblical models"(Gritsch, 1996:246).

God created humans in his image and this image adorned human dignity. Human dignity refers to dominance over all creatures. God appointed human beings as lords of the world, including animals, and this authority was not confined to Adam. It was also given to his posterity (*Comm. Gn.1:26*). God has provided everything in His creation, and human beings cultivate creation without pride as their works are their own. In faith, they give thanks to the Creator. "And therefore Paul teaches us that, in eating and drinking we always sin, unless faith be present (*Rm.14:23*). Thus we are instructed to seek from God alone whatever is necessary for us, and in the very use of his gifts, we are to exercise ourselves in meditating on his goodness and paternal care" (*Comm. Gn.1:28*). The God who discharges human beings to work is holy; therefore, Christians must not treat working as secular. It is holy since God himself has instructed it. Furthermore, His believers must bear in mind that each work and occupation is designed by God. Aquinas's understanding of the ranking system (hierarchy) in life in which *vita activa* is less important than *vita contemplativa* (Aquinas, 1922:140) was disagreed by Calvin. Each work designed by God is equally valuable before Him. In interpreting Luke 10:42 Calvin states "There is a time to work, and a time to listen. Jesus faulted Martha not for working in general, but for working at the wrong time" (Hardy, 1990:55-56; Calvin, *Comm. Lk 10:42*).

Some people would say "the Bible teaches that work is imposed by God upon mankind as a punishment for sin, that it represents the legacy of the curse of Adam" (Richardson, 1958:25). Human sinfulness, in fact, has influenced his or her way of executing the work. Burdens of sin penetrate every aspect of human life including working. Perversion that corrupts God's image proceeds from sin. The dignity of human beings cultivating the world, which formerly emerged from God's image, is now combined and tainted with sin. Calvin explains the situation that differentiates between before the Fall and after the Fall: "before the fall, the state of the world was a most fair and delightful mirror of the divine favour and paternal indulgence towards

man. Now, in all the elements we perceive that we are cursed.” And after the fall, human delight changed to servile work (*Comm.Gn.3:17*). Labour is accompanied by “sweat,” understood as hard labour, full of fatigue and weariness (*Comm.Gn.3:19*)

Despite this curse and punishment due to human sin, Calvin claims that it cannot constrain humans to work hard. In his interpretation of Gen 2:15, Calvin clearly and explicitly exhorts his readers that working is necessary and harshly scorns indolence and idleness. Working hard is a mandate of God and instructed even before human beings lapsed into sin. Working hard is lucrative while idleness is unprofitable, “...that the earth was given to man, with this condition, that he should occupy himself in its cultivation. Whence it follows that men were created to employ themselves in some work, and not to lie down in inactivity and idleness. This labour, truly, was pleasant, and full of delight, entirely exempt from all trouble and weariness; since however God ordained that man should be exercised in the culture of the ground, he condemned in his person, all indolent repose. Wherefore, nothing is more contrary to the order of nature, than to consume life in eating, drinking, and sleeping, while in the meantime we propose nothing to ourselves to do... Moreover, that this economy, and this diligence, with respect to those good things which God has given us to enjoy, may flourish among us; let every one regard himself as the steward of God in all things which he possesses. Then he will neither conduct himself dissolutely, nor corrupt by abuse those things which God requires to be preserved” (*Comm. Gn.2:15*).

It is interesting to note that Calvin places this mandate in the ethical point of view. Human subjection over creature must be done in obedience to God and the way to examine it is whether he or she would eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, meaning to live under God’s authority or to alienate from God (*Comm. Gn. 2:16*).

Even though working is a mandate of God, human beings must not be proud by saying that every possession is merely his or her endeavour. Psalm 17:1 confirms that God beats down and puts shame on those who despise Him, lest God blesses human proceedings and all human endeavours are in vain. “He does not, however, reject the labour, the enterprises, or the counsels of men; for it is a praiseworthy virtue diligently to discharge the duties of our office. It is not the will of the Lord that we should be like blocks of wood, or that we should keep our arms folded without doing anything; but that we should apply to use all the talents and advantages which he has

conferred upon us“ (*Comm.Ps.127:1*). The word “house” in this verse has a broader meaning e.g. “the whole domestic order and government of a family.” While the word “city” “denotes not only the buildings or enclosure of the walls, but also the general state of the whole commonwealth. Yet the words “builder” and “keeper” refer to “labour, foresight, and skill men may employ in maintaining a family, or in preserving a city” (*Comm. Ps.127:1*). Human beings must work humbly because all successes derive from God. “The verb עָמַל (*amal*),¹⁶ which we have translated to labour, signifies not only to employ one’s self in something or other, but also to busy one’s self even to lassitude and distress” (*Comm.Ps.127:1*).

Laziness is the enemy of Christians while toiling is the opportunity to execute vocation. “It is not, therefore, the design of the Prophet to encourage men to give way to sloth, so that they should think upon nothing all their life long, but fall asleep and abandon themselves to idleness” (*Comm.Ps.127:2*). Laziness and idleness jeopardize social order. In Genevan society, Calvin disallowed begging. Those who begged in front of the church and behaved in an unworthy manner were caught (Dankbaar, 1967:79). Indolence and idleness are expressions of “ἀταξία” (disorder). Inactivity or *vita contemplativa* defies God’s vocation bestowed upon human beings. Neglecting to achieve one’s duty hampers another person’s benefit. Drones bother other people’s right to enjoy their pleasures. Christianity regards individual hard workers but disregards rugged individualism. “This, also, is worthy to be noticed, lest any one should take pleasure in exercising himself apart from a legitimate call from God: for God has distinguished in such a manner the life of men, in order that every one may lay himself out for the advantage of others” (*Comm. 2 Th. 3:5*). St. Paul himself a hard worker, admonishes that food should not be given to those who refuse to work. In this case, he has no purpose to approve niggardliness but waive the right of those who achieve their duties. To strengthen his approval of hard work and despising laziness, Calvin quotes Psalm 128:2 and Proverb 10:4 and continues, “it is certain that indolence and idleness are accursed of God” (*Comm. 2 Th.3:10*). Toil is indispensable for every Christian and is part of exercising obedience to Christ. Just like a husbandman who is obliged to work hard and at last harvest his labour, so does the Christian ethos. “The meaning therefore, is that husbandmen do not gather the fruit,

¹⁶ This Hebrew word is different from Arabic, Islamic meaning. In the theological scheme of Islamic moralism, it refers to the human work and endeavour, that is expecting reward after death.

till they have first toiled hard in the cultivation of the soil, by sowing and by other labours. And if husbandmen do not spare their toils, that one day they may obtain fruit, and if they patiently wait for the season of harvest; how much more unreasonable will it be for us to refuse the labours which Christ enjoins upon us, while he holds out so great a reward?" (*Comm. 2 Tm.2:6*).

Consistent with Calvin's concept of vocation that abounds in social institutions, so does working. Working has a broader sense in which it operates in social institutions. "For whoever aids the society of men by his industry, either by ruling his family, or by administering public or private affairs, or by counselling, or by teaching, or in any other way, is not to be reckoned among the idle" (*Comm.2 Th.3:10*).

Even though he encourages Christians to work hard, Calvin disregards the workaholic. Calvin understands "*For* thus will he give to his beloved one in sleep" in Ps.127:2 that "as if God nourished the slothfulness of his servants by his gentle treatment; the word 'sleep' does not imply slothfulness, but a placid labour" (*Comm.Ps.127:2*). Christians are between two poles, namely working hard and leisure. This statement, of course, fits to the idea that Christians are pilgrims in this present world (*Comm.Ps.128:1*). Therefore, Christians must not be greedy or covetous and lazy or niggardly when they live in this present world. As a pilgrim, a Christian must act in moderation between hard working, discipline, frugality and sobriety and treat the life in this present world as preparation for the next (Harkness 1931: 159,164). It is a *Contemptus mundi*: "The mind is never seriously excited to desire and meditate on future life, without having previously imbibed a concept of the present" (*Inst.III.9.1.2*; Harkness, 1931:164).

Due to the status of pilgrimage, therefore, extravagance and exaggerating the lust to live in this world is dangerous and harmful. Revelry and debauchery ought not to be done. Calvin says, "hence it follows that they who swallow them down without thinking of God are guilty of sacrilege, and profane of God's gifts. And this instruction is the more worthy of attention because we daily see a great part of the world feeding themselves like brute beasts" (Harkness, 1931: 166. See. *Comm. Jn.6:11*). Christians behaving as pilgrims must appreciate hard work, avoid idleness and respect the results of their work. Lavishness, wearing expensive cloth, gambling and useless, purposeless economic acts are prohibited. In this regard, Calvin

counselled God's flocks that "There are a great many people who prefer to endure hunger and thirst in their bodies in order to use their money on things which are of no use to them except for pomp and vanity" ¹⁷ (*Sermon* on Dt.22:5-8; Harkness, 1931: 166).

Abundance tempts human beings into worldly lust. In fact, economically speaking, human beings face scarcity. It intends, in part, to avoid distortion of living in abundance. In the context of working, scarcity is the impetus that compels human beings to cultivate this world. This instruction (Gn.1:28) is the basis for undertaking vocation. So, scarcity refers intention to the cultivation of God's creation. Humans must not submit to fate nor be foolishly passive. Behind scarcity, there is a motivation to work. In this way one avoids the temptation to be greedy, covetous and lazy. To comment on Calvin's judgment of abundance, Harkness mentions, "Calvin had a deep insight into the peril of prosperity. We cannot blame God for sending scarcity and want, he says, for when he sends us plenty we misuse these gifts. If there is abundance of wine, people get drunk and cannot be restrained—what is worse, they blaspheme the name of God" (Harkness, 1931:167). This is the reason, why we agree with the "theology of economic scarcity" that endorses Christian moderation. Christians should not be greedy nor participate in revelry and debauchery but be purposeful in driven work, not be sombre but sober, and not be lavish but frugal. This leads Christians to be humble before God. "Since this is our conduct in abundance, God has to change his policy and send us want to bring us to a true humility" (*Sermon* Dt. 28:46-50).

Like other vocations, working has its yokes. "He praised merchants for service to the community: they 'not only work hard but also expose themselves to many inconveniences and dangers'" (Bouwsma, 1988:198).

In conclusion, working is a vocation as long as it is understood as a holy instruction of God, a purposeful act to maintain social order, and a commitment to cooperate with each other. There is also a sense that laziness is the enemy of Christians, yet workaholic is a sickness of immoderate Christians. All this is done in obedience to God, who discharges this vocation in preparation for the next life with God.

¹⁷ This expression is similar to Minahasan cynical maxim "Biar kalah nasi asal jangan kalah aksi" meaning 'exaggeratingly thrifty for the sake of high performance'

D. 3. Vocation in politics

Before explaining the significance of Christian vocation in political life, it is necessary to briefly explain what Calvin understood in his theology by politics as institution.

Anabaptists assume that a Christian might discharge his or her responsibility in political life as long as it relates to the concern of the spiritual realm. A Christian has freedom in Christ; therefore, one submits to Christ alone and neglects submission to the civil government (*Inst.IV.20*). Anabaptists tend to be spiritualists and are prone to be pacifists and escapists in social and political life. As long as it does not concern the improvement of Christian spirituality, the Anabaptists are not involved in social activities. And this view, for Calvin, rejects the holy office in political sphere (Balke, 1981:261). Calvin continues, “All shepherds and labourers of the earth, all handcrafters and such like ought to think their estate holy and that it hindereth them nothing, touching Christian perfection....” (Balke, 1981:261). In addition, Calvin states “There are indeed always some tumultuous spirits who believe that the kingdom of Christ cannot be sufficiently elevated, unless all earthly powers be abolished, and that they cannot enjoy the liberty given by him, except they shake off every yoke of human subjection” (*Comm.Rm.13:1*). The Anabaptists and the Hutterites view all vocations “to be witnesses to Christ, who, in their judgment, forbids any involvement in secular occupations serving a politicized Christendom” (Gritsch, 1996:246). The reason was to protect a pure church from worldliness. Meanwhile medieval Roman Catholicism insisted on the importance of prelates to expropriate civil government and eliminate the distinction between church and world government. This obscures the meaning of vocation in political life (see previous chapter on Luther and political life, chapter I. C.10).

To be sure and consistent with his concept of vocation in other social institutions, Calvin claims that every Christian is called to discharge his or her social political responsibility, including yokes of submission, to civil government. As pilgrims in this transient world, Christians must obey the prevailing laws in society. Because the tasks of civil government are “to cherish and support the external worship of God, to preserve the pure doctrine of religion, to defend the constitution of the Church, to regulate our lives in a manner requisite for society of men, to form our

manners to civil justice, to promote our concord with each other, and to establish general peace and tranquillity” (*Inst.*IV.20.2). The government is responsible for the well-being of the people and punishes the evildoers. “Now, the utility is this, — that the Lord has designed in this way to provide for the tranquillity of the good, and to restrain the waywardness of the wicked” (*Comm.* Rm.13:3).

To interpret St. Paul’s conviction that governors and magistrates are the ministers of God, Calvin states, “*Magistrates* may hence learn what their vocation is, for they are not to rule for their own interest, but for the public good; nor are they endowed with unbridled power, but what is restricted to the well-being of their subjects; in short, they are responsible to God and to men in the exercise of their power” (*Comm.* Rm.3:4). This is a sort of Christian political philosophy that Calvin points out to critically comment upon those who doubt the role of the government (that is the escapists e.g. the Anabaptists) in social life. In Calvin’s conviction, like the social institutions of marriage and working, accordingly, God constituted political institution. “The reason why we ought to be subject to magistrates is, because they are constituted by God’s ordination” (*Comm.* Rm.3:1). But we must notice that this does not recommend a blind submission. Instead, subjection with a condition “For since it pleases God thus to govern the world, he who attempts to invert the order of God, and thus to resist God himself, despises his power....” (*Comm.* Rm.13:1). In this light, government may use guns to protect the good people and to abolish evil ones. In this regard, the vocation of government is holy and the believers of Christ are called to show God’s security in social and political life (Cottrett, 2000: 276). Therefore, Calvin sternly claims, “to condemn the public sword, which God has ordained for our protection, is to blaspheme against God himself” (Calvin, *Briève instruction* OC.7, col.77 quoted in Cottrett, 2000:276).

The risk of discharging vocations is that every Christian in political life, with respect to obedience towards civil governments, must submit critically his or her activities under their power. “For though tyrannies and unjust exercise of power, as they are full of disorder, (ἀταξία) are not an ordained government; yet the right of government is ordained by God for the well-being of mankind” (*Comm.* Rm.13:1). Even in an unpleasant situation in which burden and suffering is inflicted upon Christians, “Even if we lived under Turks, tyrants or deadly enemies of the gospel it

would still be incumbent upon us to be subject to them. Why? Because it is the good pleasure of God” (CR 53,557; 27,455; 20,488; 45.602 quoted by Niesel, 1956:239).

Christians are aware that achieving vocation in political life sometimes crosses the boundary of the community of Saints, the Church and interaction with non-Christians. This means that achieving the Christian tasks involves a broader social and global interaction.

We can conclude that political and social responsibilities are incumbent upon Christians. It is an essential ingredient of God’s call to impart God’s salvation in political life. It is crucial, demanding and challenging but unavoidable in Christian life. The reason is that God instituted political institutions. The tasks of political institutions are to bring peace, social harmony, to protect the good people and to punish the evildoers, to protect the Church to undertake her tasks. Governors are called to undertake vocation to *serve God* and not for themselves; they are to *serve people for their good, security and wealth*. Even though governors are cruel, tyrants, and heathens, impinging upon this reason, Christians unavoidably submit under political authority. Moreover, Christians are called to observe the prevailing law of the state. In other words, an attempt to be a law-abiding citizen is essentially a component of undertaking vocation. By doing this, even in a hard situation, God confirms them with his sure election, which consoles them to persistently undertake vocations incumbent upon them.

E. Vocation in Luther and Calvin

Before concluding it is necessary to explain the similarities and dissimilarities on how Luther and Calvin view Christian vocation. How far Luther influenced Calvin and what are the distinctions among them.

For Luther, as it was inherited from medieval theology, God was considered a Judge, a threatening omnipotent. Meanwhile in Christ, there is love, by which the believers have eternal life. How Christians have salvation in Christ is experienced in *simul iustus et peccator* i.e. God is justifying human beings from their sinfulness and simultaneously believers experience God’s redemption. Christians experience it daily by confronting God’s salvation and by carrying the cross. Sin still exists and God’s freely given redemption is in Christian believers. Because of sinfulness, God provides

salvation. And salvation is for the sinful. Just as Christ pursued this path, so do the Christians and by following Christ the mystical union of believers with Christ is achieved. In this sense vocation is fulfilled by the believers. In other words, undertaking vocation “vertically” is achieving *simul iustus et peccator*. In this sense the meaning of cross is relied upon by the Christians. The Christian is already justified but also he or she is struggling with sin. The way the Christian endeavours to win over the sin is an expression of bearing the cross. This is the mystical aspect of vocation. The other one is to undertake vocation, to love one’s neighbours. One is called to work hard, to live in a Christian family and political life and through this a Christian is called to provide the need of others. Thereby we see that in Luther there are two kinds of fulfilling vocation, mystical and social. The former is vertical mystical union with Christ and therefore quietism and this is a residual of mediaeval monasticism and in certain degree this is followed by Lutheranism, and the latter is social responsibility of a Christian to love others by cultivating God’s creation for the benefit of others.

Vocation in Luther is understood in his theology and especially his Christology. That is the concept of justification by faith brings about consequence in Luther’s ecclesiology i.e. egalitarianism as implied in the doctrine of priesthood of believers.

In Calvin God is sovereign, almighty and absolute. Merciful God is also the source of law and the law-giver therefore He must be absolute and all His creation submitted to him. This affects the breadth and the extent of vocation. God is omnificent, the Creator who controls and rules everything (*Providentia Dei*), thereby vocation covers everything. Vocation embraces cosmology (Kuyper, 1961:22). Vocation itself is not confined to the works, in the modern sense, of believers. Human cultivating of the creation of God is human participation in maintaining His creation.

Christ is seen as a manifestation of absolute power of God. His suffering is presented as a realization of absolute sovereignty of God and it consequently flows ecclesiologically in Calvin’s teaching of predestination. Some are elected and the rest are damned. Predestination is the manifestation of believers’ election and damnation of the unbelievers which is firmly predestined by God as His absolute sovereignty. Being a Christian believer is a proof of God’s election and this predestination is also a work of the Holy Spirit.

In Calvin, vocation is related to God's sovereignty and predestination. God powerfully and magnificently created His creation. This creation must be cultivated in accordance with His rule and His will. Cultivating this world is part of His will and is conducted in *lex naturalis* such as ministries in domestic life, government and working. This includes sex as a gift from God. Man and wife are mutually and exclusively serving each other. This has been ignored by medieval monasticism. Yet, the tasks of parents and children, governors and ordinary people must be seen as Christian vocation. Undertaking these kinds of work, individually, is participation in God's work in this present world; therefore, they are in themselves divine tasks. This is ignored by the dualistic theology of the Roman Catholic.

The difference between Luther and Calvin lies in the way each views God and its consequences in ethics. Luther, who was previously a monk, viewed God as a merciful God. He also kept the monastic view of the mystical union that eventually holds on quietism. However, Luther significantly emphasized that vocation is undertaken in social relationship therefore love of the neighbour is a part of his understanding of vocation and the love of neighbours. While Calvin, who previously was a jurist, views God in His absolute sovereignty and believers have no other choice but to accept God's sovereignty and predestination- in this case God's election for the Christians. This acceptance is not passive, as in certain degree in Luther's mystical union. Luther, in his mystical union with Christ, seems to be quietist while Calvin is more progressivist. Calvin states, "No one will travel so badly as not daily to make *some degree of progress*" (*Inst.* III.6.5. Translation of Henry Beveridge. My italics). This is perhaps the consequence of each previous profession; the former was a monk who spent much time in contemplation while the latter was a jurist who was eager to prosecute the law in social life. For Calvin, Christian acceptance of God's predestination and election is utterly pursued by working hard and by continually sanctifying their lives in the social institutions of marriage and family, political activities and economic endeavours. Luther broke away from the way in which Roman Catholics confine vocation in monastic life. He firmly claims that to respond to God's grace, the Christian must undertake vocation remaining in the station where he or she is called (*in vocatione*). However, Calvin moves forward. In Calvin, through callings (*per vocationem*), the Christians cultivate the world; through Christian

moderation, perseverance, and struggle to show God's will and purpose (Fullerton, 1973:15, 23).¹⁸ Yet, we see that Luther used dialectical approach to understand vocation. This is approved in the way he explains God as judge and merciful and two kinds of kingdom, the kingdom of God and earthly kingdom, in which faith belongs to the kingdom of God while vocation belongs to and prevails only in earthly kingdom. Calvin used a progressive approach. He views this present world as preparation for living in the next world. Therefore working hard, for example, is a means for glorifying God; it is substantially a divine task. In undertaking vocation the Christians seriously discipline themselves with moderation and perseverance.

In the same way, Weber has demonstrated, with his ideal-type method that Puritans in the USA fulfilled Christian vocation as a means of demonstrating God's election and glorifying God (1976). Is Weber's thesis applicable to the reformed Christian believers in the postmodern era? Is Weber's thesis completely right? Is Calvin's concept of vocation ably applied by the GMIM church members in general and migrant workers in particular? Completely or partially? To what extent do the reformed doctrines of GMIM church affect GMIM church member migrant workers? To what extent the Christians in Reformed traditions faithfully apply this teaching will be the task and purpose of field research in the chapter IV.

F. Conclusion

Vocation is better viewed from Calvin's wider theology, especially its basis in providence of God, predestination and sovereignty of God.

Through the doctrine of the providence of God, Calvin affirms that vocation is undertaken within God's perpetual maintenance of His creation, and he rejects those who view vocation as outside the sovereignty of God, e.g. the Deists, Agnostics and Atheists. Predestination, especially the election of Christians through Christ's sacrifice, is the prerogative of God and conducting vocation confirms that God elects believers.

¹⁸ Tawney states, "For Luther, ... the calling means normally that state of life in which the individual has been set by Heaven, against which it is impiety to rebel." To Calvin and his followers (Puritans), "They are to hammer out their salvation, not merely *in vocatione*, but *per vocationem*. The calling is not a condition in which the individual is born, but a strenuous and exacting enterprise, to be undertaken, indeed under the guidance of Providence, but to be chosen by each man for himself, with a deep sense of his solemn responsibilities" (1926:241). The latter is in keeping with Calvin's understanding of the dynamic of vocation (section C.3).

Vocation is the gift of God and confirms that believers in Christ are called to conduct God's will because they are elected by God; they are His chosen people. This fundamentally explains that God is the author of vocation and it does not exist by chance or is not given by society. Christian vocation, from a Christian point of view, is derived from God himself.

God calls His people in His sovereignty and, within the vocation, sanctification proceeds as a mysterious work of the Holy Spirit to the glory of God. Sanctification and regeneration occurs throughout one's life and embodies integrity and sacrifice holistically.

The problems imposed by Calvin to his "enemies" were that Roman Catholicism has reduced vocation into a single entity that is monastic life. They politicised spirituality, "churchified" the world and encroached the role of civil government. This obscures the boundaries of vocations, which afterwards brings about chaos. Meanwhile, Anabaptists reduced the realm of vocation into spiritualism. This kind of understanding of vocation entails neglecting works and obligatory participation of the Christians in political and economical life. Strict separation of the church and state based upon "perfection of the church" prohibits church members from being involved in political and economic tasks. Are political and economic duties not part of church ministry? Over-admiring the perfection of the church neglects social responsibility of the church ministry.

Vocation, for Calvin, is part of the duty and responsibility of the Christians in this present world. Vocation, *ipso facto*, is temporary in this transient world but essential preparation for the world to come. Since God is the author of vocation, Christians are called to undertake faithfully the duties assigned by God to them in this present world. These purposeful duties are God's instructions incumbent upon his believers. They are compulsory to undertake these vocations for God's glory. Executing vocations in family, economic and political life as the lawful modes of life in accordance with God's will; it necessitates struggles and faith responses. Sometimes, persecution and suffering are inflicted upon Christians as part of executing vocation. However, consolation is part of God's predestination and perseverance.

Vocation and the elements embedded in it such as respecting social hierarchy, keeping a clear boundary of each station, exist in the three social institutions (family,

economic and political spheres) and all this is interrelated. Vocation involves one's neighbours. This means that working hard and undertaking responsibility within family life and politics are expressions of Christians' love towards their neighbours.

Undertaking vocation is a critical domain in Christian ethics in which Christians are called to put forward God's will. This involves self-denial, bearing the cross and God's consolation of his perseverance. Despite these sufferings, Christians must not be idle, lazy, and passive or ignore superior people, governors, parents, lords, owners of company, etc. Undertaking vocation occurs in the unlimited work in social life. God assigns each Christian to execute his or her duties. In the view of social institutions, vocation is executed in the family life, politics and economics. It involves deep relationship between husband and wife, parents and children, magistrates and ordinary citizens, lords and servants. Due to human sins, it is undeniable that perversion threatens this relationship. Fear of Christ is the best solution for these inconvenient relations. Christians sometimes face awkward moments while executing vocation; but this should not let Christians ignore the existence of social institutions, the attitudes that might bring anarchy, disorder (ἀταξία).

From this stance, Christians are called to constantly undertake their vocations while expecting God's consolation.

Chapter III

POSTMODERNITY

A. Introduction

A.1. The necessity and purpose of depicting postmodernity

Vocation, from a Christian perspective, is a religious value, and it relates to the order of necessity that governs the decision-making process of every Christian. Its value is to encourage a Christian life: the value that stimulates Christians to undertake God's call reflects his or her Christian identity and Christian responsibility in the midst of the pluralism of values of the contemporary age.

To achieve this call one needs to analyse meticulously the *zeitgeist*, spirit of time, of the contemporary age. In this research, the *zeitgeist* refers to postmodernity. Therefore, this chapter explains the *zeitgeist* of the contemporary culture that pervades every sphere of society. This is necessary since the description of the present culture depicts the context in which Christians live out their vocation.

The researcher contends that a postmodern approach to contemporary society will help:

1. to explain the fundamental elements of contemporary culture in conjunction with the research population, namely migrant workers who are members of the GMIM church. The term postmodernism will be examined to help identify the contemporary social culture in which the church members seek to actualize their calling. The inquiry will uncover the result of the investigation that explains the reality of contemporary society, which is the *current context for understanding and applying theology*. The postmodern approach to contemporary society will also help to unveil the surface background of the mindset of the research population.
2. to provide a means of viewing contemporary social development pragmatically (Ritzer, 1998:132). Even though, there are inevitably two oppositional postmodernist groups treating this cultural reality, i.e., the protagonists (Lyotard, 1993; Baudrillard, 1981) and the antagonists

(Habermas, 1989; 3-15; Giddens, 1990:45-53), both are explaining the situation after and beyond modernity. It is unnecessary to become involved in a counterproductive debate. Instead, the task is to affirmatively know “the range of cultural objects, experiences and practices which theorists are adducing and labelling postmodern” (Featherstone, 1994:3).

3. theologians, church strategists, pastors, and those interested in the continual role of religion in contemporary cultures (as will be explained in chapter V), as to how the Christian faith precisely and relevantly expresses the essence of truth of faith in a contemporary culture of postmodernity.

Scrutinizing postmodernism is similar to plunging into the abyss of the mystery of rudimentary elements in the reality of a contemporary world. So wide is the topic that it is necessary for the researcher to clearly limit the discussion and prioritize what is relevant to the subject matter of the research. It is acknowledged that the arts, for example, is one of the domains of postmodernism. So, even when the researcher has to deal with postmodern art in this research, he will go into very little detail since this is beyond the capacity of the researcher. The material on postmodernism is selected on the basis of what is important for the focus of research only. In other words, this chapter *emphasizes* the postmodern elements intrinsic to this social philosophical movement: content and discontent; epistemological and cosmological aspects in social interaction; and relationship of work, vocation, religions with the postmodern condition. The description of postmodernism deals with the core philosophical elements of postmodernism: terminology, the social implication of postmodern ideas, the identification of postmodern ideas in politics, economics and family life, and the religious dimension of postmodernism. All these are related to the expression of Christian vocation.

A.2. The link between theology and postmodernity

Before continuing, it is necessary, for the sake of a logical analysis of the topic, to analyse how to link vocation in Christian theology and the social philosophical analysis of postmodernity. In other words, it is necessary to explain the link, from a scientific point of view, between Christian theology and postmodernity. The intent here is to map out the logic of the mind of the researcher and give a clear

“logical working frame of reference” as to how the Christian vocation is reasonably applicable in the contemporary age. This is the reason why the researcher sets out a reasonable relationship between Christian theology, and its place in philosophy, in general, and the philosophy of science, in particular. This shows that, to a certain degree, theology has a scientific dimension, and in turn, one can put theology in dialogue with philosophy and science and, therefore, link them (theology and social philosophy) in a scientific realm. From this stance, one can intelligibly do research by using the conjunction of scientific theology and postmodernity. So, the intention of the preliminary clarification of this chapter begins with the relationship of theology and philosophy and sociology, and how theology, to a certain degree, fits in with the laws of science.

Theology is the *logos* (word) about God. God pre-exists and is required before talking about the *logos*. This means that those who talk about God necessarily believe in God.¹ From a scientific perspective, it is impossible to investigate God.

Theologically speaking, God is the Creator and human beings are His creation (Gen.1-2). Therefore, God Himself cannot be the object of science and subsequently the existence of God is beyond human intelligibility. However, God intervenes in human history. His intervention is called the reality of God which includes providence and predestination (analysed in chapter II), God’s redemption and any other divine activities, which are present in the midst of human existence. This reality of God is absorbed rationally and sometimes is experienced irrationally.² This reality of God is always in dialogue with human beings. In other words, there are religious elements in human beings that enable them to keep contact with God. These religious elements and expressions might refer to the thinking, feeling, and behaviour of human beings. Scientifically speaking, scientists (psychology, sociology, politics, philosophy and other human sciences) can investigate this religious realm (Jongeneel, 1978:1-19): *the way people think, behave, and feel about God*. In this context of research, the way Christians think, behave, and feel about the call of God is incumbent upon them. In

¹ This is the standpoint and religious stance of the researcher of this thesis. In postmodern condition, which will be expounded on later, especially in postmodern pluralism (B.6.4) and the role and place of religions in postmodern era (B.7.2), this stance is recognized, i.a. without regard to the objections or disagreements of atheists or agnostics.

² It is impossible to eliminate irrationality in theology and religion. It is intrinsic to theology *per se*. For devout believers, God exists. An irrational dimension of theology is included in subjective practices of religious adherents. However, this realm is not the domain of scientific research. The object of research is confined to human reaction and experience.

this way, theology can be regarded as a science (Pannenberg, 1976:7-14,225-296).³ Theology's *ratio d'être* depends on this intelligibility. This is the epistemological root with which to conduct research in a theological realm. Comprehending theology as a science will avoid viewing it as a bizarre realm.

So far, it may be said that theology is the language of human beings, especially those who believe in God; theology is a human believer's language involving rationality and subsequently theology's rationality involving philosophical analysis. Thereby one can link the scientific research of theology and the social philosophical analysis of postmodernity. Once the researchers agree to accept theology, in part, as a science, he or she is aware of the "calling" to link "scientific" theology, as mentioned above, with postmodernity.

A.3. Postmodern sociological methods

The intention of this section is to show that the modern scientific methodology still applies in the *reality* of postmodernity (Ritzer, 1997:xvii). This section intends to explain the scientific (sociological) methodological principle used for doing empirical research of postmodernity in the minds of migrant workers of the GMIM church as will be explained in chapter IV.C. This needs further explanation. Bauman (1992) and Featherstone (1994) espouse the sociology of postmodernity rather than the postmodern sociology.

Firstly, to use postmodernity here is in favour of scientifically confirmed methodology. Postmodernism, as will be explained later in the following section (terminology of postmodern), refers to a philosophical movement investigating contemporary society, while postmodernity is the quality of the postmodern culture. As will be explained later, postmodern art has its own conflict of definitions and its models have a paradoxical, ironic, incoherent, intertextual and have a multiphrenic quality (Featherstone, 1994:33). This is the reason why is correct to use postmodernity and not postmodernism, because the problem of methodology is consequently inherent in postmodernism itself. If postmodernism adheres to the anti-science then it defies scientific methodology such as objectivism. Rosenau observes,

³ The researcher disagrees with Pannenberg (1976:297-300) who treats God as the Object of Theology. The existence of God *per se* cannot be verified objectively by human reason. His acts in history as grasped, thought of and experienced by human beings, which in turn are part of the human religious realm, are proportionally the object of theology as a science.

“Post-modern methodology is post-positivist or anti-positivist. As substitutes for the scientific method the affirmative postmodernists look to feelings and personal experience...the sceptical post-modernists look to most of the substitutes for method because they argue we can never really know anything” (Rosenau, 1993:117; Weiss & Wesley⁴). Postmodernists are suspicious of authoritative definitions and singular narratives of any trajectory of events. Postmodern attacks on ethnography, for instance, are based on the belief that there is no true objectivity. Scientific method, in postmodernism, is not possible. Therefore, doing field research (chapter IV) itself denies postmodern methodology because it attacks the objectivity of the scientific narrative.

Featherstone, when investigating scientific objectivity in relation to postmodernity and sociology, insists that it is scientifically more legitimate to use a sociology of postmodernity (postmodern culture) rather than a postmodern sociology. The reason is that the latter implies an internal attack against sociology; in this case, postmodernism disregards one of the metanarratives of the Enlightenment, e.g. science (1994:9, 32). Thus, a sociology of postmodernity or a sociology of postmodern culture investigates the social-cultural phenomena of postmodernity, such as the impact of telecommunication upon society; the way people behave and interact with one another, and how pluralism prevails in postmodern society and shapes and challenges each social group to mutually interact and cooperate, etc. Postmodernity refers to the incipient or actual dissolution of those social forms associated with modernity – as the latter implies “the progressive economic and administrative rationalization and differentiation of the social world” (Sarup, 1993); this means that postmodernity refers to the social reality that supersedes modernity. Postmodern art can help us to transfigure what social reality is, such as pastiche, difference, pluralism and relativism. This is an actuality that pervades the contemporary, current reality of society. It is in the current human mind, be it conscious or not. Therefore, it is the contemporary culture. Thus, the explanation of postmodernity in this research is intended to refer to the empirical basis of the focus of research.⁵

⁴ Weiss & Wesley, *Postmodernism and Its critics. Anthropological theories: A Guide prepared by students for students*. Internet website: <http://www.tenhor.as.ua.edu>

⁵ At the academic level, theology as a “science” can be put into dialogue with postmodernity. Section B5 (Postmodern philosophical conjuncts) intends to describe philosophically the reality of contemporary culture.

Yet, the opinion of Bauman, an authority on postmodernity in the sociological perspective (1992), on this subject matter, should be noted, especially his concept of whether to use a postmodern sociology or a sociology of postmodernity. Firstly, Bauman describes the role of intellectuals, as developed by Gramsci (1957). He emphasizes the role of intellectuals, especially on the domain of establishing a sociology of postmodernity. The legislators, interpreters of reality, and the intellectuals, decide how to perceive social reality scientifically (Bauman, 1987).

In the shift from modernity to postmodernity, the roles of intellectuals change. He mentions that postmodernity is absurd in definition but real in experience and social facts. About postmodern sociology, Bauman states “I suggest that a sociology bent on the continuation of *modern* concerns under *postmodern* conditions would be distinguished not by new procedures and purposes of sociological work, as other postmodern strategies suggest, but by a new *object* of investigation” (1992:11). From a sociological methodology point of view, this statement opposes Lyotard’s thesis (1986) of the incredulity of metanarratives. The object, i.e., reality has been changed; it recognizably shifts from modern to postmodern, from material production to service and information. From the content and form point of view the postmodern emphasis is on the consumer society. However, the methodological tool used is still the same as that of modern sciences. “In other words, this strategy points toward a sociology of postmodernity, rather than a postmodern sociology” (Bauman, 1992:11).

This is not by accident. The contention that a postmodern sociology cannot be used is clear, since postmodernism itself rejects metanarratives, while using a sociology of postmodernity means that the methodology is still the same as that of modern sciences, while the object of research is the shifting from modernity to postmodernity, and postmodernity can be identified in i.a. postmodern media, information technology and consumer society.

B. Postmodern investigation

This section describes the terminology of postmodernity and then proceeds to the different epistemologies that view the postmodern reality. The description continues with the philosophical movements that, to a certain degree, help to generate

postmodernism. To deepen the understanding of postmodernity, it is necessary to depict the characteristics of postmodernity which intend to explicate the distinctiveness of postmodernity. Before summarizing the subject in question in this chapter, topics like the division of labour and the place and role of religion will be described because of their immediate significance regarding migrant workers (chapter IV) and Christian vocation (chapters I and II).

B.1. Terminology

The prefix “post” as used in postmodernity has two meanings. Firstly, it can mean “break with,” or “rupture with” and secondly, it refers to that which “comes after”, “subsequent to”, “later than” and/ or “continuation of”. Thus this means that “post” in postmodernity refers to a break with modernism and also indicates it supersedes modernism and a subsequence to modernism.

Postmodernism is a term that is disputable and controversial in philosophy, sociology, arts, anthropology and also in theology (Smart, 1993:11). Some are sceptical about it, as can be seen from Hal Foster’s questions, “Does it [postmodernism] exist at all and, if so, what does it mean? Is it a concept or a practice, a matter of local style or a whole new period or economic phase? What are its forms, effects, place? How are we to make its advent? Are we truly beyond the modern, truly in (say) a postindustrial age?” (Foster, 1989:1). These questions indicate how controversial the meaning of postmodernism.

The first meaning of the prefix “post” is “break with” or “rupture with” modernism. Featherstone, for example, talks about postmodernism as “... a negation of the modern, a perceived abandonment, a break with or shift away from the definitive features of the modern....” (1994:3). This meaning applies to a movement which is anti-modernist, as demonstrated in Jean Baudrillard’s (1983) philosophy of communication. One of the leading postmodern thinkers, Jacques François Lyotard, is included in this movement. Lyotard, who insists on the distinctiveness of postmodernity, claims that the prefix “post” in postmodernity refers to the critics of the failure of modernity, of which the ethnocide in Auschwitz is a prime example, therefore, recommends the abandonment of modernity (1993:75-80). The concept criticizes any horizon of universality, universalization, or general emancipation, idea

of progress in humanity and emancipation of humanity. Thus, “the ‘post’ of ‘postmodern’ does not signify a movement of *comeback*, *flashback*, or *feedback*, that is, it is not a movement of repetition but a procedure in ‘ana-’: a procedure of analysis, anamnesis, anagogy, and anamorphosis that elaborates an ‘initial forgetting’” (Lyotard, 1993:80). It will be seen later that he insists postmodernity is a concept that is quite different from modernity. Modernity is obsolete due to its limits, therefore he claims that postmodernity is incredulous towards “the Enlightenment meta/grand narratives” (Lyotard, 1986: xxiv). Lyotard states, “The grand narrative has lost its credibility, regardless of what mode of unification it uses, regardless of whether it is a speculative narrative or a narrative of emancipation” (1986:37). Baudrillard and Lyotard might be called “radical postmodernists.”

The second meaning of the prefix “post,” is “subsequent to,” “later than” and/or “continuation of” and this refers to a number of problems which are subsequent to, or later than modernism. Therefore, postmodernism thus has been built upon antagonism to, and yet a reform of, modernism. In this research, this is called “after-modern postmodernism.” Fredric Jameson’s *Late Capitalism* (1991) and David Harvey’s *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989) elucidate this second meaning.

In this research, the term postmodern deals with all phenomena of the contemporary age. We will use postmodern, postmodernism, postmodernity, and postmodernization interchangeably. Note Ihab Hassan’s definition of postmodern.⁶ In this research the term *postmodernism* refers to a cultural, philosophical movement, and postmodernity to a geopolitical realm. Postmodernism tries to explicate the philosophical roots behind the thoughts analysing the reality of contemporary society. *Postmodernity* explains the cultural, social, economical phenomena and identify them

⁶ *Postmodernism* refers to “the cultural sphere, especially literature, philosophy, and the various arts, including architecture... (it is) the *cultural phenomenon* applied to affluent, high-tech, consumer, media-driven societies.” *Postmodernity* refers to “postcolonialism, features globalization and localization, conjoined in erratic, often lethal, ways...(it is) the inclusive *geopolitical process* which refers to an interactive, planetary phenomenon wherein tribalism and imperialism, myth and technology, margins and centers –these terms are not parallel—play out their conflictual energies, often on the Internet.” (My italics). Ihab Hassan. *From Postmodernism to Postmodernity: the Local/Global Context* http://www.ihabhassan.com/postmodernism_to_postmodernity.htm Accessed on August 28, 2003

in the contemporary society, while *postmodernization* mainly describes the processes that occur in the politics, economics, organizations and cultures in contemporary society (Crook, et. al., 1994), and, to a certain degree, in globalization (Waters, 1996).

B.2. Different views of postmodern reality

Is postmodernity a concept or a fact? To answer this question involves epistemological approaches toward reality. This section briefly explains how postmodernists have different views on postmodernism as a cultural phenomenon. The researcher argues that the richness of differences in pluralism of thought will positively strengthen the theories of postmodernity.

B.2.1. Postmodernism is an attitude of mind

Having analysed Kant's view of *Aufklärung* as a releasing process from 'immaturity' that leads people to a blind and foolish obedience, Foucault claims that modernity is an attitude rather than a period in history. Foucault continues, "by 'attitude,' I mean a mode of relating to contemporary reality; a voluntary choice made by certain people; in the end, a way of thinking and feeling; a way, too, of acting and behaving that at one and the same time marks a relation of belonging and presents itself as a task...an ethos" (Rabinow, ed., 1984:32-50; Waugh, ed., 1992:100).

Some postmodernists hold a similar view. The prefix "post" of postmodernity to them does not refer to "sequentiality" but to an attitude of mind or a view of reality. Bauman, for example, states, "'post' not in the 'chronological' sense (not in the sense of displacing and replacing modernity, of being born only at the moment when modernity ends or fades away, of rendering the modern view impossible once it comes into its own), but in the sense of implying (in the form of conclusion, or mere premonition) that the long and earnest effort of modernity has been misguided,...." (1993:10).

Hassan, who admires pluralism in postmodernity, claims that postmodernism avoids categorical and linear periodization. Postmodernism disregards single history and espouses polychronic history. It is not a period, as a temporal, chronological, or diachronic construct; instead, it functions as a theoretical, phenomenological, or

synchronic category. It is an interpretive category, a hermeneutical tool. It is a way we view the world, history, reality, and ourselves (Hassan, 2003). From these assertions, it is obvious that these postmodernists constitute their epistemological arguments to hold postmodernism as a way of viewing reality.

B.2.2. “Historical postmodernism”

Some postmodernists, conversely, view postmodern as a historical period. Charles Jenks, for example, claims that the symbolic end of modernism and the beginning of postmodernism started on 3.32 p.m. 15 July 1972 when the Pruitt-Igoe housing development in St Louis was deemed an uninhabitable environment for low-income people and was dynamited and demolished (Veith, Jr.1994:39; Harvey, 1989:39). It is a periodical concept of historicism.

If the term modern (Latin: *modernus*) began to be used in the 5th century to differentiate Christianity from paganism (Turner, 1995:3; Foster, 1989:3), the term modernism is used to reject traditional, non-scientific, irrational things. Modernism claims the discontinuity from traditional, archaic, primitive thought. Kant claims that modernism releases humanity from immaturity (Waugh, 1992:97). Despite its controversy, postmodernism still upholds some of the truths of modernism, so it is not clear whether it makes a clean break with modernism. This should be noted since the question arises whether postmodernism breaks totally from modernism or, to certain degree, still holds modern beliefs.

Bryan Turner (1995:1), who analyzes ‘periodization and politics in the postmodern’, observes that talking about postmodernity goes to the *fin de siècle* (“the end of an age”) crisis. The historical evidences of progressive politics such as feminism, and multicultural and ecological movements reflect the experience of major and traumatic crises of contemporary culture and also hint at the presence of postmodernism and the waning of modernity. In addition, the intensity of telecommunication in the lives of people facilitates the coming of postmodernity.

David Harvey tends to view postmodernity as historical rather than attitudinal since he links with the ephemerality of flow of capital and commodities, rapid production and consumption of signs and symbol. Cultural, political, legal, and ideological values are mixed in with capital flow, profit taking, etc. (1989: 344). In

this view, postmodernity is seen as something inseparable from capitalism, or late capitalism. Late capitalism emphasizes consumer culture (see, section on postmodernity and consumer society in this chapter) and, to a certain degree, postmodernism coupled with late capitalism, as demonstrated by Jameson's and Harvey's analyses. This view can be categorized as "after-modern postmodernism."

B.2.3. Postmodernism is a cultural change

Some postmodernists view postmodernism as a shift in human culture. Studying phenomena of change philosophically and its implication sociologically in human sociality is an interesting academic pursuit. As can be seen in reality, people try to deny the reality of change. However, it is intrinsic to human existence (Lauer, 1989:1-5).

About twenty-five centuries ago, in Greece, the birthplace of occidental philosophy, Heraclitus spoke of change. According to him one would not find permanence because it is an illusion of sense. All things have their opposites; death was potential in life. Every thing is in the state of flux. He says $\text{B}\zeta<9\forall \quad \prod\Xi4 \quad 6\forall\emptyset$
 $\Downarrow*,< \mu\Xi<,4$ meaning, "every thing is flowing away, and nothing is permanent." You cannot step twice into the same river; for fresh water is ever flowing in upon you. The sun is new every day. He continues by saying that fire, the $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$, is the basic matter of the universe. Fire is the soul of man and universe. Only logos and reason can keep everything in order (Flew, 1984:145; Bridgewater & Sherwood, 1950:885; Russell, 1965:58-60; Bertens, 1990:43-45).

Thus, change is the essence of reality. The phenomenon of change penetrates all reality. It is seen through natural phenomena as well as human interaction with the environment and with society. This constructive inference asserts that man and human society could not escape from the reality of change.

The researcher contends that Alvin Toffler (1981), a social futurologist, proposed in his thesis that super-industrialized society, can be labelled as postmodernist. Similar to Daniel Bell (1999), Toffler wrote his predictions after the 1970s when social life began to be influenced by the information technologies that pervade society. In his *The Third Wave* (1982), Toffler divides human civilization into three waves, firstly, agricultural phase, secondly, an industrial phase and thirdly,

a super-industrial phase which began at the 1980s and is perhaps still going on. In *Future Shock* (1981), he claims that the future of humankind in a super-industrialized society is characterized by rapid change. Change is a process in which the future will come to us. The change is not merely seen in historical perspectives but from the points of life that stimulate individuals to experience it. That kind of change is an elemental force.

The change is characterized by the extinction of permanence, and this transient life is marked by adventure, modular humans, adhocracy organization, kinetic information and extraordinary shifts of application of technology, etc. These characteristics are recognized and a part of reality. Technology is the machine and knowledge is its fuel. Technology determines the change and the change itself impacts upon human life (Toffler, 1981).

Toffler claims that in the 1970s, about 75% of humankind lived a pre-modern way of life and about 25% were living in modern settings. At that time, about 2 or 3 % of the world population had become involved in super-industrialization (1981:38). The use and understanding of time distinctively differentiate the future from the present.⁷ Most people who live in “third world countries” still live a pre-modern setting: life lived in conjunction with the cyclical rhythm of naturalism that constitutes a “rubber hour” (flexible) mode and in turn, determines the Eastern people’s concept

⁷ Perhaps what Toffler claims, compare to the fastest improvement of media technology in the 21st century must be different. However let us take heed what Toffler (1981) forecasts when he points out five basic components determining the situation of the future.

1. Things and merchandise are held and used impermanently. Tissue, plastic mugs and plates, houses, apartments, cars, taxis, modelling and fashion are used temporarily. The future society is called a “throw-away society.”
2. Space limitations no longer shackle human activities. On the contrary, we determine the space. This is called horizontal mobility. The same person could travel from Jakarta to Singapore, Japan and Hong Kong in the same day.
3. Modular man is a man confined not by a long-term traditional relationship as seen in the familial life of the village. The characteristic of a social relationship is accidental meeting. Encounters in the office, bus, and “hurry up welcome” are the characteristics of the super-industrial society.
4. The organization of the future is not bureaucracy but adhocracy that is an organizational system constituted temporarily due to the urgent need of a situation.
5. Kinetic information will have power over the man of the future. Information bargains with the kinetic image. People must adapt themselves to this sort of information, otherwise the thought and behaviour will be ineffective and out of date. Those who have information will have power and control. Lack of kinetic information means one is willing to be submissive and to be organized. In this context, Naisbitt says “In our new information society, the time orientation is to the future....We must now learn from the present how to anticipate the future. When we can do that, we will understand that a trend is not destiny, we will be able to learn from the future the way we have been learning from the past” (1984:9).

of working time. The latter becomes the ‘ghost’ frightening Eastern people when facing Western punctuality and the acceleration of the pace of change.

People, inevitably, live in the flux of change. It will be seen, for example, in the concept of difference in Derrida’s deconstructionism (See section postmodernism and poststructuralism in this chapter.B.5.1). Postmodernity and perpetual change, in deconstructionism, are inseparable from one another. Deconstructionism views the text itself as having ‘its own life.’ Readers have any number of interpretations and can change them at times. Deconstructionism, which is identical to poststructuralism, sets aside the role of the author of the text and lets the interpreters view it differently in time and space. The French word “différance” meaning different in space and defer in time, is ineffable and unnameable (Critchley, 1992:35-41).⁸ In deconstructionism, the interpretation itself is in flux like the “ebb and flow of the ocean” (cf. van Rensburg, 1999:14). This notion, of course, strengthens the flow of information in the time-space compression of globalization and, in turn, of postmodernity. There are many similarities and mutual underpinnings in the thesis of super-industrialism and postmodernization.

The important role of advanced media technology (see section on postmodernism and media in this chapter) has fundamentally changed contemporary society. A startling fact about postmodernism, says Harvey, is “its total acceptance of the ephemerality, fragmentation, [and] discontinuity” (1989:44). Therefore, Friedrich Jameson (*New Left Review*, 146. 1984) states that Postmodernism is not an epochal shift. “It is rather a cultural dominant, cultural logic of the third great stage of capitalism, late capitalism, which originates in the post World War II era” (Featherstone, ed., 1994:4).

Postmodern culture with the intensive support of advanced media technology cannot be separated from consumer culture (this will be explained in section B.6.2: postmodernity and consumer culture).

⁸ Critchley elucidates, “For Derrida, the thought of *différance* is most appropriate to thinking through the present epoch..... As is now well known, the verb *différer* has a double meaning in French, which is rendered into English by the separate verbs ‘to differ’ and ‘to defer.’ *Differer* in the sense of ‘to differ’ means that something is different from something else; it has a spatial sense, and refers to the non-identical relations pertaining between phenomena. *Différer* in the sense of ‘to defer’ means to postpone the completion of an act; it thus has a temporal meaning, conveyed by the verbs ‘to temporize’, ‘to delay’, or ‘to put off.’ The neologism *différance* refers polysemically to both these meanings, the temporal and the spatial....*Différance* is the playing movement that produces the differences constitutive of words and conceptuality” (1992:35-37).

From these three approaches to postmodernism, several things can be inferred. First, postmodernism is a philosophical concept that views reality. The concept of postmodernity is an embedded contradiction of modernity. It rejects the limit of modernity. It refers to the mode of thinking, which can be identified in the experience of social life. Secondly, there is a claim that postmodernity exists after modernity. The shift from modernity to postmodernity proves a historical sequence. The third claims that the shift from modernity to postmodernity involves cultural change. Rapid social change emerging from media technology has shaped the way people think and behave in contemporary society.

All these conceptual approaches to contemporary society, in essence, reject the principles of universalization and the homogenization of modernity. Postmodernity denotes a legitimate claim of 'truth' after-modernity; therefore, postmodernity is something different from modernity. It is disjoining from modernity. The different approaches of postmodernists concerning the existence of postmodernity are inseparable from philosophical traditions. Each approach has its own standpoint regarding the reality of contemporary society. One departs from cognitive reflections, the other from proved experiences. Each approach is not confined to the epistemological propositions of postmodernity, but each also tries to explicate the ontological character of postmodernist novels that constitute the contemporary world (Connor, 1995:125). Instead of repudiating one another's views, one can hold the principle of postmodernism itself, e.g., 'pastiche' (will be explained later in section B.6.4) which holds the differences as the resources (richness) of the whole. In this regard, we might hold a 'postmodern philosophy' instead of a 'philosophy of postmodernity,' even though the former seems incoherent (cf. Lyotard, 1986). However, these different views enrich the comprehension of postmodernism as a whole. This is *per se* the reality of postmodernity.

B.3. What is modernity?

Postmodernity is inseparably linked with modernity. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the core of modernity. This will also help one to have a better understanding of postmodernity. The characteristics of research are objectivity and openness, therefore, a discussion of modernity is essential.

Modernity started in Renaissance/Enlightened times and marked the end of “the Middle Ages.” In sociology, modernity is contrasted with the traditional order, and it promotes progressive economics, administrative rationalization and differentiation of the capitalistic industrial states. The shifting social phenomenon was demonstrated by Tonnies’ dichotomy of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Johnson, 1986:118), Durkheim’s *mechanical solidarity* and *organic solidarity* (Durkheim, 1966) and Weber’s traditional and rational (Crook, Pakulski & Waters, 1994: 8-9). Modernity refers to the quality of life being modern and induces the feeling of disconnection with tradition, being marvellous and sensitive to the ephemeral with the fleeting and contingent nature of the present. Discourses on modernity point out that modernity refer to “a variety of economic, political, social, and cultural transformations” (Best & Kellner, 1991:2). Modernity is also related to a massive, social mix of cultural changes that diminished the archaic tradition and agrarian civilization (Turner, 1995).

Modernization is related to economic and technological developments of the 19th century and the industrial and capital based expansions. It is critical of traditional societies. Therefore, modernization also deals with change, transience, the fleeting, the contingent, ephemerality, fragmentation, chaos and is contradictory to eternal, immutable things. Harvey shows the impact of change in modernity by saying that “the only secure thing about modernity is its insecurity, its penchant, even, for ‘totalizing chaos’” (1989:10-11). Modernity has a legacy of Enlightenment rationality, as embodied in the invention and function of machine technology for material production. In this regard, one can agree with Habermas when he claims the ‘incomplete project of modernity’ in that the contemporary society is now associated with modernity. Giddens (1990, 2002) links late-modernity with globalization.

Modernity brought about differentiation. Modern division of labour affects human inquiry, and therefore its effect on social specialization and separation, capitalism, labour value and the Enlightenment’s ideal of progressivism (Durkheim, 1964; Weber, 1964:218-245; Allen, 1989: 4).

Modernism refers to the notion that science legitimates itself. The modern rules of the game refers to metadiscourse and is drawn from grand narratives, and can be identified through the dialectics of hermeneutics of meaning, emancipation of the rational subject and work or wealth. This tendency has also prevailed until now.

However, as will be indicated later, the idea of *différance* in deconstructionism, consumer culture and postmodern media technology shifts modern bases of division of labour and social interaction.

Modern, for Lyotard, is related to the Enlightenment, metadiscourse, and grand narratives. “I [Lyotard] will use the term *modern* to designate any science that legitimates itself with reference to a metadiscourse of this kind making an explicit appeal to some grand narrative, such as the dialectics of spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject or the creation of wealth”(1986:xxiii). Modernity is based on “linear progress, absolute truths, rational planning of ideal social orders under standardized conditions of knowledge and production was particularly strong” (Harvey, 1989:35).

Modernity is attached to Enlightenment, which emphasizes equality, liberty, and rationalism that is universally bind people. However, the negative impact of the Enlightenment’s view of science and technology doomed humankind to two World Wars, possible nuclear annihilation and pollution (Harvey, 1989:13; Allen, 1989:5). This is not progressivism but a destructive, cruel immorality.

Lyotard recommends abandoning modernity, which admires universalization, the ideas of the progress and emancipation of humanity. For the past two centuries, modernism brought much human suffering and misfortunes. Even progressivism, previously intended to bring benefit to humanity as a whole, resulted in the Auschwitz malaise and modern neurosis (Lyotard, 1993: 72-80). Counter culture, 1960s antimodernist, and the antagonistic, oppressive qualities of scientific grounded, technical bureaucracy and rationality are brought to a *fin de siècle* crisis.

B.4. The reasons why postmodernity exists

Whether postmodernity has a distinctive ‘identity’ or is quite new and fundamentally different from modernity poses a good question. Silverman observes that “Postmodernism brings the modernist hegemony to closure. It examines the ends, goals, hopes of modernist activity, situating it in its context of premodernist frameworks” (1990:1-2). He continues, “...postmodernist thinking enflames, circumscribes, and delimits modernist thinking, [it] decenters, enframes, discontinues, and fragments the prevalence of modernist ideals” (1990:5). This means that, in terms of this view, modernism is not prevailing anymore. Postmodernism in itself discards

modernism; it goes beyond the limit of modernity and breaks down the modernist's ideals.

When postmodernism emerges, it disregards metanarratives. Lyotard's thesis of postmodernity is the incredulity toward metanarratives. This incredulity, undoubtedly, rejects progressivism in science. Lyotard (1986: xxiv) characterizes postmodernism as:

- obsolescence of metanarratives
- dispersion in clouds of narrative language
- forwarding pragmatic valencies
- setting aside Newtonian anthropology (structuralism or system theory) and relies upon the pragmatics of particles of language. It then promotes heterogeneity of elements
- institutions in patches, collage or in local determinism.

Perhaps this shift brings about disenchantment and confusion because postmodernity, on the one hand, appreciates technology, and on the other hand, promotes heterogeneity of language games, and is sensitive to differences and tolerates the incommensurable.

In addition, Lyotard identifies the shift from modern to postmodern culture as indicated by rapid development in telecommunication. He continues that postmodern culture encourages *the alteration* of the rules of the game in modern science, literature and arts. The key-concept he uses is his description of pragmatics in the contemporary society (1986).

The intense improvement of high technology in communication, in Baudrillard's analysis 'political economy of sign' (Baudrillard, 1975, 1981; Connor, 1995:50-62), has a fundamental impact on social life and in turn, has shaped postmodernism. Postmodernism is the culture of contemporary social life. In addition, postmodernity is the geopolitical realm of telecommunication.

Modernism is over. It is a *fin de siècle*, which end was brought about by historical events such as the Auschwitz ethnocide (Lyotard, 1993:75-80) and the emergence of pop cultures (Connor, 1995:184-200). Other historical proof is the reunification of Germany; the end of the Cold War; social, economic and political changes in the former communist country; the ex-Soviet Union; technological decline

and criticism of environmentalists, etc. (Smart, 1993:28-31). Therefore, Bauman insists, “Postmodernity is a form of life, a form of reflection upon and a response to the accumulating signs of the limits and limitations of modernity. Postmodernity as a way of living with the doubts, uncertainties and anxieties, which seem increasingly to be a corollary of modernity, the inescapable price to be paid for the gains, the benefits and the pleasures, associated with modernity” (1993:12). Postmodernity exists as a reaction toward modern crises which modernity itself is unable to resolve (Bauman, 1993:10).

Empirical facts, as expressed by Lyotard and Smart above, strengthen the belief that postmodernity is an epochal shift or break with modernity. It involves a new social totality and applies distinct organizing principles. Postmodernity is a radical change from modernity that emerged from a new social order. Baudrillard and Lyotard, the protagonists of postmodernism, describe it as a post-industrial age, a post-industrial order and a computerization of society. (Arguments and reasoning about postmodernity of these postmodernists will follow in detail in the next sections). For Baudrillard, it is a shift from production to reproduction, simulation to mode; the distinction between real and appearance being eliminated. Real is the reality while appearance is the copy of reality (Smart, 1992; Best & Kellner, 1991:118-119).

Thus, postmodernism is an opponent of the Enlightenment’s metanarratives, rationalism, universalization and the failure of its progressivism. One sees that the arguments of Lyotard, Baudrillard, Bauman, and many others pointed out here lead us to label this postmodern movement as “anti-modernism postmodernism.”

B.5. Postmodern philosophical conjuncts

This section articulates some philosophical movements (poststructuralism, postindustrialization and globalization), and how postmodernism inherits its ideas from these movements and how postmodernism differs from them. The researcher acknowledges that many other ‘posts’ such as ‘post capitalism’, ‘post social’, etc., exist in the library of social sciences and philosophy. These three philosophical movements can represent the tendency of those discussing postmodernity and depict the shifts in social life. To a certain degree, the materials of these philosophical

movements constitute postmodernism. Some of the thinkers of these movements were formerly apostles of philosophical movements before becoming postmodernists. For example, Lyotard and Baudrillard were previously poststructuralists.

B.5.1. Poststructuralism

Structuralism and poststructuralism essentially deal with hermeneutical analysis. Writing a text involves an author, the text and the reader. Structuralism is determined by the positivism of the *Aufklärung*. The latter claims that the term 'positive' here means "the sense of that which is given or laid down, that which has to be accepted as we find it and is not further explicable" (Flew, 1984:283). August Comte, the pioneer of modern sociology, who was a positivist, insisted that science must abandon unverifiable speculations of metaphysics and religion and concentrate on researching observed facts. This epistemological view of reality has deeply influenced structuralism and poststructuralism. The language is articulated in accordance with the status of the speaker in the social structure. In this context, Bush says, "both language and culture acquire meaning only insofar as they participate in a complex pool of structural relations."⁹ Individuals are vulnerable before the power of the structure, e.g. the system. Pattern, system and structure in society dictate the way humans think. The structure is in the centre and marginalizes individuals. System and structure are subjects and human individuals are objects. Structuralism, as a child of Enlightenment, treats structure, language, and system as universal and timeless (Klages, 2004).

In other words, in structuralism, the author is cancelled out since the text is a function of a system, not of an individual. The text "always has a 'life of its own'" (Grassie, 1997). System is outside the individual and controls him or her. The authors inhabit pre-existing structures (*langue*). The structures 'enable' the authors to make any particular sentence and story (*parole*). Therefore, individuals are doing nothing except admitting what is structured. Individuals have no freedom due to the powerful structures or systems that govern them. The structure is the language (*parole*), and language frames and determines the author's perceptions of reality. The meaning, therefore, emerges not from individuals but from the governing system. All meaning

⁹ Harold K. Bush, Jr. "Poststructuralism as Theory and Practice in the English Classroom" <http://www.indiana.edu/%reading/digest/d104.html> Accessed on November 18, 2004

is socially constructed (Veith, 1994:51 ff). For Derrida, system positions itself in the centre, “a point from which everything comes, and to which everything refers or returns. Sometimes it’s God, sometimes it’s the human self, the mind, sometimes it’s the unconscious, depending on what philosophical system (or set of beliefs) one is talking about”(Klages, 2004).

Structuralism and even poststructuralism are residues of the positivism of the Enlightenment. The evidence can be seen from the way the structuralists view reality which neglects the non-physical things in themselves: metaphysical speculations, theological statements. Reality is confined to the ‘observable’ things, such as humans are confined to their bodies; structure determines the language. “Meaning doesn’t come from individuals, but from the system that governs what any individual can do within it” (Klages, 2004¹⁰). Structuralists do not care about human free will, immateriality of human beings, etc.

Poststructuralism, of course, expands itself by criticizing structuralism’s inherent concept of timelessness. The ideas of universalized centeredness are replaced with multi-systems and decenteredness. The systems have a binary position of speech and writing, presence and absence, culture and nature, male and female, light and dark and the former is more important than the latter.

Postmodernists call upon poststructuralism to sharpen the role of system, language and structure in their analysis of contemporary society. This includes pluralization of systems and proliferations of meaning.

The similarities of poststructuralism and postmodernism are undeniable since some postmodernists, such as Lyotard, Baudrillard and Foucault, hold the same tenets and views of poststructuralism. Social system and language are so powerful over human beings. In this regard, postmodernists inherit poststructuralism. However, these systems are not identical. The conflation of their texts leaves problems, because poststructuralists abandon subjectivity of the text while postmodernism squares with it (Smart, 1993:20-23).

¹⁰ <http://www.colorado.edu/English/ENGL2012Klages/1derrida.html>

B.5.2. Post-industrial society

In his famous book *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. A venture in social forecasting*, Daniel Bell states that there has been a fundamental shift happening in society characterized by a change from a goods economy (industrial society) to a services economy (post-industrial society). He states, “If industrial society is based on machine technology, post-industrial society is shaped by an intellectual technology. And if capital and labour are the major structural features of industrial society, information and knowledge are those of the post-industrial society” (1999: xci). It seems that Lyotard is indebted to Bell when he states that, “societies enter what is known as the postindustrial age” (1986:3). Both are interested in this information age, in which media have pervaded every realm of society.

The term *post* in post-industrial, as other posts refer to beyond: beyond morality, beyond tragedy, beyond culture (Bell, 1999:53). Bell cites Amitai Etzioni as saying, “the modern period ended with the radical transformation of the technologies of communication, knowledge and energy that followed the Second World War” (Etzioni, 1968; Bell, 1999:52). However, Bell was dissatisfied because in Etzioni’s analysis the technology of communication of the postmodern societies did not appear.

Bell acknowledges that his thesis of post-industrial society is not a picture of a complete social order, instead “it is an attempt to describe and explain an axial change in the social structure (defined as the economy, the technology and the stratification system) of the society” (1999:119). This concept pervades the realms of science, technology, economy and socio-politics. To distinguish the post-industrial society from the ‘former’ ones (pre-industrial and industrial) he highlights that pre-industrial society lived close to nature. They lived in accordance with a natural rhythm and, sometimes on the favour and mercy of nature. For example, pre-industrial Asian farmers cultivated the rice field during the rainy season but were unable to do so in the hot, dried season. Pre-industrial economic production was bound to nature. In the industrial society, elements such as rationality, technocracy, profession, bureaucracy, economic productivity, and efficiency, guide social life. Material production and machines play an important role in modern economic activities.

On the other hand, the post-industrial society, in Bells’s thesis, began in the 1970s and human lives have become characterized by an abundance of information.

An information society is the key to seeing the changes in society. Lyon clarifies Bell's statement by writing that the "postindustrial society provided the 'social framework' for the 'information society' in which telecommunication and computers would become 'decisive for the way economic and social exchanges are conducted, the way knowledge is created and retrieved, and the character of work and organizations in which men [sic] are engaged'" (Lyon, 1994:38). Undeniably, information technology has influenced economic activities via innovations such as bankcards, credit cards, phone cards, paperless offices, etc. Bell's analysis of an information society coupled with technology is characteristic of contemporary society and suited to Lyotard's analysis of the same subject as well as to Baudrillard's cultural signs. Since the term "post" in post-industrialism is the development of industrialism rather than a break or rupture of it (Rose, 1996:24), Lyon is correct when he comments that Bell's thesis on post-industrial society, especially the role of information, strengthen postmodernists' claim that modernism no longer exists.

Technology should not be treated as the root of Enlightenment's progress. "There is no guarantee that Reason produces liberating consequences." It dooms humans to suffering, "but to abandon progress need not also entail forsaking commitments either to understanding or to guiding technological development" (Lyon, 1994:43, 46). Bell's post-industrial society is controversial and disputable. Rose labels it as postmodernization; therefore, it is a continuation of modernization (1996:28), while Habermas, in his *Incomplete project of modernity*, insists on the continuity of Enlightenment's rationality in contemporary society and labels Bell as a neo-conservative (Foster, ed., 1989:7, 14).

To a certain degree, the concept of postindustrial society maintains the continuation of modernism. However, it can be noticed that its emphasis of the role of information, that pervades and influences the social economic life of contemporary society, strengthens the idea of postmodernity.

B.5.3. Globalization

The main thesis of globalization is "a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding" (Waters, 1996:3). Waters continues, "In a

globalized world there will be a single society and culture occupying the planet” (1996:3). Robertson defines “globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (1994:8). Giddens defines globalization “as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (Giddens, 1990:64). However, globalization is dialectic of particular and universal, which to certain degree is the polarity of universalization of the particular and particularization of the universal (Robertson, 1994:97-114). At the socio-economic level, globalization is usually associated with “economic integration, the international division of labour and transnational corporation” (Crook, Pakulski & Waters, 1994:101).

Theorists of globalism (global culture) highlight economics as a world system, and regard differentiation, multicentricity, and even absurdity and relativism as social elements that independently exist with one another in the same social reality. Due to this understanding, the globalization theory also investigates anti-globalization currents, which disagree with Western capitalism such as environmental movements, globalizing panic (HIV, AIDS), feminism, the limit of economic progressivism, etc. (Featherstone, ed.1995). This tendency is obvious and not convoluted, therefore, it is less controversial than our subject matter, which is postmodernism (Smart, 1993:11-14).

It is interesting to note how Appadurai (1995:295-310) views disjuncture and difference in global culture. If people associate globalization merely with homogenization of culture, such as ‘Americanization’ or ‘commoditization,’ then it might be misleading. Therefore, Appadurai ¹¹ suggests five kinds of global cultural flows in globalizing society:

1. ethnoscapas: the distribution of mobile individuals (tourist, migrants, refugees, etc.);
2. technoscapes, the distribution of technology;

¹¹ For Appadurai, the suffix scape means “not objectively given relations which look the same from every angle of vision, but rather that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected very much by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as sub-national groupings and movements (whether religious, political or economic), and even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighbourhoods and families....which characterize international capital as deeply as they do international clothing styles” (1995:296-297).

3. finanscapes, the distribution of capital;
4. mediascapes, the distribution of information;
5. ideoscapes, the distribution of political ideas and values (e.g. freedom, democracy, human rights).

Waters adds one more flow, i.e., sacriscapes, the distribution of religious ideas and values (1996:126). Globalization is not only homogenization of culture (capitalism) but also heterogenization of particular cultures across the global society.

Waters (a globalization theorist), Harvey (a postmodernist), and Giddens (a sociologist of modernity) articulate the relationship between globalization and the concept of time-space compression. Firstly, Giddens' analysis of a global map, money and nation-states (modern products) are prerequisites for globalization. He develops Harvey's analysis of time and space by emphasizing that time annihilates the space. Technological improvement, especially in the media, has destroyed the space distinction and compressed time-space to facilitate capitalistic transactions such as money transfer or credit card use (plastic money). Ultimately, Waters concludes that globalization is contemporaneous with modernity. Modernity created the objectification and universalization of the concept of space (geography) and time (clock). The improvement of technology (cyber space, satellite) yields time-space compression, which "involves a shortening of time and a 'shrinking' of space." Time annihilates space (Cf. Waters, 1996:55). Globalization involves a phenomenology of contraction. It affirms the annihilation of distance or the shrinking of planets, even though it is a phenomenological rather than a literal truth. Yet, the phenomenology of globalization is a reflexive one, in which people orient themselves to the world as a whole (1996:39-64).

Waters, in his analysis, frequently associates globalization with modernization as well as postmodernization. This influences international politics. The nation-state is a product of modernity. It functions to control administratively over a population with its jurisdiction, centralization of control of the means of violence (military and police), and the economic life of citizens (cf. Waters, 1996:48). Upon entering globalization, or the postmodern era, the nation-state's functions are diminished. Globalization of politics, as it appears in the strengthening of international agencies, shakes the authority of national governments. In other words, the nation-state shrinks

and faces a *disétatization* (state-weakening)¹² due to the intense globalizing power of internationalization. International economic agencies (GATT, IMF, WTO, OPEC, APEC, etc.) now have great influence over domestic national policies in politics and economics. In this sense, globalization as a concept, too, might be coupled with an ideological suspicion, since it is inherent with westernization, a capitalist system, colonization and imperialism (Waters, 1996:3). Therefore, anti-globalization movements constantly criticize the nation-states, for example, of the power perversion of human rights and the irresponsible destruction of nature. These anti-globalization movements are also internationally constituted (INGO, WWF). Nation-states are very vulnerable to the threat international telecommunication poses, as it promotes borderless countries and yet creates an international community that is mutually correlated and competitive.

On the other hand, the nation-state, too, is now a basis on which societies can be connected with one another (Waters, 1996:98-101, 136; Crook, Pakulski & Waters, 1994:79-105). In a globalized world, goods and services are interlinked globally with the result that goods and aesthetic sign products are produced in many countries, e.g. Ford automobiles are produced in the USA, Australia, Britain, Japan, etc. Consequently, workers might be needed in a variety of countries because of the turnout of borderless products. However, the nature of the nation-states compels them to forcefully restrict immigrant workers in favour of stabilizing domestic economic welfare and public services.

So far, it can be seen that the globalization thesis is obvious. On the one hand, this intellectual current emphasizes investigating global phenomena. This is derived from Western modernity. Giddens claims, "Globalization affects economic policy, the welfare system, environmental problems, the definition of public goods and much else besides. It is driven in some part by the policies of governments, but also by the day-to-day activities of citizens. Every time someone switches on a computer and links to the Internet he or she is contributing to globalization, not just responding to it"

¹² Giddens disagrees with this statement. He argues that nation-states will not lose their sovereignty, but rather the securitization and institutionalization of it. Conversely, postmodernists, such as Crook, Pakulski and Waters, state that the functions of the nation-state have started to diminish from warrior to administrator and provider. Global economic integration, governability, fiscal and legitimation crises of the nation-state compel the nation-state to emphasize privatization, market-oriented criteria of operation and deregulation of the national economy (Crook, Pakulski & Waters, 1994:79-105). In addition, the power of postmodern media has created a borderless country because, politically speaking, the government is not able to censor the flow of information exchanges.

(2002:69). He continues, “Globalization should not be identified...with economic deregulation and the spread of world markets. The core meaning of globalization is increasing interdependence: no matter where we live in the world, we are all affected by events and changes happening many miles away” (Giddens, 2002:70-1).

However, globalization includes global pluralism. This includes anti-globalization movements, for example, those who are against capitalism, *tout court*, and NGOs. They are critical of inequality, the great disparities between the rich and poor nations, environmental destruction, abuse of human right, etc. “International law, especially human rights law, should be strengthened and given stronger purchase” (Giddens, 2002:70). This tendency can also be found in other realms, e.g. in religions, politics, and cultures.

Therefore, the investigation of globalization can be concluded by saying that, undeniably, people living in contemporary society experience a globalizing process. Furthermore, globalization does not merely refer a global homogenization but also to local pluralism, which is accessible internationally.

This global thesis is similar to what Naisbitt calls *global paradox* (1994). Naisbitt observes that the main trends sweeping over every sector of life in this contemporary society are the globalization of economies emerging from technological innovation that transforms human cultures. In addition, this paradox prevails in global politics and the telecommunication revolution. The global paradox is an obvious contradiction in which the world is more integrated and, at the same time, not unified but divides into active, progressive proliferated elements. Giant companies such as AT&T and Sony are universal in almost every corner of the world and, at the same time, its elements are produced in various countries. Globalization involves two kinds of processes, viz. homogenization and local proliferation. This reflects the global paradox. This tendency is also apparent in the GMIM church, for example, which, as a part of the ecumenical church, is spreading because of the migration of her church members who are living abroad. In addition, these migrant groups constitute themselves into distinct cultural groups in the countries in which they live. This migration of people is taking place all over the world.

Nevertheless, the antithesis of globalization can still be seen in ethnic cleansing in Eastern Europe, and the tensions of the local-global community. Email user groups are virtual tribes and email, as tribal shaper, exists globally. Electronics

makes us “tribalistic” and at the same time, “globalizes” us (Naisbitt, 1994:17). Think locally and act globally. According to Hassan, people live in a “glocal” age, in political terms, as, “an open dialogue between local and global, margin and center, minority and majority, concrete and universal—and not only between those but also between local and local, margin and margin, minority and minority, and further still, between universals of different kinds” (Hassan, 2003).

It is obvious that the globalization theory’s emphasis is on the globalization process of capitalism and its criticism. This concentrates on the global capitalist tendency and how other sub-groups react to it. To be sure, globalization is also a part of modernity’s criticism of contemporary society. In this research, it is necessary to include their contribution to understand postmodernism. The globalization theory underpins a postmodern investigation of mass media that sociologically constitutes the postmodern idea of difference and pluralism.

From the descriptions in this section (B.5), several things can be identified. Brief explanations of these postmodern ‘cousins’ lead us to have a clearer picture of what postmodernism is and make us realize that some trajectories of thinking are already in them. Therefore, postmodernism, in theory and practice, is preceded by globalization. Even though postmodernism has its own formulations of the analysis of contemporary society, postmodernists borrowed, processed and redesigned concepts of poststructuralism, post-industrial society and globalization. In other words, their ideas are the basic elements of postmodernism. Postmodernism is indebted to the theory of poststructuralism, for example the idea of autonomous, independent and powerful system which subjects human beings. Lyotard, a postmodernist who is also a poststructuralist, mentions societies entering a post-industrialized age especially in analyzing the position and function of knowledge in the social change. Theories of globalization, of course, contribute cognitions to postmodernity, such as humans having to be conscious of living in the one world caused by the intense of the time-space compression and excessive impact of mass media. This global phenomenon is one of the core ingredients of postmodernism, as frequently indicated by Baudrillard and Jameson.

B.6. The characteristics of postmodernity

This section explores the elements intrinsic to postmodernism. The researcher contends that telecommunication and media principally constitute postmodernity. Postmodernism is a shift from material production to simulacra (Baudrillard, 1983). This notion, therefore, is placed as the first depiction in this section and is followed by postmodernity and the idea of a consumer society. Secondly, it is inevitable that the spirit (of late capitalism) invigorates postmodernism and subsequently brings about bountiful consumerism in contemporary society (Jameson, 1991). Philosophically, postmodernism admires differences and pluralism. This is the reason why this section explains these elements which are inherent to postmodernism and which bring social differentiation, pluralism, local determinism and division or networking to society.

B.6.1. Postmodernity and media

It is contended that media has the intrinsic role of constituting postmodernity. Postmodernity cannot exist without the fundamental role of mass media. Vattimo claims, “mass media plays a decisive role in the birth of a postmodern society” (1992:4). Mass media do not make this “postmodern society more ‘transparent’, but more complex, even chaotic; and it is precisely in this relative ‘chaos’ that our hopes for emancipation lie” (Vattimo, 1992:4).

Besides its social philosophical heritages, such as structuralism-poststructuralism, deconstructionism, postindustrial society and globalization, postmodernism would not exist without the reinforcement of the maelstrom of media that legitimately exists. To begin with media analysis, one should look more closely at Baudrillard’s thesis on media and postmodernism. He became crowned as guru and high priest of postmodern theory especially when he launched his highly influential proposition concerning “cultural theory and discussions of contemporary media, art, and society” (Best & Kellner, 1991:111).

To Baudrillard, stimulating rapid change in media is the entry point through which to get to know contemporary society. To Baudrillard, “[Modernity is] a characteristic mode of civilization, which opposes itself to tradition, that is to say, to all other anterior or traditional cultures: confronting the geographic and symbolic

diversity of the latter, modernity imposes itself throughout the world as a homogeneous unity, irradiating from the Occident” (1987: 63). The shift from modernity to postmodernity refers to material production with its exchange values, to reproduction of sign. Postmodernity is characterized by “cyberblitz [that] constitutes a new realm of experience and new stage of history and type of society” (Kellner, 2004).

Key terms in Baudrillard’s philosophy: simulation/simulacra, implosion, hyperreality, technology and media, are the essential parts of his analysis of contemporary society. Baudrillard improves on McLuhan’s idea of information. McLuhan explains that information is disseminated by direct conversation, face-to-face meetings, or the interpretation of things. In modern age, the information was spread through the products of technology: telegram, steam engine, railroads, telegraph, etc. In this sense, McLuhan is in fact affirming that interaction in the modern era occurs through media. This means that information is spread through media and media is the message itself. McLuhan’s dictum is “Media is the message”: technology as the extension of human beings is a modern art preserving the ‘content’ or value (McLuhan, 1965:7-22).

Postmodern function of the media goes beyond McLuhan’s assertion. Lyotard and Baudrillard both emphasize the importance of postmodern media. Baudrillard criticizes McLuhan as technological reductionist and determinist.¹³ He improved on McLuhan’s dictum “medium is the message.” He contends that interpersonal communication is obsolete and, nowadays, a possible emancipatory media emerges, which abandons nostalgic face-to-face conversation. There is a fundamental shift from modernity to postmodernity. Modernity emphasizes material production, capitalistic industry, hegemony of bourgeoisie, metallurgy, explosion of mechanism, differentiation of spheres of life, while postmodernity emphasizes simulation, signs, codes, models, semiurgy, implosion of boundaries (low and high cultures) and de-differentiation (Kellner, 2004). Here Baudrillard moves beyond McLuhan. The understanding of media is dependent on the way people see it in its intensification of its function. Media simultaneousness and instantaneousness is a fact: happenings in other places are now displayed by media and can be seen by its viewers. The images

¹³ Douglas Kellner, “Baudrillard: A New McLuhan?”
<http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/kell26.htm> (Nov.04.2004)

constantly change since the display and monitor screen keep moving from one happening to another or even from one channel to others. The images can be close-up or distant. Television proliferates various signs of happenings and it implodes all boundaries as if they are the real reality. Television is the centre of life in the home. It is believed to mirror, reflect, or represent reality. “More real than real” media obliterate meaning through neutralizing and dissolving all contents. All this simulacrum, “meant a state of such near perfect replication that the difference between the original and the copy becomes almost impossible to spot” (Harvey, 1989: 289). This is a tool of the powerful spirit of the contemporary market of capitalism, late capitalism, and is blended with consumerism. In the late capitalism era, marketing uses every form of advertisement in television and other media and these become the fastest means of telecommunication, proliferating intensely, simultaneously and instantly. In this regard, Harvey claims, “Mass television ownership coupled with satellite communication makes it possible to experience a rush of images from different spaces almost simultaneously, collapsing the world’s spaces into a series of images on a television screen” (1989:293).

Furthermore, Baudrillard asserts that the simultaneity of mass media bring about “hyperreality” in which there is a “blurring of distinctions between the real and the unreal in which the prefix ‘hyper’ signifies more real than real” (Best & Kellner, 1991: 119). In the media world, due to its simultaneity and instantaneousness, people can almost not differentiate between real fact and images.

The proliferations and pluralism brought about by *late capitalism* (Jameson’s term, 1984), blending themselves into mass media, have been constantly and speedily conveying glutinous information into people’s (the users of media) minds. Consequently, mass media in postmodern world creates implosion. People feel “burst inside.” They are vulnerable to the bombardment and the incontrollable information that is thrown at them. In addition, “in postmodern mediascape, boundaries between information and entertainment, images and politics, implode” (Best & Kellner, 1991: 120).

Baudrillard mentions the intimate relationship between human beings and images and signs. In his *The Ecstasy of Communication*, he begins his article by explaining that the object is no longer a separate system. It is seen not as obvious fact but as sign. He uses two approaches: firstly, phantasmatic logic (psychological

analysis), and secondly, differential social logic (consumption as the production of signs, differentiation, status and prestige) (Foster, ed. 1989). One can actually observe this proclivity when watching TV. There are two kinds of signs: cognitive signs, which are symbols that represent information, and aesthetic signs, symbols that represent consumption (Waters, 1996:53). In TV shows, there is a persistent exchange of signs that exhort viewers to choose and buy the sign. The process of offering and buying signs is seen as projective, imaginary, and symbolic exchanges. This shapes the depth of existence of postmodern people. However, Baudrillard moved beyond this in that he observes that the mirror and the scene no longer exist; what exists is a screen and network. In the constellation of the exchange of production and consumption, communication deepens it with connection, contact, contiguity, and feedback on the surface of the network. To Baudrillard, media and reality blur into a single nebulous state of ambiguity. He sees media as a living subject: “the television is watching you, it is a form of technological mysticism, it is a demiurge of a new type of society and new type of experience” (Kellner, 2004).

Driving a car might explain the psychological depth of the unity of humans and technology. The dashboard, for instance, is experienced as the brain and the landscape as the televised screen. The driver is a part of the vehicle. Humans do not treat a vehicle as a weird, bizarre thing that is psychologically to be adored. In the contemporary age, humans apply the subjective logic of possession and projection. How do humans master and control and command it when they themselves are part of the computer and simultaneously control it? Driving a car is an expression that people impart and an inescapable part of inclusion with regulation, well-tempered functionality, and solidarity among all the elements of the same system, control, and global management of an ensemble (Foster, ed., 1989:127).

Furthermore, people of the contemporary society might be called cyber people. They are inseparable from paperless office tool and cling to the tiny computer, and especially its Internet facility.¹⁴ They plunge into cyberspace: “the land of

¹⁴ “The Internet has transformed the physical citizens of a modern society into the disembodied netizens of a postmodern cyber community, as some hackers like to say. The jargon may be a bit extravagant, but the changes are almost tangible. In the new electronic Agora of the global village, publicity has assumed an international scale, while privacy means electronic privacy in our e-mail conversations. ... Even the way we think may in the long run be affected, for relational and associative reasoning is nowadays becoming as important as linear and inferential analysis, while visual thinking is once again considered to be at least as indispensable as symbolic processing. And as the skill of remembering vast amounts of facts is gradually replaced by the capacity for retrieving information and

knowledge and the exploration of that land can be a civilization's truest, highest calling. The opportunity is now before us to empower every person to pursue that calling in his or her own way" (Dyson, et al, 1995).

Yet telematics, for example, radio, television, online newspaper and other websites in the Internet, and recently cellars, are an essential part of the virtual world and have decisively extinguished the vehement spirit of centralized perspectives (Lyotard, 1986; Roos, 1993).

Consider the function of mobile phones in postmodern society. Ronell (1989) states "The telephone is historically the invention which made immediate interpersonal communication and interaction independent of the physical distance between interlocutors." The fixed phone might be seen as a product of modernity while the cellular or mobile phone is postmodern one.

P. Roos (1993), who have done research into the function of cellular phones in contemporary, postmodern society, says that the power behind this telephone device for human interaction is its immediacy and instantaneousness regardless of distance constraints. Different from a fixed phone, the cellular or mobile phone has an omnipresent characteristic. By using this device, one can contact people anywhere and, in turn, be contacted by persons from anywhere. Neither the callers nor the persons being called are aware of one another's exact location. Therefore, this device has portability, availability and reachability. As this device is easily obtainable, it is a very popular tool for social communication. Because of its size and portability, users can be involved in other activities while communicating via the cellular phone. As technology improves, cellular phones are becoming multifunctional and are proliferating.

All these postmodern telematics media reject the general homogenization of society in the Enlightenment project (Vattimo, 1992:5). Postmodernity with its media accessories provides its society with the intensification of diversity and plurality. This postmodern, deconstructionist *différance* strengthens the thesis that, without the

discerning logical patterns in masses of data, the Renaissance conception of erudition and mnemotechny is merging with the modern methods of information management. In the electronic village implemented by the global network, entire sectors of activities like communicating, writing, publishing and editing, advertising, selling, shopping and banking, or counselling, teaching and learning are all being deeply affected. Such transformations are of the greatest importance, as they will determine our lifestyle in the coming decades" (Luciano Floridi, 1996).

pressure of modern homogenization and universalization, everyone in different place and time, has his or her activity.

The astonishing role of mass media that pervades every sphere of contemporary society has forced philosophers to redefine 'knowledge.' For Lyotard, "scientific knowledge is a kind of discourse" (1986:3). Knowledge, in a broader sense, is associated with language. Knowledge itself in a postmodern system is pragmatically viewed in capitalistic matrix as a commodity intended to be sold to a variety of users. Yet this scientific language must be accessible in computer programs (Lyotard, 1986:3-6, 45, 51). In the matrix of capitalism, Lyotard (1986:4, 45) believes knowledge in the contemporary age should be seen as a commodity, the thing in a running exchange of supplier and customer. Knowledge is deliberately intended to be produced, sold and bargained for the users.

Internationally speaking, however, knowledge is the force with which the advanced nations can bottleneck the flow to developing countries. Knowledge treated as a commodity permeates every country in the world, and unless the nation-state controls information, it is in danger. Knowledge is inseparable from information technology and international information shapes the running of business, politics and culture. Computerized society constitutes a paradigm shift from knowledge and ignorance to payment knowledge and investment knowledge, a unit of knowledge exchange in a daily maintenance framework. Knowledge dedicated to optimizing the performance of a project is an expression of transparency and liberalism (Lyotard, 1986:6, 48-49). This, in essence, refers to transformation in knowledge that shapes the activities of every public power and civil institution. This compels one to emphasize not the predictive value but the strategic value. This rejects progressive economic growth.

In essence, Baudrillard's statement of thoughtful elucidation of media in constituting postmodernity is indispensable. Baudrillard's deep analysis of mass media, in essence, substantiates the presence of postmodernity. However, this explanation is extreme and tends to be exaggerated. It is a technological reductionism. It obfuscates the form from the meaning; the form mixes with the content. This is the ambiguity of postmodernity resulting from exaggeration of his "theory;" as if human beings have no right to decide. Media is no longer a human extension as insisted by McLuhan (1965). On the contrary, human beings, for Baudrillard, are the terminals of the media system.

Baudrillard's proposition on media and consumer society, in Jameson's analysis, is impossible to comprehend unless it is coupled with the intense result of (late) capitalism that pervasively permeates every sphere of postmodern people (Kaplan, ed., 1993:28-29). The profit taking of companies has seduced people to consume without control (see postmodernism and consumer society). The postmodern 'omnipresence' of media, in fact, entails dehumanization and idolatry.

B.6.2. Postmodernity and consumer society

Postmodernity is a social phenomenon which late capitalism has intensely universalized. In a postmodern society, economic production emphasizes a dematerialized commodity instead of material production (Best & Kellner, 1991:118). This dematerialized commodity is produced in terms of the intensification of postmodern consumer society. In other words, postmodern culture is also coupled with consumer culture. As can be seen in Baudrillard's simulacra, implosion and hyperreality (Best & Kellner, 1991:118-122), he claims that glutinous information is overwhelming postmodern people.

Featherstone points out three elements in consumer culture. Firstly, people with the means of ideological manipulation (particularly via the mass media) use consumerism as a means to seduce the general population to "consume" or desired advertised goods and services. Secondly, consumer goods and services are perceived as reflecting social status. Thirdly, consumptionism is an expression of emotional pleasures (1994:13-27). The latter emphasizes satisfaction and saturation especially, in lifestyle, and this is exaggerated by the sign culture or simulacra (Baudrillard, 1981). This sign culture creates apathetic masses in that people are bombarded with the information. Jameson (1984, 1993) calls this cultural tendency a "depthless culture." This kind of information forces people to consume. In postmodernism, consumerism is no longer seen as persisting in the economic sphere but also as an essential part of postmodern culture (Featherstone, 1994:13-27).

Consumer culture is also linked with the popular culture of postmodernism which rejects the Enlightenment project of homogenization of culture (Featherstone, 1994:13-27). One feature is the blend of McDonaldization, globalization, and Americanization, which can be seen as an indication of the consumer society. Thus,

postmodern society is inseparably linked with the consumer society (Featherstone, 1991).

Marketing and advertising have pervaded media, which intensely stimulate people to consume, and resulting in their spending beyond their means. Credit cards, TV shopping networks and cybermalls and fast-food restaurants, have trapped and addicted people to consume wastefully (Ritzer, 1998:121). The credit card, an essential tools used by postmodern people, is an example of simulacra (Baudrillard, 1983). In Jameson (1991) refers to as hyperspace, the media system of late capitalism plays an essential role in securing business transactions. People are involved in the continuous, constant differentiation of signs.

B.6.3. The ideas of difference, relativism and ambiguity

In modernity, difference stems from universal truth (see section B.6.6. in this chapter, especially division of labour in Durkheim's Enlightenment positivism), while in postmodernity difference stems from diversity, plurality and perpetuality. So it intensifies itself in flux (see section B.2.3 in this chapter, especially the idea of *differánce* of Derrida in cultural change and poststructuralism). This is also the ambiguity of postmodernity caused by telecommunication. It does not stop here, it will perpetually change. Change opens up differences and creates relativism. This has causal impact on the concept of work and the fulfilling of work. Easily moving from one job to another could be part of the postmodern view of change and plurality.

Postmodernism developed the idea of difference from poststructuralism. Deconstructionism (or poststructuralism) argues that the text *per se* does not convey the meaning, neither does the meaning depend on the author of the text (see section B.5.1). When the interpreters are in dialogue with the text the meaning emerges. To be sure, interpreters will reveal the meaning differently (Grenz, 1996:6). Postmodern philosophers, then, view the text to be the world or reality. As a result of this interpretation, perceptions are different. No single truth or interpretation is legitimate. In this philosophical reflection, there is no "universe" except "poliverse." Therefore, postmodernists claim that "there are no absolute grounds of value which can compel assent.... The postmodern condition...manifests itself in the multiplication of centers of power and activity and the dissolution of every kind of totalizing narrative which

claims to govern the whole complex field of social activity and representation” (Connor, 1995:8-9). This postmodern essence makes possible the realization of what globalization theorists refer to as the anti-globalization movements, such as green peace, feminism, minority groups, etc. (see section B.5.3. in this chapter).

Different interpretations that admire democracy and equality will not heighten or lessen an individual or group. Postmodernists decentre the universal truth of modernity and constitute multi-centre in society. Even though this multi-centre exists, it is absurd and therefore incoherent. In the arts, this tendency is called pastiche or collage.

The first postmodern incoherence is found in pastiche.¹⁵ Pastiche in postmodern arts can be identified in the everyday postmodernism. MTV (music television) is the best example of a pastiche TV station in the world. It presents different programs in which the viewers are unable to link coherently the variety of presentations, but only enjoy the multiphrenic intensities. MTV is “examples of pastiche, eclectic mixing of codes, bizarre juxtapositions and unchained signifiers which defy meaning and readability” (Featherstone, 1994:20). To criticize TV, Video and Film, a postmodern commentator, for example, says “In a video that lasts a mere 29 minutes, its content of a furiously thick collage which ...includes science fiction footage, reproductions of classical paintings, a woman lying down under hypnosis, ultra-modern hotel lobbies with escalators moving busily, close-ups of children’s building blocks, Beethoven sonatas, flying saucers over the Chicago skyline, advertisements for 1950s kitchens and much more”(Connor, 1995:165). This states that postmodern pluralism endorses incoherence and relativism. The latter is derived from the concept of Nietzsche. Van Rensburg (1999) states that Nietzsche pinpoints of human nothingness, which emerges from modernism. The latter promises great things but it is unable to accomplish the promises. Christianity is a mode of slavery to this nihilism; therefore it should be abandoned in favour of the realization of the super man (*das Übermensch*) and the will to power. To Nietzsche, the shift from slavery to nihilism is a feature of modernity. It is interesting to notice that in Nietzsche’s hermeneutics the old facts are renamed. “The process of renaming helps to set aside the vocabulary of accurate representation. Postmodern philosophers refer to this as the deconstruction of logocentrism” (Van Rensburg, 1999).

¹⁵ Pastiche is “a literary, musical, or artistic piece consisting wholly or chiefly of motifs or techniques borrowed from one or more sources” (*The Random House College Dictionary*).

What can be learned from Nietzsche's theory of interpretation is that there is no absolute. The interpreter's perspective determines the truth, and the truth is not the result of previous interpretation. "Because all knowledge is a matter of perspective, knowledge is really interpretation" (Grenz, 1996:93). Nietzsche's hermeneutics can be applied to regain the function of religion both in modernity and in postmodernity. As will be investigated in section B.7.2 of this chapter, this hermeneutics can become a tool to criticize modernist judgment of religion. Modernists view religion as non-rational and therefore it cannot become the measure of truth. In this regard, Berger insists that this interpretation can be a means to relativize the relativizers of religion (1969:35-60). This kind of interpretation can be a means of regaining Christian values in the non-Christian- principle-oriented world that relativizes Christian truth.

Another postmodern incoherence is collage.¹⁶ In social economic life, collage is best suited to late capitalistic and consumer culture. Supermarkets and malls offer a variety of merchandises; TV stations such as CNN, pervade global marketing, offering mainly political commentary and second-by-second news. Economically speaking, the postmodern, global "assembly line" of a product reflects the pastiche of culture. Sony DVD, for example, is a Japanese patent but its components are made in and by Taiwanese, Indonesians and Indians; are packed in the Netherlands, and sold in Canada. Consequently, a migrant workers' group is a part of the 'packaging process' producing the merchandise, goods or commodity to meet the needs of a global consumer society. A Minahasan migrant worker in Tokyo is possibly involved in producing cellular phones in Japan, for which microchips are made in China, and the product itself will be sold in Belgium. TV shows might illustrate a 'post history' phenomenon, "which randomly cannibalizes past cultures, processing their substance into sheer simulation" (Jameson, 1991). Urban life can picture a different lifestyle. "It is nowadays the norm to seek out 'pluralistic' and 'organic' strategies for approaching urban development as a 'collage' of highly differentiated spaces and mixtures, rather than pursuing grandiose plans based on functional zoning of different activities" (Harvey, 1989:40).

This phenomenon refers to another term of postmodern difference, viz. 'heterotopia'. "By heterotopia, Foucault means the coexistence in 'an impossible

¹⁶ Collage is " a technique of composing a work of art by pasting on a single surface various materials not normally associated with one another, as newspaper clippings, theater tickets, fragments of an envelope, etc. (*The Random House College Dictionary*).

space' of a 'large number of fragmentary possible worlds' or, more simply, incommensurable spaces that are juxtaposed or superimposed upon each other" (Harvey, 1989:48). This term, in fact, explains the coexistence of the contradictory elements in the same space. All elements assemble without regard to incoherency and consensus. David Salle likewise tends to 'collage together incompatible source materials as an alternative to choosing between them" (Harvey, 1989: 48-49). Postmodernism accepts "the fragmentation, the pluralism, and the authenticity of other voices and other worlds," while posing "the acute problem of communication and the means of exercising power through command thereof" (Harvey, 1989:49).

Postmodernism constitutes differences in social, economic, and political life of contemporary society. It also brings about incoherence, ambiguity, relativism and even nihilism. The incongruent elements constitute postmodern society and also give impact to religious life.

B.6.4. Postmodern pluralism

Modernity cannot be detached from pluralization of the social world. The invention of technology pluralizes the division of labour (Weber, 1964; Durkheim, 1966) and brings about pluralization in social institutions and worldviews. Postmodernism celebrates plurality in the sense that it shakes and splits the single foundation (Lyotard's term: metanarratives) of modernity. The meaning of pluralism, for postmodernity, refers to montage, collage, pastiche and related indeterminacies (Taylor, 1989:34-37). It is obvious that one should not deny the differences and pluralism of cultures, customs, religions, ethos, and theology, etc. Gadamer mentions that ethos, law, etc., "must be understood at every moment in every particular situation, in a new and different way" (1975:275). The reality of pluralism not only refers to physical and social realism but also to perceptions and views.

Postmodern pluralism discloses the variety of cultures and subcultures, religions, pseudo religions and sects; social members recognize their right to interact with the other elements. Since each has a right to exist, each is in itself equal to the others. This tendency of "apparently irresistible pluralization renders any unilinear view of the world and history impossible" (Vattimo, 1992:6). Postmodernism destructs the single centre or foundation of modern truth. Modernism's or Enlightenment's concept of history is unilinear, admires progress, the realization of

civilization is measured and determined by the superior Western European man. Postmodernism criticizes this kind of concept, claiming that “there is no single history, only of the past projected from different points of view. It is illusory to think that there is a supreme or comprehensive viewpoint capable of unifying all others” (Vattimo, 1992:3). Vattimo argues, “with the demise of the idea of a central rationality of history, the world of generalized communication explodes like a *multiplicity of ‘local’ rationalities* – ethnic, sexual, religious, cultural or aesthetic minorities – that finally speak up for themselves” (Vattimo, 1992:8-9. My italics). Lyotard, who criticizes and advances Wittgenstein’s understanding of language games, says “that each of the various categories of utterance can be defined in terms of rules specifying their properties and the uses to which they can be put in - exactly the same way as the game of chess is defined by a set of rules determining the properties of each of the pieces, in other words, the proper way to move them” (1986:10). Lyotard continues, the first principle is “to speak is to fight, in the sense of playing, and speech acts fall within the domain of a general agonistics [agonistics is the basis of Heraclitus’s ontology and of Sophists’ dialectics]; the second principle is that the observable social bond is composed of language ‘moves’” (1986:10-11,88).

This promotes the freedom in which its unique element in itself has its own function that does not interfere with others. A player has a right to decide which element will be used in every move. This promotes a regard to plurality with each distinct element interacting with each other. This kind of ‘postmodern liberation’ also creates multicentricity. However, the emancipatory effect of liberation of local rationalities is confined not only to accept the recognition, originality and authenticity of constructs, such as Black, Asian, feminine, gay, lesbian, church denominations, religious sects, but also disorientation. Disorientation is the first step for their initial identification amid postmodern society. In this regard, Vattimo says “If, in this multicultural world, I set out my system of religious, aesthetic, political and ethnic values, I shall be acutely conscious of the historicity, contingency and finiteness of these systems, starting with my own” (1992:9).

Furthermore, it is obvious that Vattimo points out the postmodern ambiguities, instability and insecurity resulting from the emphasis of the *multicentric character of postmodernity*. Disorientation and oscillation, similar to a pendulum swinging hither and thither, unveil the confusing identity embedded in postmodernity itself. This is the

“significance of the emancipatory ‘confusion’ of dialects” (1992:10). Besides, contingency and relativism express postmodern absurdity. “Aesthetic experience leads us into other possible worlds, and we are made to realize the contingency and relativity of the ‘real’ world in which we have to live...to live in this pluralistic world means to experience freedom as a continual oscillation between belonging and disorientation”(Vattimo, 1992:10).

Postmodernism in itself obviously has existential confusion and absurdity due to an unavailable single truth. Each has an opportunity to express the truth. In a postmodern ‘consensus’, each acknowledges that its truth departs from its locality. Each has its distinctiveness as well as its disorientation. Multiplication of perspectives not only disorients postmodern people but also compels them to live in uncertainties, relativism, ambiguities and perpetual flux. The impact of intense postmodern media creates a postmodern relativistic, absurd reality as a result of the intersection of a “multiplicity of images, interpretations and reconstructions circulated by the media in competition with one another and without any ‘central’ coordination” (Vattimo, 1992:7). The centre dissolves and such terms as heterotopia (Foucault, 1970: xviii) and multiverse (Grenz, 1996:20) are associated with postmodern pluralism.

Neo-Marxists, such as Jameson and Harvey, indicate that the higher state of capitalism has created universal homogenization across the globe, but also produced cultural fragmentation as it is experienced in the compression of space and time (Best & Kellner, 1991:3).

The cultural pluralism of postmodernity can be seen in the way the postmodernists criticize modernism with its eclecticism: “one listens to reggae, watches a western, eats McDonald’s food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner, wears Paris perfume in Tokyo, and ‘retro’ clothes in Hong Kong; knowledge is a matter for TV games, patch and kitsch (art or literature of little or no value esp. when produce to satisfy popular taste) (Lyotard, 1986:74).

It can be seen that in postmodernism there is a shift from a modern single metanarrative of rationalism to a pluralism of worldviews. Postmodernism deconstructs single truth and creates liberation of groups. There is no more single, coordinating point. This is the relativism and absurdity of postmodernism, but in this condition each has its freedom to express its voice truth, and interest as well. The latter states postmodern pluralism.

B.6.5. Local determinism

As mentioned before, globalization inevitably homogenizes or uniforms (see section [on globalization] B.5.3) the global product such as fast food like Kentucky fried chicken, McDonald's hamburgers, etc. However, this product does not eliminate local uniqueness. The abundant flow of information pervading every corner of the world has revealed the identity of tribes. Postmodern information has created a borderless country and this, in turn, has created 'retribalization' within nation-states.

In this regard, Grenz asserts, "Life within the global village imbues its citizens with a vivid awareness of the cultural diversity of our planet—an awareness that seems to be encouraging us to adopt a new pluralist mind-set...it affirms and celebrates diversity. The celebration of cultural diversity, in turn, demands a new style – eclecticism - the style of postmodernity" (1996:18-19).

Foucault (1979; 1980; cf. Best & Kellner, 1991:47, 57), who investigated the micro politics of power in society, found that local resistances within social institutions reveal patches or local determinism. There are many language games and particular kinds of knowledge, texts and institutions. Each has its authenticity and its voice needs to be heard. Every expression of elements in society is emerging from its locality as a reaction to uniformity and universality (cf. Lyotard, 1986:65-67). This is found in groups, such as, feminists, gays, ethnic and religious organizations, regional autonomists, etc. These groups, to Foucault, are indications of the local determinism in globalization or postmodernity (Harvey, 1989: 46). A tendency to continue the master foundation of modernism, which encourages universalization and pressure on diversity and pluralism, must be discarded. In postmodernity, each has its expression of truth. The truth emerges from local struggle, need and expectation and the pursuit of equality.

As can be seen in the analysis in chapter IV, Minahasans who have spread to many parts of the world have maintained their (religious, tribal, cultural) identity and have become sub-tribes to a certain extent.

Local determinism emerges as a result of postmodern pluralism in which each element and view in society is equally regarded.

B.6.6. Division of labour in society

An explanation of this section is necessary since this research deals with migrant workers.

In pre-literate society, there was no clear division of labour as it is understood in modern society. The purpose of working was to meet the need of every member of the family and community. Simple 'technology', cooking, and hunting, as well as other agricultural activities, for example, were the basis of an archaic division of labour. Males were designated to be hunters while females were to cook at home and look after children (Boelars, 1984:12-64). Concerning labour in the pre-literate world Ritzer states, "Work in the primitive world was virtually undifferentiated; that is, there was little division of labour. Almost everyone performed each required chore. The exceptions to this were the very old and the very young, and the women. The aged were given sedentary tasks like cooking, while the young were relegated to such relatively easy tasks as picking nuts and berries. Women spent a large portion of their life alternating between pregnancy and the nursing of their young; this meant that they were generally excluded from such things as the hunt. Yet it should not be assumed that women were spared heavy work.' It has been said that woman is man's oldest beast of burden'" (Ritzer, 1986:4). Pre-literate people were part of nature (micro-cosmos) (Van Peursen, 1974); this means that there was no or little separation between housework and industrial work, as it exists in modern society (Turner, 1995:6; Weber, 1964:225; Bell, 1999:75,126).

In philosophical discourse, modernity is associated with Descartes's *cogito ergo sum* (Grenz, 1996:2-3). "Modernity is equated with the scientific worldview of the Enlightenment. This powerful and successful approach to nature and culture has come to dominate the modern university and our social, economic, moral, and cognitive structures. Human reason, as exemplified in the deductive thought of mathematics and physics, would come to replace the superstitious worldviews of religion and other forms of irrationality. Reason, science, technology, and bureaucratic management would improve our knowledge, wealth, and well-being through the rational control of nature and society" (Grassie, 1997). Humans become autonomous and are able to distantiate themselves from nature (Van Peursen, 1974).

Humans created machines and modern technology based on scientific research. Typical modern society denotes the “processes of individualization, secularization, industrialization, cultural differentiation, commodification, urbanization, bureaucratization, and rationalization” (Best & Kellner, 1991:3). Market, capital and profit have been the main economic features of capitalism. One of the main characteristics of a modern economy is material production. In a modern economy, “a market system implies the existence of apparatus for exchanging *factors of production* (land, labour, and capital) as well as commodities, and this last idea is very modern”(Ekelund & Hebert, 1975:50).

In modern capitalism, as viewed by Adam Smith, production not consumption is essential for improving economics. Moreover, the important role of labour is inevitable. “The value of any commodity...to the person who possesses it, and who means not to use or consume it himself, but to exchange it for other commodities, is equal to the quantity of labour which it enables him to purchase or command. Labour, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities” (Smith, 1937 [1776]: 30) quoted by Ekelund & Hebert, 1975:62). Ekelund and Hebert highlight Smith’s labour-cost theory of value in the process of production, “It is one thing to charge that the true measure of value, in real terms, is labour time, and another to avow that the source of value is the necessary costs of production for each commodity. In short, Smith felt that labour theories of value were valid only for primitive societies where labour represents the main (if not the only) factor of production.” (1975:63). It can be observed that modern economics emphasizes profit taking, excessive absorption of natural resources and human resources with economic efficiency principles, without taking care of natural maintenance which is later criticized by postmodernists.

Modernity stresses the development of capitalism coupled with a modern management system (Taylor’s *The Principles of scientific management*), which Harvey refers to as *Fordism* (Harvey, 1989:125-140). The modern labour system emphasizes paid-per-hour labour, skilled labour productivity and assembly-line system (Dutch: “lopende baan”), etc. Harvey affirms that the shift of the modern system to the postmodern emerged from modern capitalism (Fordism) to the accumulation of science and technological improvement that pervades the system of capitalism itself (1989:196).

In contrast to modernity, postmodernist theorists say that the characteristics of postmodernity are “computer, media, new forms of knowledge, and changes in the socio-economic system” (Best & Kellner, 1991:3). The advance of science and technology, which entails time and space compression (see section B.5.3), has fundamentally shaped a new human cosmological constellation. The concept of time, space, object and social interaction will affect the working practices of, for example, migrant workers. Time and space no longer constrains intense work. A manager controls his or her subordinates or discusses job matters with his or her colleagues from wherever he or she is. This is the reason why Bell claims that, in a pre-modern organization, physical work prevails; in a modern organization it is called division of labour while in postmodernism it is called networking (1999:lxxxv). Consumerism (see postmodernity and consumer society section B.6.2) coupled with late capitalism (Jameson, 1984, 1991) determines labour networking.

Division of labour in postmodern era is essentially characterized by and inseparable from postmodern media e.g. virtual social communication and time-space compression.

Labour, like knowledge, is a commodity and commodification of capitalism. Perhaps this prevails in the most advanced societies in which postmodernity has been almost completely achieved. Nevertheless, this tendency is not always true, since in economic production, companies need blue-collar workers because, due to the general wealth, people no longer want to take this kind of job. It is impossible to jettison the blue-collar class in a postmodern society. To criticize the service economy, as conceived by Bell (1999), Gershuny and Miles (1983:10-11), and developed by Smart (1992: 38), “services” need to be defined as amorphous and this includes blue-collar activities such as street weeping, warehousing, etc. In this case, whether in Japanese or American factories, migrant workers have the opportunity to fill the available jobs, which most local workers regard as beneath their dignity. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

B.7. Modern and postmodern religions

Vocation is a religious term, therefore it is necessary to explain the role of religion in modern society and the importance of the sociology of religion in

investigating religion. The second part of this section will be devoted to the role and place of religions in the postmodern era.

B.7.1. Religion in the frame of modern social change

Undertaking vocation is inseparable from the social life in which the Christian believers exist. Christian vocation is realized amidst social change. The shift from modernity to postmodernity, of course, involves social change; therefore the sociology of change will help to determine the extent to which the function of religion in modern society is achieved. Is it right that its functions are limited to revolutionary, inefficient and fragmentary activities?¹⁷ Are there any attempts by religious leaders to regain “previous” religious control over society? How to redesign religious analysis in perceiving the immediate reality by using philosophy is an important theological exercise. Tillich (1957), for example, uses existentialism in his systematic theology, and sociologists of religion, such as Berger (1969), have tried to help theologians to do scientific theological works in a modern world by using a sociological frame of thought. A theologian, Cox (1965) has tried to do the same. Employing the theories of sociology of change in understanding religious existence is extremely important, and consequently it will enable religion how to perpetuate its function within the cultural flux of society.

How do we link a sociological approach to human religion and theological investigation? In essence, Tillich argues that human existence (existence from *Existere*, [Lat.] which means standing out, (therefore to be outstanding) is the human rational capacity that makes it possible to absorb the supernatural reality (Tillich, 1957:94). Hence human beings can encounter transcendence. Here, transcendence means God, ultimate reality, *deva* or whatever terms refer to the divine. Hence, theology is concerned with the articulation of faith in which God reveals himself as the truth and it is meaningful to human life. Such a revelation (Greek: φαίνειν) is

¹⁷ To comment about the place of religion in social change, Bellah, (1970:284), as quoted by Hargrove (1971:232) states, “The results of this are likely to fall into three categories: people may sink into a condition of permanent undercommitment or loss of faith, becoming alienated from any faith system; they may create changes in the symbol system which make it responsive to a changing environment, either through limited reform or through charismatic revolution: or they may react by forming an over-commitment to the present system” (1971:232). Hargrove explains that religions respond to social change under the topics: Renewal and Aggiornamento, Overcommitment, Nativism and Reaction and Revitalization and Charismatic Revolution (1971:231-292).

absorbed by humans.¹⁸ Human absorption and experience are confined to the investigation of religionists. They investigate it from an empirical standpoint. Sociologists of religion, in the modern paradigm, is concerned with “empirical data—that which can be verified by the senses; they are concerned with the behavior, and particularly with socially structured or group behavior; they, as all scientists, attempt to categorize and generalize what they observe” (Hargrove, 1971:5).

Religious elements generally refer to credo or dogma, religious leaders (priest, prophet etc.), ritual, ethics/morals, myth and community of believers. Human beings absorb divine revelation and then formulate it into dogma. The dogma is stored in symbol. Symbol is the crystallization of thought.¹⁹ Religious experience is narrated through myth, which explains the aetiology of the cosmos and humans, and the eventual fates of human beings in the end (eschatology). This is narratively projected in the ideal world of *in illo tempore* from which every thing originated and to which every thing will be restored (Hall, 1978:35 ff). The myth itself clarifies ethics, what to do and what not to do and therefore maintains the stability of individuals and society (Van Peursen, 1974).

Ritual is the actualization of what is meaningful (in religion, it refers to dogma, exhortation of God) as stored in symbol and myth; it efficaciously effervesces the meaning of social coherency (Durkheim, 1965; Hall, 1978:64 ff). Hargrove concludes that “Religion is a human phenomenon which functions to unite cultural, social and personal systems into a meaningful whole. Its components generally include (1) a community of believers who share (2) a common myth, which interprets the abstraction of cultural values into historic reality through (3) ritual behaviour, which makes possible personal participation in (4), a dimension of experience recognized as encompassing something more than everyday reality—the holy” (1971:13).

As a consequence of man as *homo socius*, man’s religion always has social dimensions; religion cannot be separated from social existence. Anthropologists say

¹⁸ Tillich states “Revelation is the manifestation of the mystery of being for the cognitive function of human reason...Knowledge of revelation is knowledge about the revelation of the mystery of being to us, not information about the nature of beings and their relation to one another” (1957:129).

¹⁹ Ernst Cassirer states man is *animal symbolicum*, while Susan Langer (1959), mentions “A New philosophical theme has been set forth to a coming age: an epistemological theme, the comprehension of science. The power of symbolism is its cue, as the finality of sense-data was the cue of a former epoch” (1959:29). She contends that through symbols, thinkers can understand the reality of ritual, religious sacrament, myth, language, music and arts.

that religion cannot be separated from society in primitive society. Society is expressed religiously and vice versa. In this context, one can agree with Durkheim's thesis of mechanical solidarity (Durkheim, 1966: 64 ff).

In modernism, rationalism 'killed' god. This kind of god, in Durkheim (1965), is the unifier of society. Modernism kicks out religion, 'god' into the periphery. "The French Revolution decisively dethroned God, proclaiming the arrival of the secular state" (Lyon, 1994:27). Modernism claimed the autonomy of science over religion and its truth. If the traditional "god" was no longer functioning as a unifier of society, then there are many 'gods' in modernism. Society is fragmented and segmented. This is the beginning of modern secularization, i.e. cultivating nature outside the rule of the god of traditional society (Cox, 1965). Yet, it is the beginning of pluralization in modern society. Rationalism, one of the underlying elements of modernism, has crushed the fundamental norm that binds society. This, in turn, modifies the human way of thought, that of perceiving reality. Subsequently, it alters the meaning and function of religion. This impacted on social life and institutions. This kind of transition (evolutionary theories of transition) sociologically refers to what Tönnies suggests is a transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* or Durkheim's shifts from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity (Johnson, 1986:164-190). This shift, of course, affects division of labour and the way people undertake their work.

In the modern era, society as a community tends to be fragile. An individual's freedom emerges transparently. In this context, the individual's right to choose from the given value system that which is subjectively meaningful, can be achieved. Weber says: "Meaning may be of two kinds. The term may refer first to the actual existing meaning in the given concrete case of a particular actor or to the average of approximate meaning attributable to a given plurality of actors; or secondly to the theoretically conceived pure type of subjective meaning attributed to the hypothetical actor or actors in a given type of action" (1964:89). Parsons comments: "There were two crucial foci of the historical element in Weber's work. The first was his attempt to interpret action by understanding the motives of the actor from a "subjective" point of view, i.e., the investigator attempting to put himself in the actor's place ... The second primary focus ... was his concern with systems of meaning (*Sinnzusammenhänge*) which could be interpreted ... and which, as definitions of situations for the actions of individuals, could be linked with individuals' 'interest' (their motives in a

psychological sense)” (Talcott Parsons, “Introduction” in Weber, 1968: xxiii). This social method of interpretation is applied in Weber’s research on the influence of Protestant teaching of predestination and vocation in the emergence of the spirit of capitalism (Weber, 1976).

To sum up, there is a shift of the function of religion from primitive society to modernity. The function of religion shifted from the only derived meaningful value to be one of the values bargained for in the social value system. In primitive society, religion played a fundamental role in society, while in modern it is one of the many values. Religious value is one of the values to be bargained for by modern society.

B.7.2. Role and place of religions in the postmodern era

Huntington (2002), who accentually criticizes civilization after the Cold War, argues that an inevitable globalization process is occurring in which there is a clash of civilizations that shakes the powers and cultures due to the more important role of marginalized groups, such as cultural indigenous non-western societies, Muslim militancy and Chinese power. All this shifts and shakes the political, economical and even religious global constellation.

Concerning religion’s role in the global civilization after the Cold War, Huntington, in borrowing Kepel’s (1994) term, *la revanche de Dieu*, claims that modernism’s progressivism and assertion are unconvincing. Therefore it is a misguiding to modernize religions. In the post Cold War, people are religionizing (Islamizing, Christianizing, etc.) modernity. Modernism’s claim of a religious *aggiornamento* is no longer true. The intense activities of Fundamentalist movements evidently hint at a religious resurgence in postmodernity. This is evidenced by religious resurgence in the fading West (Huntington, 2002:95 ff). Even Muslims are not clear as to how to separate *darul harb* (house or battle field) in which Muslims coexist peacefully with the non-Muslims, from *darul islam*, which claims that, where most of the people in a country are Muslims, they must rule the country, and in so doing ignore the non-Muslims and pursue political life in terms of the *sharia* Islam (law of Islam) (Maulana Muhammad Ali, 1980:385). Islam fundamentalists claim the inseparability of politics and religion.²⁰ Religious militant purification attempts to

²⁰ An Islamic doctrine asserts “al-Islam din wa daulah” means Islam is a religion as well as a state (Madjid, 1987: ix; Panggalo, 1999:163).

free itself from liberal, rationalistic contamination that repudiates religious messages. They express doctrines and, to some degree, manifest their fundamentalistic doctrine in extreme anarchical behaviours. This indicates the strict application of *sharia Islam*.²¹

Recently in Indonesia during *Ramadhan* (fasting month) 2004, the *Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defendant Front), one of the Muslim militant groups, outrageously demolished taverns, brothels and gambling places. This was violent protest against the immorality of modern society, caused, in part, by the collusion of law enforcers with criminal elements to the detriment of religious morality. The way the Islamic fundamentalists express their religious morality, however, is in itself outrageous and undermines the authority of the law. In essence, the negation of the existence of God means discarding the irrational dimension inherent in religion. This affects social life. From a socio-religious point of view, “Fundamentalist movements, in particular, are ‘ a way of coping with the experience of chaos, the loss of identity, meaning and secure social structures created by the rapid introduction of modern social and political patterns, secularism, scientific culture and economic development’” (Huntington, 2002:98).

In the life of the Christian church, to silence the ravaging acts of Christian fundamentalists, the church adopts a strategy, not popular with all, to regain the irrational dimension of the Christian faith and to critically adhere to prayer fellowship and evangelicalism’s styles of worship. Reclaiming the irrational dimension of religiosity is one of the characteristics of postmodernity (Veith Jr.1994). “People do not lived by reason alone” (Huntington, 2002:97). The task of theologians is to explore Biblical roots that reinvigorate these religious acts. This attempt, in turn, purposely maintains the existence of church denominations, and improves the quality of the faith of church members. This fundamentally affects the way church members

²¹ The word Islam (*aslama*) means submission to the almighty, single God, Allah. Sin, in Islam, is called *shirk*: associating God with other gods. Those who do not believe Allah are *kafir*, pagan. This, doctrine, therefore stimulates the Muslims to conduct *jihad*, martyr, holy war, as in an extreme way to force, even by torture, non- Muslim to be Muslim. This shapes their political views which calls them to constitute *dharu’l Islam*, (territory of Islam) and *dharu’l harb* (territory of war). *Sharia* actually means ‘the path or the road leading to the water’ or a way to the very source of life. Not all Muslims apply this doctrine in an anarchical, threatening way. The *Nahdatul Ulama*, Indonesia, is a Muslim movement that has an inclusive view, which regards other religions as parts of the whole community. Unfortunately, for the Muslim fundamentalists, *jihad* is interpreted as a religious law that forcefully prevails in every sphere of social life (Rahman, 1979:100 ff. Nehl, nd.:10-11). See also chapter IV (contemporary Indonesian politics).

think of work as vocation and execute godly works in accordance with the law of God. In this regard, it is the task of the church to regain religious sense and piety by attacking the rational displacement of God.

The reassertion of religiosity does not mean discarding modern means of technology and science. Even fundamentalists, who are anarchical and sectarian, disagree with “westoxification” of the non-western and western rationalism (Huntington, 2002:97), they engage in technology and science. In the postmodern era, these fundamentalist groups also have global networks. In his analysis of the super-industrial society, Toffler (1981) argues that the improvement of science and its application in technology inevitably challenge the information society. Diversity affects the multiplicity of choice regarding goods and services and subgroups (hobbies, professions) and the specialization of the information society (Toffler, 1982). Food, natural resources, environmental deterioration and population explosion, will all be the domain of the technological consideration and policy. Technological pressures in super-industrial society will make religion the alternative to the *catharsis* of tension. Technology will inevitably pervade every corner of the world. Technology will encourage religions by offering their soteriologies to the victims of the technological system. Technology will also accelerate the interaction between humans and cultures which, in turn, will sharpen the transparency of religious pluralism, previously closed and limited to the “ghetto” of its adherents. Religious awakenings will sharpen the pluralism of religions.

The significant roles of religious fundamentalists in world religions (Hindu in India, Shinto in Japan, and Christian Revivalism across the world) are the indicators of dissatisfaction of human beings against modernists’ atheism, which wish to remove gods and religions from the socio-cultural centre of society. Religious revivals are used as a means “to search for authenticity and authority in politics...and the historical roots” (Harvey, 1989:292) of social groups in postmodern society. The activities of the popular religion and popular piety of postmodernity indicate that they attack the pervasive uniformity and injustice of modernity (Cox, 1984:216-261). “The moral crisis of our time is a crisis of Enlightenment thought...the Enlightenment affirmation of ‘self without God’ in the end negated itself because reason, a means, was left, in the absence of God’s truth, without any spiritual or moral goal....The

postmodern theological project is to reaffirm God's truth without abandoning the powers of reason" (Harvey, 1989:42; Allen, 1989:1-19).

Nietzsche's objection to Christianity concerned the way it associated with the allies of tyranny. Therefore Nietzsche attempted to jettison Christianity and its slave morality that preserved vulnerability, anxiety and fear (Russell, 1965:732-736). Even though he was not interested in a metaphysical transcendental god, unfortunately his judgment has jettisoned Christian truth. His concept of the will to power impacted on social immorality and destruction. The Nietzschean misguided principle of immorality must be negated, because postmodernism reasserts the importance of religion and the existence of God in contemporary social life. Revivalism and religious fundamentalism are the active players that have been readmitted by postmodernism. It should be noted that if postmodern concepts derived from structuralism-poststructuralism, then, basically they are in themselves hostile to religions, or antireligious.

However, it can be said that postmodernism perspicuously sharpens the idea of difference and pluralism in contemporary society. It again provides an opportunity for reiterating religious truth. In postmodernity, each religion has an equal right to speak of its truth and to be heard by others. Previously, the Enlightenment's scientific rationalistic objectivism has removed "god" to the periphery because of their objections to and/or rejection of its metaphysical speculation, in which the religious/theological statements are unverifiable. In postmodernism, on the contrary, the opportunity of moving the religions into the centre or at least making them active game players in society has again arisen. This is an opportunity for Christians in general, and Christian migrant workers in particular, to have their voice of faith heard, as well as indicating the religious needs of postmodern people, which will be identified in the next chapter.

C. Conclusion

- Postmodernism is a term that refers to the diversity of views [structuralism, post-structuralism (Derrida), super-industrialization (Toffler), post-industrial society (Daniel Bell), media and global village (McLuhan), globalization (Naisbitt, Giddens, etc.) or information society (Baudrillard)], which have blended into a

system of thinking, therefore it should be treated meticulously. Instead of thinking of it as a combination of ideas, postmodernity should be perceived as a unique entity that covers contemporary reality as we enter the new century and new millennium.

- Postmodernity is inseparable from discourses on modernity (Harvey, Giddens). From postmodern pluralism point of view (pastiche, collage, etc.), modernity is viewed as one of the elements of postmodernity. However, from postmodern cosmological point of view, postmodernity essentially regards modernity as being obsolete because of the destructive principles inherent in it: single truth, rationalistic scientific progressivism, metanarratives (Lyotard), and oppression of paternalism in which the victims are female, nature and marginal groups.
- The reality and the presence of postmodernity are affirmed by postmodern characteristics such as postmodern media and consumer culture.
- Postmodernity actively promotes multi-centres and multi-interpretations. It affirmatively exists and is underpinned by late capitalism.
- Postmodernity is also a paradox. It resuscitates dying religiosity, while at the same time making it absurd. In addition, postmodernism makes science absurd. Its criticism of metanarratives impugns the truth of religion, science, etc. Postmodernism has skewed the values of religions, morality, etc., therefore it brings about relativism.

The analysis in this chapter is an attempt of being involved in scientific tradition in which the researcher enters the spheres of normal science and paradigm (Kuhn, 1970).²² This critique of postmodernism is an analysis of the paradigm shift. The results of literature study of this chapter indicates that the authoritative investigations by philosophers, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, drawn from scientific views, infer conclusions that are verifiable, convincing facts that exist in the experiences of people of contemporary society and in social interaction. Based on these results, it is claimed that modernity is obsolete and postmodernity exists. This is the basic argument and reasoning that prompts the researcher to adhere to the proposition that postmodernity exists and is already overwhelming the lives of

²² “‘normal science’ means research firmly based upon one or more past scientific achievements, achievements that some particular scientific community acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundation for its further practice.” The paradigm is “some accepted examples of actual scientific practice- examples which include law, theory, application, and instrumentations together-provide models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research.” (Kuhn, 1970:10)

migrant workers of the GMIM church. This aspect will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter IV

VOCATION IN THE MINDS OF MIGRANT WORKERS OF THE GMIM CHURCH

A. Introduction

The main purpose in conducting this field research is to investigate to what extent the migrant workers of the GMIM church demonstrate their adherence to the Reformed (Calvin's) concept of vocation in the fulfilment of their works. The second purpose is to identify how postmodern concepts determine their way of thinking as well as their behaviour and involvement in ethical decision-making both personally and communally. This chapter, therefore, will explain what concept of vocation GMIM church members have, and how they apply it to their existence as migrant workers abroad.

The first part of this chapter will present a brief description of the social, economic and political context of contemporary Indonesia which is shaped in the postmodern setting. The social, economic and political factors of contemporary Indonesia, the researcher contends, motivate GMIM church members to be migrant workers. This will be followed by an elaboration of the Indonesian government training program which sets out the stages which migrant workers undergo to fulfil the legal requirements. Furthermore, the researcher argues that GMIM is a Reformed church in whose ministry Calvin's doctrines are inherent. The section on the teaching of vocation embedded in the theology of the GMIM church explains what kind of theology of vocation has been inculcated in the minds of the GMIM church members. Subsequently, it can be inferred that these seeds of faith shaped their minds to apply a Reformed understanding of vocation in their lives as migrant workers.

The second part of this chapter will explain the result of the field research conducted in Japan, the Netherlands and, lastly, the USA.

B. Indonesian political context with which GMIM migrant workers is challenged to undertake their vocation abroad and the Reformed tradition that inculcates their concept of vocation

B.1. Indonesia as the political domestic context of the Minahasan migrant workers

This section deals with the political context of Indonesia and how this country is a part of the postmodern era. The first part deals with the indication that Indonesia is a country in which postmodernity exists. The second part deals with the current issues that challenge the Minahasans to pursue their vocation abroad.

B.1.1 Contemporary Postmodern Indonesian politics

In this section, the researcher contends that Indonesia exists in postmodernity. Is it possible that Indonesia is facing postmodernity? Taylor (1989:31-40) argues that postmodernity exists in advanced societies. However, the researcher disagrees with this statement, as he argues that Indonesia, which cannot be seen as an advanced society, is already experiencing postmodernity. Postmodernity influences all spheres of human life across the globe and this tendency can be identified through the intense interaction in the reality of the pluralism of religions and cultures or influences from outside which are intensified by the spirit of globalization and “high-tech” telecommunication (see sections B.5.3; B.6.1 and B.7.2 in chapter III).

In Indonesia, the global impact of postmodernity can be seen as the precursor of the “Reformation Era” which occurred in 1998. The influences of Internet and the “dish antenna” compelled *Soeharto* to step down from the presidency in May 1998. This political shift of power has led Indonesian politics into new concepts of democracy (Forrester & May, 1999:177-179).

Islamic and Christian fundamentalisms are emerging and influencing postmodern politics. Among the 48 political parties which participated in the June 1999 general elections in Indonesia, there were many Muslim and Christian parties (Novianto & Chaidar, 1999). *K.H.Abdurahman Wahid*, the fourth President, an Islamic nationalist, was elected by the members of People’s Consultative Assembly

and was actually supported by an Islamic-oriented “group” within the former ruling “*Golkar*”(Indonesian: an acronym of *Golongan karya*, means “working group”) party, an Islamic group itself and an armed forces faction.

The above phenomena are the indicators of the *primordialism* and pluralism of religion. Questions about *Pancasila* ideology emerged when Muslim parties and secular nationalists wanted to revise the 1945 Constitution to turn the state into a federal republic and claim autonomy for each district. Many revisions of the Constitution have been made during the meeting of the People’s Consultative Assembly. The amendment of the Constitution including the election of president is directly voted by the people,¹ limitation of the power of president to avoid the misuse and abuse of power as practiced by *Soeharto*, the promotion of the supremacy of law (rule of law) and the opportunity for people to be free to apply decentralization of authority - one of the elements inherent in postmodernity- to every sector of life. People challenge the government to pursue transparent economic policies without ignoring the International economy. People’s perception of reality is now determined by political freedom. This means people are free to express their thoughts. They sense the plurality of ethnicity, world religions and economies in their lives. On the other hand, they are afraid of losing their identities. This challenges Indonesians to maintain their own identity and religious traditions in the midst of postmodern relativism and the celebration of pluralism (see, chapter III.B.6.4. B.7.2).

The above examples are indicative of postmodernity in Indonesian religious and political life. Consider the following:

- a. The shifts of the function of the state from centralistic government and economic monopoly to the *debureautization*, decentralization, the autonomy of districts, *marketization* and improved telecommunication throughout Indonesia are indisputable.

¹ There has been collusion amongst the members of the People’s Consultative Assembly in electing president, which in turn benefited themselves and not the grass roots. *Megawati Soekarnoputri* (the fifth President, who is a “secular” nationalist as well as a daughter of the former first President, *Soekarno*) promulgated a new law (in 2003) of president election. The People’s Consultative Assembly eventually amended it. This new law states that Indonesian citizens have the right to vote for Presidency; therefore the old law (President was elected by the members of the People’s Consultative Assembly) was abandoned. The sixth, present president, *Susilo Bambang Yudoyono*, was elected directly by the people in April 2004.

- b. The change in current Indonesian religious life from religious parochialism to mutual recognition of every religion, in a sense, challenges Indonesian people to celebrate religious pluralism and its influence on the tasks of humanization, and promotes social and economic justice.
- c. The challenge of *tribalization* including *primordialism* and religious fundamentalism.
- d. The interaction of the churches in this postmodern setting.

Since Minahasa is a region belonging to the Indonesian republic, so politically and economically, the “national” postmodern setting of Indonesia will be the *conditio sine qua non* and *prima facie* to identify the postmodern setting of Minahasan GMIM church members. As postmodernity regards decenteredness, so the unique perception and expression of Minahasan Christians of GMIM towards postmodernity is identified. So permeated is the challenge of globalization in Indonesian society that Minahasans consequently are now experiencing postmodernity. This statement is inferred from the arguments explained in chapter III.B.5.3 viz. postmodernity is preceded by globalization and the global dialectics and polarity of the universalization of the particular and particularization of the universal. This also is strengthened by the instituting of time-space compression which shapes the reality of postmodernity (chapter III.B.6.1). These are the facts of Minahasan daily life. Consider a few examples²:

- a. A Minahasan villager who works in a plantation, uses a mobile phone to know exactly what is happening in the US and Japan where his relatives are working.
- b. A Cosmopolitan Minahasan manager of a housing company in Manado (capital city of North Sulawesi), sitting in front of a pile of documents, makes contact with his foreign business partner and, having made a deal, the manager then asks the carpenters of the *Mapalus* (a traditional/local economic cooperation) in the village to provide wood houses to execute the order of the people who live far away in another part of the world.
- c. The presence of Minahasans overseas challenges people to accept the mottos: “Think globally, Act locally” and “Think locally, Act globally”. Minahasans think

² These examples refer to what is called the impact of globalization. Once Minahasans become involved in the globalization process they manifest a postmodern level of understanding and these actions could also be interpreted as postmodernity itself.

and work beyond the boundaries of their ethnicity and their country. This establishes the postmodernity in Minahasan's lives.

Since it can be claimed that Indonesia is a part of postmodern reality, this makes it possible for GMIM migrant workers living abroad to contact their relatives or colleagues who are living in Minahasa, Indonesia, and to share, exchange and update information with them.³

B.1.2. Postmodern ambiguity, Indonesian politics and Minahasans' motivation to become migrant workers

Indonesia consists of many tribes, dialects, islands, and local political systems; therefore, Indonesians face the reality of pluralism.⁴ However, the reality of pluralism in Indonesia inevitably brings about political disorder. As a modern state ideology, *Pancasila*,⁵ seeks to unite every cultural and religious element of the nation and is the basis of civil religion (Purdy, 1984; Darmaputra, 1983). Nevertheless, in the postmodern age, Indonesia has faced fundamental changes in political life. The challenge to change the single political ideology of the nation-state of *Pancasila* and to add the *Sharia Islam* (Muslim social political law) has been echoed by fundamentalist Muslims.⁶ The resurgence of religions, especially among religious

³ As can be seen in the results of field research (chapter IV), Minahasan migrant workers in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA regularly contact their relatives and colleagues in Minahasa, Indonesia especially by using mobile phones.

⁴ Many Indonesians call themselves religious people. This claim could be identified in their everyday life. Indonesia *ipso facto* is a religiously plural state. Religious significance is *conditio sine qua non* of its political life. This is evident in historical accounts, cultural artifacts, and contemporary social behaviours. Prior to the so-called modern, nation-state of Republic of Indonesia being established, there were many autonomous diverse ethnic groups. Each ethnic group lived in a milieu of ethnic, primal religion. This primal religion was confined within the prevailing ethnic boundary (Sumakul, 1998:15).

⁵ Pancasila or five principles of Indonesian ideology: 1. Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa (Belief in One God), 2. *Kemanusiaan yang Adil dan Beradab* (Just and Civilized Humanity), 3. *Persatuan Indonesia* (Unity of Indonesia), 4. *Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan/perwakilan* (Peoplehood is led by wisdom and consensus/representatives), 5. *Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia* (Social justice for all Indonesian people). There are a variety of interpretations of this ideology which affect the translation of this ideology from Indonesian into English. For example, some scholars translate the first principle as 'belief in one lordship.' They argue that in favour of neutrality as an ideology it is better to hold to such a translation, while others, from the perspective of the Abrahamic religions, insist on the translation of 'belief in one God,' basing their argument on monotheism (Cf. Purdy 1984; Darmaputra, 1983).

⁶ During 1945-1965, the national unity of Indonesia was threatened by many crucial and precarious events such as racial riots, ethnic claims of autonomy and religious conflicts. This needs to be dealt with in more detail. Political conflict was often caused by fanatical religious aggression. For example, in Islam, *Jihad* and politics are closely allied. This was affirmed through their attempt to modify the philosophy of Pancasila by appending to the first *sila* [principle] "Belief in one Lordship" the rider "with the obligation to carry out the *Islamic sharia* (law) for its adherents." This was formulated in the

fundamentalists, the refusal of political centralization, and the pursuit of “*otonomi daerah*” (provincial autonomy), are *ipso facto*, the spirit of globalization and postmodernism (see the concept of pluralism and difference in chapter III.B.6.3).

In the political sphere, there is a polarity between Javanese and non-Javanese, and religiously speaking, there is tension between Muslims and non-Muslims. Currently the non-Muslims intensely feel the threat of Muslim fundamentalists. Since 1998, when *Soeharto*, the second president of the republic, relinquished his office, Indonesia entered a new era called the “Reformation Era.” In this era, the Indonesian citizens, especially Christians and Chinese, have faced harmful, dangerous threats, including torture and persecution, due to exposure to the social, political, and moral diseases such as corruption, collusion, and nepotism that had been kept secret by the former regime. This social immorality has pervaded governmental bureaucracy and has inflicted suffering on people due to economic bankruptcy. Counter globalization movements such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), environmental movements, human right movements, etc. (see the contemporary global institutions in chapter III.B.5.3) that pervade this planet and are present in every country in this postmodern era, have constantly been criticizing the policy of the Indonesian government for its moral decay.

Injustice in the distribution of power, due mainly to Muslim infiltration in government, has influenced some government and military officials (Urbaningrum, 1999:137-164) to decide in favour of Muslim religious and tribal interests. This has resulted in political uprisings caused by Muslim fundamentalism.

In addition, political insecurity and instability in Indonesia have been the cause of economic recession in the past ten years. This, in part, has become the

Jakarta charter, June 22, 1945. The addition was eventually omitted in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila. Dissatisfaction with the strict conservative Muslims frequently caused political revolts. The *Darul Islam* movement: Kahar Musakar of Southern Sulawesi, S.M.Kartosuwirjo of Sunda, West Java, Daud Beareu'eh of Aceh, North Sumatera were extremely antagonistic to Pancasila and wanted to replace Indonesian ideology with that of Islam. Besides these Islamic revolts, the unequal distribution of justice, power and economic resulted in rebellion against government centred in Java. In 1958, the two groups outside Java: PERMESTA (The Universal Struggle Movement of Christian of Minahasa, North Sulawesi) and PRRI (The Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia of Muslims in North Sumatera) rebelled against the central government in Java (Sumakul, 1998:15; Boland, 1971 54-134).

impetus which motivated some Minahasans to leave their hometowns and seek jobs overseas.

In brief, insecurity brought about by the factors mentioned above has caused many Indonesians, including Minahasans, to leave the country to work abroad. This is evidenced by many Minahasans especially those in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA.

On the other hand, Minahasan culture⁷ is fraught with myths and rites that preserve the cultural ethos and world view.⁸ Minahasanologists mention that Minahasan heroism, for instance, *waraney*, bravery, and *kabasaran*, war dance (Graafland, 1991:25-35) is essential to Minahasan view of reality. This spirit of heroism, which gave rise to a Minahasan maxim “*Jadi orang Minahasa ndak mau kalah*” meaning “being Minahasan means never giving up”, still influences the ethos and, in part, the world view of contemporary Minahasan people. This is an internal, cultural, heroic force supporting the intention to work abroad.

In addition, in the past 20 years, economically speaking, Minahasan farmers cultivating coconuts and cloves have faced a drop in the prices of these commodities. This provides a further reason for Minahasans to work abroad.

To conclude, this section draws attention to the three reasons (political disorder, cultural ethos and economic instability) for Minahasans leaving their home country to become migrant workers.

However, the Indonesian government is facing this reality by offering training to Indonesian citizens who wish to become migrant workers. This aspect will now be discussed.

⁷ Minahasa is derived from the words *mina* and *hasa*. *Mina* means “doing” and *hasa* or *esa* means “one” or “united.” Therefore Minahasa means “being united.” Minahasa is made up of several sub-tribes. Historically speaking, in about the 16th century, Minahasan sub tribes were attacked by other tribes. The Minahasan tribes allied themselves with one another by means of an oath of loyalty to one another. This oath implied two elements: mutual support and equality. This verbal oath is still in effect today. Unfortunately equalitarianism leads to friction amongst them because of exaggerated individual worth (*baku cungkel*). However this negative is always countered by mutual cooperation (*masawang-sawangan, matombo-tombolan*).

⁸ From a cultural anthropology point of view, Geertz clearly defined ethos and world view and their relationship: “A people’s ethos is the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their world that life reflects. Their world view is their picture of the way things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order” (1973:127).

B.1.3. Indonesian migrant worker training program

The intention of this section is to illustrate the process which the candidate Indonesian migrant workers must go through before leaving their home country. This is the first step in preparing Minahasan migrant workers to face the legal requirement in the host countries where they will be working. This is in keeping with Calvin's view regarding the relationship between vocation and the political realm (chapter II.D.3).

The Indonesian government, especially the Department of Labour,⁹ officially appoints and registers labour agents to train candidate migrant workers. These labour agents acknowledge the labour market e.g. the principles governing supply and demand. These labour agents supply the labour force to meet the demands of labour user agents and companies abroad.¹⁰

This training and recruitment system is based on mutual support of all role players and keeps within the laws of suppliers and the host countries. The Internet is frequently used in this process.

Those who apply through the official channel are categorized as apprentices or trainees (Japanese: *kenshusei*). The government prepares candidate labourers in an apprentice-training centre for employment abroad. This training covers various job skills and experience needed, for example, in home industries, factories, offices, etc. On returning to Indonesia, the ex-migrant workers are required to put practice these skills and experience in their home country.

⁹ Most of the information in this section was provided by Jantje Pandesolang, an Indonesian government officer of the department of labour, Manado, North Sulawesi (Personal Interview, Manado, 16 June 2003). This labour contract program is a political agreement and has been established between the Indonesian government and countries such as Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan. *Kementerian Tenaga Kerja* or The Ministry of Manpower (MOM) of the Republic of Indonesia, for example, has undersigned a contract with the Japanese employment agencies such as IMM, JICA and JITCO. These Japanese employment agencies reported the need of labourers and vacancies to the Indonesian government via the approved employment agencies in Indonesia. The approved Indonesian employment agencies must receive a job order from similar agents abroad. The training is conducted in three months. *Kenshusei* (Japanese: trainees), as will be explained later, for example, is the realization of the joint program of Indonesian and Japanese governments.

There is no such contract with the USA and Canada. For European countries (EC), such as the Netherlands, Belgium and the United Kingdom only nursing service workers require contracts. In the context of this research, this labour contract program applies to Japan but excludes the Netherlands and the USA

¹⁰ In this research, labourers, employees, and workers are used interchangeably and mean persons who execute the orders and instructions of company owners.

The excellent wages earned overseas benefit the workers and their families back in Indonesia. However, the serious problems with the apprentice labour program concern the legal obligations of employers are faced by migrant workers in their employment, for example, accidents, injuries, and lay-offs are not covered by employers.

The Indonesian government has promulgated the law necessary to regulate labour flow between Indonesia and other countries; the government leaves the recruitment and training to officially registered employment agents. This process of *debureaucratization*, decentralization and privatization of the national economy is in keeping with the spirit of globalization and postmodernization.

The labour agents start off with a selection process in which the official languages of the host countries play an important role. Candidates are also evaluated mentally and physically.

This training intends to intensify the service given by the labourers for the qualified work for the service users. The trainers must have capability to teach the required languages.¹¹ Experienced and skilled teachers and adequate training curriculum are needed to conduct labourer dispatch training centre.

There are three stages involved in the *official labour agreement* between Indonesia and other countries:

1. Pre-dispatch stage
2. Working in abroad stage
3. Post-contract stage

In the first stage, the training board teaches the necessary skills and expertise needed by the trainees. In the second stage, the migrant workers do practical training overseas. This is their real apprenticeship. At this stage, Christian migrant workers are confronted with the challenges and demands of their Christian vocation. The benefits of a good wage are offset by the hardship of being away from home and family. The third stage concerns the return to Indonesia of migrant workers. These workers are

¹¹ To be a housemaid in Hong Kong, Taiwan and China, for example, it is compulsory to be fluent in Chinese to avoid miscommunication with the service users. In the Japan-Indonesian labour contract program, the labour dispatch agents must include Japanese language as part of training the trainees (*kenshusei*).

expected to apply their experience and skills in Indonesia and to consider going to private business and creating employment for their fellow Minahasans.

A schematic representation based on Hiroshi Komai's chart (1995:33) of the official route followed by Indonesian migrant workers going to Japan, looks like this:

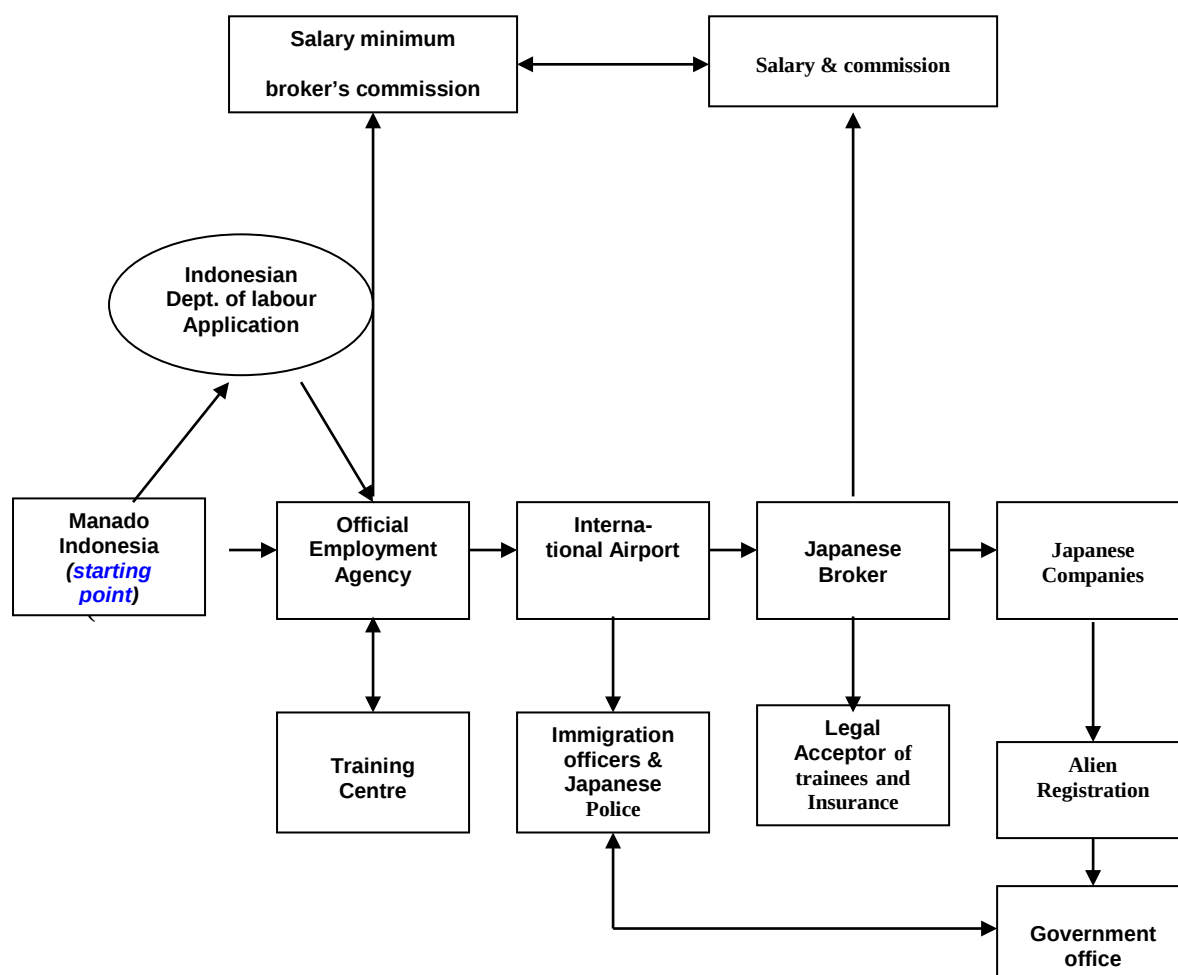


Chart 1. Route followed by Indonesian migrant workers entering Japan

There is also an unofficial channel to dispatch labourers abroad which is called “caloism.” The Indonesian term *Calo* refers to an unofficial recruiter. These recruiters sell railway and bus tickets outside official ticket offices. The same term is used for unofficial labour recruitment agents. This practice is followed by unscrupulous “agents” for personal gain. (Sometimes this “caloism” is a ‘sponsor’ in trafficking of migrant workers). Instead of benefiting migrant workers, this unofficial recruitment in

most cases impoverishes them. Although the government is completely against this perversion, there is undeniably corruption among government officials involved in illegal recruitment and training, which in turn exacerbates the fates of migrant workers.

The following chart illustrates the route of “unofficial” recruitment of migrant labour follow:

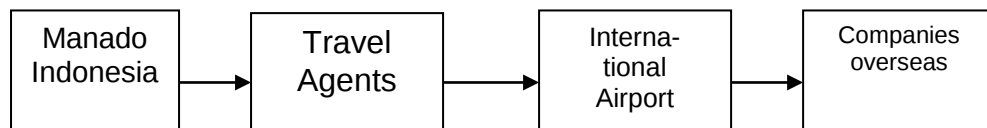


Chart 2. Route of the “unofficial” recruitment of migrant labourers

Before considering the methodology and the results of field research, the next section will explain, in brief, the Reformed theology of GMIM regarding the Christian equipment of migrant workers to pursue their vocation abroad.

B.2. GMIM as the ecclesial context out of which migrant workers’ Reformed concept of vocation is shaped

The *Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church) evangelised Minahasans and introduced them to the Reformed theology in the first half of the 17th century. The important task of the pastors and evangelists of the NHK in that time was to Christianise the pagans, therefore the call to participate in social development was not an important issue in church ministry (Abineno, 1978).

It must be noted that the missionary work of the *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap* (Dutch Missionary Society) in the 19th century caused many Minahasans to be converted to Christianity (Van den End, 1980). Even though most of the missionaries of 19th century were more influenced by the Reformed theology of NHK, it is not clear whether “GMIM,” before its organizational inception in September 30, 1934, followed TULIP¹² theology (Jonge, 1999: 356). Pietistic missionaries generally emphasized subjective and personal piety, e.g. spiritual experience of personal sin and salvation given by Christ rather than the Reformed

¹² TULIP: Total depravity, Unconditional election, Limited atonement, Irresistible grace, Perseverance of the saints (Daniel, n.d., 3-10).

tenet of election or any other dogmatic, Reformed knowledge (Runia, 1967:15. de Jonge, 1999:337-366). After the 1860s, missionaries were more influenced by liberal theology that emphasized 'enculturalization.' They tried to inculcate church members with Christian norms prevalent in Western culture.

What is interesting to note is that the viewpoint regarding the Gospel of the Dutch missionaries in the early 19th century is still present among Minahasans; the missionaries preached the Gospel via education and social development and civilization. They taught the indigenous people good etiquette, sewing, building wood houses, agriculture and taught modern subjects such as: mathematics, science, history, etc. In this evangelisation process, the Gospel of Jesus Christ was gradually introduced (GMIM HUT bersinode, 2004; Van den End, 1980:169-181; Kroeskamp, 1974:98-296; Sumakul, 1986:53-64; 80-82). This evangelisation process has been continuing ever since. This, in the view of the researcher, has fundamentally shaped the Minahasan Christian vocation. The call to participate in social development is an essential part of Minahasan Christian ministry.

It is necessary for something to be said about the attempt to bring the *Indische Protestansche Kerk* (Indonesian Protestant Church) into line with the Reformed church order (Locher, 1995; Purwanto, 1997:1-11). The church particularly inculcated Christians in order to undertake the tasks in political life and social development. This perhaps influenced the Minahasan church. Moreover, Minahasan involvement in political life has initiated Minahasan people to see that Christian responsibility in the political sphere is a manifestation of the Christian vocation (Ngelow, 1996:31-36, 57-63).

In terms of the church ministry, the concept of vocation in the minds of foreign pastors working in GMIM and of GMIM indigenous missionaries working outside Minahasa, were probably influenced by the ideas on the Apostolate (Christianise the society), which had been developed by the *Hervormde Kerk* after World War II. In this view of vocation, Calvin's doctrine regarding the Christianising of a heathen society became apparent through witness to the civil government, as it related to God's order and law. In this way, Christian norms were applied in social life and, therefore, by the Christians in government, the name of God was glorified.

To the researcher, it is clear that the church at that time had a vision of its role in the wider context of social, political and economic life. The reformed influence in

the church ministry that derived from Calvin and other Reformed theologians can be demonstrated via their emphasis on Christians' responsibilities to participate in social life through Christian conviction.

In addition, the influence of the Reformed climate to the missionaries of the *Nederlansch Zendeling Genootschap* (NZG) after World War II was apparent in GMIM church ministry and its theology. The way missionaries worked and the way they managed local pastors' ministries, and ministered to church members, point to the influence of the spiritual climate of the Reformed churches in Netherlands.

Organizationally speaking, since its inception on September 30, 1934, the GMIM church, which derived its ministry from Protestant theology in the VOC era and more significantly from the Calvinistic influence of the Indonesian Protestant Church, and perhaps the current influences of the Ecumenical, Protestant, Reformed theology of WCC¹³ and WARC have maintained its social theology of stimulating church members to participate in the social, political and economic spheres to realize their Christian calling. The annual meeting of the synod (represented by presbyteries: pastors, presbyters, deacons and teachers of Christianity)¹⁴ has always discussed immediate political, social, and cultural issues such as poverty, natural disaster, political distortion, and, nowadays, religious riots and the threat of terrorism.

Furthermore, the Church orders of 1980, 1990 and 1999 serve to indicate that the GMIM church is rooted in Reformed tradition. In the introduction to the basic rule of the church order of 1999, it is explained that GMIM is a part of the one, holy, general and apostolic Church. This church is called to conduct fellowship, witness and serve in Minahasa, Indonesia as well as all over the world. The execution of these church tasks is in itself the expression of its faith, hope and love toward God. The powerful ministry of this church shows that it is a self-reliant Protestant church in Indonesia. Since its inception, the GMIM church has fulfilled the mandate of Jesus Christ to witness and to serve the Gospel in the political and social life of the Republic of Indonesia with its ideological principle of Pancasila.¹⁵ The basic precept

¹³ BEM (Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry) is an ecumenical document of the WCC discussed in theological forum of GMIM and influenced the GMIM catechism for the candidate partakers of Holy Communion. Concerning the calling of the whole people of God, this ecumenical document states "The Church is called to proclaim and prefigure the Kingdom of God.... All members are called to discover, with the help of the community, the gifts they have received and to use them for the building up of the Church and for the service of the world to which the Church is sent" (WCC, 1983:20)

¹⁴ See appendices on the charts regarding the structure of GMIM church organization and the Synod Executive Board of the GMIM church.

¹⁵ See footnote no.5 in this chapter.

in chapter iii article 5 explains that the call of the church derives from the mandate and example of Jesus Christ, that is, to preach the gospel, take care of, and to govern the church in accordance with the Word of God in the Old and New Testament.

The precept in chapter iii. article 7.3 calls for every church member to witness and preach the gospel holistically in this present world. Every believer (notice here the concept of the priesthood of believers) in the church community is called to preach the gospel and to participate in dialogue with non-Christians by word, deed, work and *diakonia*. Chapter v. article 9 concerns the relationship between the church and government. It is said that GMIM church has been constituted by God to be the salt and light in the socio-political life of the Republic of Indonesia based on the ideology of *Pancasila*.

The emphasis on the calling of every church member to serve society underpins this church task. This means that the GMIM church is called to be involved in social life. Moreover, every believer who takes into account the doctrine of the priesthood of believers must execute his or her vocation in social life.

In the GMIM church government structure, one of the vice presidents of the synod (see appendix 5) coordinates the ministry regarding functional aspects. His or her task is to empower church members categorized by their jobs to execute their vocations in a Christian way. The church deliberately gives its members theological vision regarding work. By doing this, the church indicates that it is fully aware of the importance of the call to Christians to live out their Christianity in the work they do.

Another branch of the GMIM church ministry is “*Menjabarkan Trilogi Pembangunan Jemaat*” meaning “to apply the trilogy – reading Scriptures, praying and working- of church development,” coupled with “*Renungan Harian Keluarga*,” meaning “daily family meditation.” The department of Christian doctrine, Creed, and church order of the synod of this church issues a guideline for meditation bimonthly. The church intends to regularly give every preacher in a congregation a guideline on:

1. the use of liturgy : Presbyterian, ecumenical, contextual
2. the outline of the pericope
3. a description of the social aspects of the Biblical text and its critical analysis relative to the immediate situation of the preacher and the listeners
4. the core message of the Word
5. discussion in group connection

Note the third point above. It is compulsory for every preacher to analyse the local, immediate issues that need to be considered in the light of the God's Word. This includes the Christian family and society, political aspect, religious fundamentalism coupled with terrorism and anarchism, religious dialogue, and work ethos.

The other publication issued bimonthly by the synod is called "*renungan harian keluarga*" (the Christian family daily meditation). This daily meditation is aimed at giving every member of the family spiritual guidance for practical life. The guidelines cover work, Christian family life, and Christian involvement in contemporary/postmodern economic, political, social and cultural life.

As a "tribal church," GMIM has not ignored its Minahasan cultural inheritance which is both constructive values (*masawang-sawangan/matombo-tombolan*: culturally mutually cooperative among Minahasans and *waraney*: spirit of heroism) and destructive (*baku cungkel*: culturally mutually destructive). However, by admitting Minahasan cultural traits and heritage, the church has placed itself in a dilemma which leads to on-going critical evaluation within the church.

In regard to the historical Reformed tradition embedded in the theology of the GMIM church and the current ministry that highlights the interaction of the biblical message and social life, as they appear in the monthly worship plan and daily family meditation, it can be said that the GMIM church, undeniably, conducts its ministry in the Reformed tradition. The doctrines and teaching ministry of the Reformed theology have predominantly been inculcated into every member of the GMIM church. Therefore, it is assumed that the teaching on vocation, in turn, is in GMIM church members' minds and will affect their vocation as migrant workers. To what extent they actualize and experience the Reformed teaching of vocation is the subject, which will now be discussed.

C. Field research

C.1. Empirical methodological statement

Vocation is the central concept being examined in this study. Vocation is examined through an extensive literature analysis of Calvin's own description of vocation in his writings and an investigation of these writings.

The nature of vocation has an objective meaning that is available in the reality of God and faith. Vocation already exists before Christians act out their faith. This is the primary concern of the literature investigation of this present research as explained in chapters I and II. The Christian act of vocation in a social context is guided by a predominant system called postmodernity as explained in chapter III.

However, the nature of vocation is also subjective. This subjective meaning of vocation is researchable on an empirical level and will include the experiences of the respondents. That is why the empirical research, especially that conducted in this study is more qualitative than quantitative approach. The axiological assumption is more value-laden and biased than value-free and unbiased.

The meaning of vocation is also multifaceted. This means that vocation is expressed by church members in a variety of experiences in different contexts, times and places. This is also determined by factors such as physiological (health, sickness), cultural (Minahasan), political (Indonesian nation-state, law, global value), and economic (poverty, diligence, toil).

This research aims at broadening theology as a "science" in dialogue with other sciences, especially philosophy and sociology. In turn, it is an intensive preparation and a useful instrument of theology for improving church ministry.

Vocation as a gift from God, and as accepted by the Christians, is an overarching envelope of experiences that includes work, family and the psychological expressions of joy, patience, happiness, and the religious battle of suffering, sadness and victory. To what extent economic and political factors are seen as the battlefield and the opportunity to act out the Christian vocation are the focus of this empirical research.

The data compiled are expressions of personal opinions, informal, inductive, context bound, and a mutual simultaneous shaping of factors (Creswell, 1994:5). In the context of this research, it is necessary to compile the cognitive meaning,

experience, and behaviour of the population of research as it relates to the Christian vocation and how Christians live and struggle with it. Data have been gathered from GMIM church members working as migrant workers in Japan, the Netherlands, and the East Coast of the USA. Data were compiled by using a focus group (that is migrant workers) as the object of qualitative research (Morgan, 1997). Each set of data is distinctively unique in a sense that it is characterized by personal and communal backgrounds: Minahasan cultural identity and each national political boundary in which Minahasan migrant workers are working.¹⁶

This field research investigates: how migrant workers of the GMIM church are influenced by globalization, such as cellular telephone and TV, and its consequences; how they express universal values of humanity, struggle and attempt to cope with the four-season environment (since they are reared in a tropical land) and the family problems; how they are involved in cultural and political interaction; how they deal with their inner feeling regarding their Minahasan Christianity; how they articulate wishes, expectations and hopes in a variety of ethnic languages (*Manadonese, sub Minahasan ethnic languages: Tontemboanese, Tolour, Tonsea, Tombulu*¹⁷) and world languages (English, Dutch and Japanese). This intermingling of languages in daily communication is, in part, a reality of postmodernity.

C.2. Data collection and analysis procedures

The empirical research employs a qualitative research paradigm. The intent of this qualitative research is to understand a particular social situation, event, role or interaction involving migrant workers of the GMIM church (Morgan, 1997). The researcher has tried to seek the essence of social phenomena by contrasting, comparing, replicating, and classifying the research populations' minds (Creswell, 1994). As an 'ethnographic' researcher, the researcher had to immerse himself in the concrete, daily lives of the research population and to live within their environment and be involved in on-going interaction with them in seeking their perspectives regarding Christian vocation (Spradley, 1979, 1980).

¹⁶ Perhaps the tradition of the qualitative method/approach includes human ethology, ecological psychology, holistic ethnography, cognitive anthropology, ethnography of communication, and symbolic interactions (Jacobs, 1987:1-50).

¹⁷ See map of the Minahasan land.

It is undeniable that in qualitative research, the researcher is “the primary instrument for data collection and analysis” (Merriam, 1998:7), therefore the role of researcher “necessitates the identification of personal values, assumptions, and biases at the outset of the study” besides the researcher’s contribution “to the research setting can be useful and positive rather than detrimental” (Creswell, 1994:163).

As a Minahasan, constantly controlled and guided by the objective purpose of the research, it is compulsory for the researcher to avoid the manipulation in elaborating the research as this helps him to remain distant from personal interest that may skew the objectivity of research. In this regard, Calvin’s doctrine of vocation and the social condition of postmodernity, as objectively described in the previous chapters, have been the leading concepts constantly controlling the researcher, and, they have been sought empirically from the research population. The subjective and experimental dimension of this objective meaning of vocation in the contemporary culture of postmodernity and expressed by the population of research is the main target of this chapter.

The research populations are Minahasans living abroad. Qualitatively, the researcher has been meticulous regarding information that might become invaluable data and is closely related to the subject matter, especially data conveyed through words and not numbers. The data compiled relate to how the respondents express their experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge regarding Christian vocation in the postmodern society.

The qualitative data have been obtained through interviews, observations and comparative documents. The researcher became a participant observer by staying in the midst of the respondents for a certain time as is required for qualitative research (Spradley, 1980). Therefore, in order to obtain data first-hand from the respondents and to become immersed in the everyday life of the research population, he stayed with Minahasan migrant workers living in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA for various lengths of time.¹⁸ To emphatically experience migrant work abroad, the researcher spent weeks with these workers in their apartments and even worked with them in Japan at *hatake* (plantation), *kaisha suisan* (sea food cultivation) and in

¹⁸ Japan (February 02-April 27, 2003), the Netherlands (August 02-September 07, 2003), and the USA (Dec.31, 2000-March 27, 2001, September 07, 2003-January 22, 2004).

computer and electrical factories in New Hampshire, USA. This was done primarily to obtain “objective” data from the respondents.

Several seminars and discussions were conducted regarding aspects of migrant work and Reformed Christian vocation. Usually at these seminars and discussions the researcher presented a topic which was directed at encouraging migrant workers to share their innermost thought, feeling, opinion and experiences. From this, the researcher learned much regarding their views on vocation in their daily lives in a postmodern world.

Due to time and any other constraints, such as finance and geographical distance, the empirical research done in Japan provided more detail than that gained in the Netherlands and the USA.¹⁹ In addition, the researcher’s main purpose in staying in Japan was focused on doing field research. As regards the USA and the Netherlands, the researcher was mainly involved in library research, at the invitation of *SoW Kerken* in Utrecht, Netherlands and the Princeton Theological Seminary in Princeton New Jersey. However, this precious opportunity to visit these two countries was also used to conduct some field research. In the very limited time, the research conducted in these two countries was aimed at gaining first-hand experience of the condition of Minahasan migrant worker. This also enabled the researcher to compare the differences between and the similarities of Minahasan migrant workers in three countries.

¹⁹ In the Netherlands, the researcher compiled data via in-depth interviews with church members in PERKI (Indonesian Christian fellowship), and in the Minahasan *rukun*. He also visited several Minahasan families living in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Dordrecht, etc. In January through March of 2001, the researcher had an opportunity to stay with the Minahasan church members of the *Marturia* Presbyterian church (USA) in Rochester New Hampshire USA, and gained first-hand experience of their working condition in several factories in New Hampshire. During the researcher’s visit to the Princeton Theological Seminary to attend DRSP from August 2003 through January 2004, he had an opportunity to visit Minahasan migrant workers in New Jersey, New York and New Hampshire. The migrant workers on the East Coast of the USA significantly represent Minahasan migrant workers throughout the USA since, in essence, they have the same characteristics.

D. The places of conducting research

D.1. Minahasan migrant workers in Japan

D.1.1. Working condition in Oarai, Ibaraki Ken, Japan²⁰

The intention of this section is to give the readers a glimpse of the labour force and cultures of Japan, especially in the small town named *Oarai* where most of Minahasan Indonesians are working as migrant workers. The description of *Oarai*, to a certain extent, represents the social condition of employment in Japan.

Oarai is a small town on the East coast of Prefecture *Ibaraki*. Its population is about 20.000 people. Many Indonesians are working there in the cultivation of sea fish, which is one of the primary home industries in Japan. Employment is available there since the birth rate of the local inhabitants is decreasing as a consequence of negative population growth.

In September 2001, the Tokyo immigration officers arrested illegal workers. For about three months, NHK has covered the news of the disorder, the insecurity due to the arrest of the foreigners and some of the migrant workers working in this small city. The immigration officers have interrogated the *sachos* (Japanese: owners of the small home industry companies) and the municipal board of the *Oarai* town to spy on the local industries. A reporter of the NHK (Japanese Broadcasting System) indicated that for every 25 local Japanese people there is one foreigner living in this small town. When the reporter asked the local Japanese people about their presence in the town, the respondent replied that the presence of Indonesian migrant workers does not threaten their security. This is a very common phenomenon in Japan. The migrant workers are working in the twenty prefectures and have been increasing in the past ten years and spreading all over Japan.

There are lots of possibilities for employment in Japan. However, because some Japanese people prefer to work in an easy and enjoyable way, there are fewer productive people working in the three D jobs: Dirty, Demanding and Dangerous (Cf. Hiromi Mori, 1997: xi). *Hokke* fish, sweet potatoes and cabbages are common

²⁰ For this section, the researcher owes the reports of the Japanese National Television and Radio, NHK (*Nihon Hoso Kyokai*). December 2000.

Japanese agricultural products, but they are actually cultivated by foreign workers. In the past decade, foreign workers have begun to occupy strategic employment, for example, in “*hatake*,” (a Japanese word for plantation or farming), and *kaisha suisan* (fishing and food production).²¹

In regard to the D jobs (3 Ds), Japanese themselves, through the Department of Health, have considered the position of the foreign labourers. In addition, the Department of Foreign Affairs has reported an increasing number of foreign workers but the high officials of the government of Japan have instead given more priority to coping with recession, children and the elderly; therefore an analysis of the position of the foreign labour receives attention. The Japanese government has, to a certain degree, given attention to the care of children and social security. However, at the time of doing field research, the government of Japan proposed to amend immigration law because of the reality that the increasing numbers of many foreign workers stay in Japan. From a Japanese point of view, it is time to seriously consider impending labour problems brought about by too many foreign workers being employed. In the next four years, according to their projection made in 2000, and because of some Japanese aversion regarding the 3 Ds, the number of potential Japanese workers is decreasing. Accordingly, Japan will increasingly need more labourers from abroad and this challenge needs to be addressed before it impacts negatively on the Japanese economy. According to United Nations research on labour estimates, Japan is in need of about 650.000 foreign labourers annually to maintain its economy. This just creates more problems as the number of foreign workers is steadily increasing by about 730.000 per year. Like the *nikkei* (second generation Japanese nationals- see section 4.2.1 of this chapter), most are legal workers, but there are about 3.000.000 clandestine workers in Japan. Most of clandestine workers came to Japan as tourists and then started to work and overstayed their visas. This rate keeps increasing yearly. Foreign workers have been spread over the twenty-seven prefectures in Japan. Among the prefectures, Ibaraki accepts the highest number of foreign workers.

Timothy Doyle, an American missionary who married a Japanese woman, and is living in *Katsuta*, a few miles from *Mito*, (personal interview February 2003) and Emiko Yamamoto, a Japanese female pastor who serves a UCCJ congregation in *Mito*, the capital city of *Ibaraki Ken* (personal interview April 2003) state, by way of

²¹ See the pictures in appendix no.6-7.

illustration that *Oarai* people prefer to live in a close community and not to interact with urban people, and most of them disallow foreigners from staying with them. On the other hand, economically speaking, the *kaisha* (a Japanese word for companies), need foreign workers because older people are not able to work for *kaisha suisan* (sea fish cultivation company) and *hatake* (agriculture, plantation) and the younger ones prefer not to work there either. The Indonesians, especially Minahasans in this town provide what the *sachos* of the *kaisha* and *hatake* want. There is a tendency, from the capitalistic point of view, for companies in rich countries to employ cheap labour. This also applies to the Japanese *sachos* (a Japanese: the owners of companies), who also take advantage of foreign cheap labourers and exploit them. Unfortunately the immigration officers have no control over “*gai jin*” (Japanese: foreigners), even though the presence of the undocumented workers breaks the law. Should the “*nyukang*” (Japanese: immigration officers) arrest illegal workers in *Oarai*,²² they come into conflict with the *sachos* (the owners of company) who need the foreign labours. Because Japanese companies need foreign workers, they intend to promulgate a new law in 2007 which will cope with the need of foreign labour. Japanese people themselves are divided on the issue of the foreign labour, because, even though they might not want them there they realize the foreign workers are important for the survival of the national economy. In this connection, Hiromi Mori (1997: xi) states, “the 1990 immigration policy reform was of remarkable importance when one assesses the migration movement to Japan. Despite otherwise drastic changes, the policy of prohibiting the employment of unskilled foreigners was maintained. The growing needs for unskilled labour signalled by business circles were met, not by opening the ‘front door’ to unskilled workers but by introducing them through intentionally provided ‘side-doors.’”²³

It can be concluded that the presence of migrant workers in Japan, as in other advance industrial countries in the world, is controversial. On the one hand, the owners of companies prefer to have cheap labourers from ‘developing’ even under-developed countries, for the sake of their business and profits. On the other hand, the governments of the host countries discourage illegal workers from entering their

²² There are many other places in Japan where illegal foreign workers are found. For example, the researcher found some *gamba* (foreign workers working in construction) and some working in electronics companies in the city of Tokyo and Nagoya.

²³ This statement is in accordance with the information provided by a Japanese *Sacho* and labour broker *Sakamoto* in *Oarai*. Personal interview, April 2003

countries. These are the actual conditions in which migrant workers in general, and the Minahasan Christian migrant workers in particular, experience the opportunity of working. In fact, most of them have attempted to cope with the problems of their illegality.

D.1.2. Types of migrant workers in Japan

In Japan we find three kinds of foreign labourers. The first are *nikkei* or the second generation Japanese. The second is *kenshusei*, the foreign labourers who have had previous training in their home country before coming to work in Japan. The third group are those who previously were tourists, and afterwards deliberately stayed in Japan to work. The last group consists of *obase* or the overstayers.

D.1.2.1. Nikkei

The following is a *nikkei* (ni=second, kei, or sei=generation) family story that explains how the socio-political system of Japan generates a concept such as *nikkei*. This story is typical of Minahasan *nikkei* Christian migrant workers, their struggle to work legally in their ancestor's country and the actualization of the Christian vocation.

In the 1930's, a baby girl was born in Minahasa, *Nederlandsche Oost Indie* (former name of Indonesia).²⁴ Her father was a Japanese soldier. As many other Japanese soldiers were doing in Asian countries, her father was spying in the Manado area, North Sulawesi, Indonesia. Even though this soldier had a wife in Japan, he eventually lived with a Minahasan girl. The family of this girl was not sure if the Japanese soldier had another wife elsewhere. If so, this could have an effect on the arrangement of being a *nikkei* in Japan. From this 'marriage' three children were born. The oldest brother went to Japan with his father and automatically became a Japanese citizen (*nihon jin*); the second one, a daughter, -our main respondent-, stayed with her mother in Tomohon, Indonesia, and the youngest brother, for a certain time, stayed with their mother until the late 1940s when he went to Japan to live with their father, and, of course, became a Japanese citizen. The daughter of the Japanese soldier (our

²⁴ This is shared by a Minahasan family, one of the *nikkei* family respondents of this research (Eddy Paat, Personal Interview, 5 February 2003)

main respondent), categorized as a Japan national (Japanese: *nihon jin*), was reared by her mother in Tomohon/Manado, Indonesia. She had to cope with many problems. In the midst of political tension, she was unsure of her status. Before and after the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (1942-1945) she was treated neither as an Indonesian nor as a Japanese citizen. Her brothers and her own father returned to their home country but she decided to live the rest of her life with her mother. Some Japanese were compassionate to her and offered her protection. In the uncertain and insecure condition of the 1940s, she had to change her surname from Japanese to Indonesian. In her late teenage years, a Minahasan man, an ex-soldier (KNIL) married her and this compelled her to reveal her Japanese origins. She became accustomed to her “stateless” identity, but she has brought her nine children up as Christians.

In the 1980s the Japanese government decided to help the children of Japanese nationals (*nihon jin*) living outside Japan and their children (*nikkei*) and grand children (*sankei*) to work in Japan. However, this policy only became law in 1997. The people included in this category must demonstrate blood relationship with Japan nationals and must have some direct relatives who are still living in Japan. She was very sure that one of her brothers was still alive. She was very fortunate that she had once been invited to make an atavistic journey in Japan in 1980. She returned to Japan later with complete supporting documents which allow her family to stay in Japan to work. Most of her children are now active in church life.²⁵ This is one of the stories of a Minahasan *nikkei* family who came to Japan to be legal migrant workers and work in sea fish cultivation company in Oarai Japan.

Masachika Nakajima, a Japanese police officer, who once worked in Indonesia in the 1960's said: “*Nikkei*, according to Japanese law, is a son or a daughter of a Japanese soldier, dead or alive, and registered as Japanese nationals. The children born in Japan have a right to be Japanese or non-Japanese citizens. This does not influence the legality of their ‘*nikkei*-ness.’ The children born in Japan cannot vote in general election until they are 18 years old” (personal interview, April 2003). Actually, *nikkei* is a Japanese word meaning “second generation Japanese nationals.”

In our context of research, this category of labourers has a legal status because their Minahasan mother married a Japanese national (*nihon jin*). Most of the

²⁵ One of her children is a pastor, working as an “*arbaito*” (temporary worker); a daughter is a treasurer of the church, one son in law is also a pastor; and, the other son in law is a vice secretary of the church.

nikkei's parents were Japanese soldiers. Before World War II, many Japanese soldiers were sent to many Asian countries to spy. It was a strategy before Japan was involved in World War II. Many stayed until and during World War II. Some of Japanese soldiers were in Manado, Indonesia. These soldiers then "married" the local Minahasan girls. The children from this "*samen leven*," in Japanese law, are still treated as Japanese people (*nihon jin*).²⁶

Vonny Sombo Repi (personal interview, April 22, 2003) explained the procedures of arranging documents for the *nikkei*. Second generation Japanese nationals must provide legal documents to proof Japanese origins, family tree (Japanese: *koksekitohong*. Dutch: *stamboom*). *Nikkei* must be identified by their Japanese relatives who have blood relations to *nihon jin* (Japanese people), a family card (Ind. *kartu keluarga*), a family sponsor which notes that there are some of their Japanese parents' relatives are still alive in Japan. The family sponsors could be a brother or sister of the *nikkei*'s father, or sister or brother of the *nikkei*'s mother alive in Japan. These relatives endorse to the Japanese government that these *nikkei jin* are really blood relations of them. These *nikkei jin*'s relatives must be legal Japanese with a fixed address in Japan. All of these documents must be submitted to the Japanese embassy or consulate. For further examination these documents are sent to the "*yakuba*", the city council and "*siyakso*", the officers working in mayor's office of the *nikkei jin*'s relatives in Japan. These officers would then legally examine the blood – relationship of the *nikkei jin*. To support the evidence of their blood relation of Japanese ancestors, the *nikkei jin* must show the birth certificate of their parents, original pictures of their parents, and the recognition of their relatives in Japan. This is the procedure which must be followed by the some Minahasans who have blood relations with the Japanese to prove that they are eligible to be *nikkei jin*.

In the late 1990's, the government of Japan allowed the *nikkei jin* of many Asian countries to work legally in Japan. Daneila de Carvalho's research (2003) of Brazilian *nikkei* is included in this category of legal workers. In the late 1990's many Minahasan *nikkei* have established their legal status and they have been accepted by

²⁶ Japanese resist *Zakkon* (a mixed marriage). However, permission is given if the couple live abroad. Daniela de Carvalho, who conducted research on Brazilian Nikkei re-emigrating to Japan, mentions that in a certain condition, the Japanese view marriage as a social and economic contract, rather than an agreement between individuals. This type of marriage is called *miai* (arranged marriage) (Carvalho, 2003).

the Japanese government as migrant workers²⁷ in Japan. About 5 percent of nearly 800 church members of the GMIJ church in *Oarai, Ibaraki Ken*, Japan are *nikkei jin* (Dicky Paat, personal interview, February 2003). The rest are *kenshusei* and *obase*.

Dispatching *nikkei* migrant workers is a great opportunity for Minahasans. However, both Japanese and Minahasan *nikkei* might be involved in unrevealed ‘clandestine trafficking.’²⁸ Moreover, the following is an example of the misuse of opportunities given by the Japanese government to *nikkei* living outside Japan. In *sintana kaisha* (a small home fish cultivation industry) in Oarai, Masachika Nakajima (personal interview, April 2003) found one man counterfeiting a *nikkei* document. One of the family members in a *nikkei* family was found dead and a non-*nikkei* person used the dead man’s identity to enter Japan “legally.” This legal abuse has become a barrier for other real *nikkei* wanting to enter Japan. This guilty person was in the process of breaking Japanese law and would be punished accordingly. The great opportunity given by Japanese government has been abused by some Minahasans and this case has led to them being punished by the Japanese government. This case has created a bad image of Minahasan *nikkei* and has caused the Japanese government to scrutinize the documents of *nikkei jin* more carefully.

Some Minahasan *nikkei* are thankful for the chance given by the Japanese government. They view the opportunity as derived from God, while others are ungrateful (Dicky Paat, Personal interview, April 2003). The Minahasan *nikkei* are fortunate to have an opportunity to work in Japan. However, there is a challenge to them to fulfil their responsibility to take care of and alleviate the burden inflicted upon their colleagues, the undocumented ones.

²⁷ These *nikkei* can be classified as migrant workers because they go from one country, region, or place of abode to temporarily settle in another.

²⁸ It is a universal abuse of migrant workers, as Ralph F. Boyd Jr., Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights in the USA claims, “trafficking of migrant workers is a crime that exploits society’s most vulnerable people.” http://www.ilw.com/lawyers/immigdaily/doj_news/2002%3CO624-trafficking.shtml Internet: accessed on Nov.08, 2004. This case refers to the illegal crime of dispatching labour abroad, recruiting, transporting and harbouring undocumented Indonesian migrant workers in Japan. This sort of exploitation, sadly, is deliberately agreed to by the exploitees.

D.1.2.2. *Kenshusei*

Kenshusei, or the trainees, is a category of migrant workers regulated by the Indonesian and Japanese governments' labour contract programs. The trainees follow a program of training designed by the Indonesian government as explained above (see section B.1.3 in this chapter). The IMM policy states: "all trainees/technical intern trainees are selected by the government of Indonesia, and have undergone four months of training. All are disciplined, enthusiastic, energetic youth, and the companies in Japan that accept them are always highly appreciative of the contribution of their trainees."²⁹ Hiroshi Komai (1995:42) provides data on Indonesian *kenshusei* in Japan as follows:

Year	1989	1988	1989	1990	1991
Indonesian trainees	1,310	1,378	1,748	2,891	3,883

Table 1. Indonesian *Kenshusei* in Japan

Even though we have no recent data, this scheme does indicate the number of Indonesian *kenshusei* in Japan and among them of course are Minahasans Christians (Pandesolang, personal interview, June 16, 2003).

In 2003, Minahasan Christians met two *kenshusei* and several overstayed ex-*kenshusei* in the Prefecture of Ibaraki. The latter had broken the agreement because they stayed for more than three years and/or did not renew their contract. Some of the *kenshusei* in Oarai Japan are church members of the *GMIJ* church (the Evangelical Christian church in Japan).³⁰

²⁹ <http://www.imm.or.jp/english/index.html> accessed in January 26, 2005 One Japanese agency involved in this program is JICA which intends to "advance international cooperation through the sharing of knowledge and experience and will work to build a more peaceful and prosperous world." <http://www.jica.go.jp/english/index.html> . Another agency is JITCO. One of its programs intends to assist and facilitate the utilization of public vocational [of course this term is in the understanding of the modern paradigm] training facilities and assessment of technology, skills and knowledge. <http://www.jitco.or.jp/english/index.html> accessed in January 26, 2005.

³⁰ This name is derived from its mother church, *GMIM*. Organizationally, the founders of this "Minahasan" church in Japan are linked with *GMIM*.

The government of the Province of *North Sulawesi*, Indonesia have attempted to constitute a sister city political relationship with the town of *Oarai* and the Prefecture of *Ibaraki* aims at providing legal migrant workers from GMIM church to meet the needs of companies in *Oarai* (see, the letter of governor of the province of *North Sulawesi*, Indonesia, appendix 2). The argument is that, in fact, most of the *kenshusei* have more expertise in their jobs and are more fluent in speaking, reading, and writing Japanese than are the *nikkei* and the “*obase*.” This is the result of the Indonesian government labour training program. The trainees are better able to execute their job in *kaisha* due to their fluency in Japanese. They are able to understand, listen and even write *katakana*, *hiragana* even more *kanji* characters of the Japanese language. These are the *kenshusei*’s superior qualities over the *nikkei* and *obase* workers. This shows that labour training is a must and guarantees the quality of work. From Calvin’s perspective, obedience to the government and its functioning, as instituted by God, is apparent.

Due to the success of this training program (*kenshusei*), many *sachos* (owners of sea food home industries) in *Oarai* have been attempted to continue the labour training program.

D.1.2.3. *Obase*

These are the overstayers or clandestine illegal workers (Japanese: *obase*). The following story testifies to how a man became an overstaying migrant worker.

He had many difficulties to meet the daily needs of his family in Indonesia. As a young man in his 20s he expected his fate to be changed by working hard. Sub Minahasan Tontemboan (see the map of Minahasan land) holds a work ethos as reflected in terms such as *re’dem* (diligent), *incaya* (move fast), *catoro werak* (do not be lazy), *mawee reken* (pay attention to the advice). This kind of cultural inculcation of the work ethic makes Minahasans work hard and abandon fatalism. An opportunity to work would change his fate. Then he heard of a good opportunity to work in Japan. Fortunately, his friend who was already working in Japan, and came from the same village, wanted to help him. His friend in Japan sent him an amount of money to arrange for a visa and for the round trip ticket. This happened in the year 2000. With hard work, he got a visa and went to work in *Oarai*, *Ibaraki* Japan. He stayed in the same apartment with the friend who supported him. In his first year of working, most

of his income went to reimbursing his debts. He also sent money regularly to his wife to cover the living cost of the family he left behind in Indonesia. In the church and social activities of the ghetto community,³¹ he became involved in the church ministry, “*rukun*,”³² fellowship of the village, *kawanua*.³³

The problem he is facing is living alone without his wife’s presence far away from his home country. This situation might be a temptation for him to have an affair with another woman. *Pachinko* (gambling) and other vices could lead him to live a perilous life. However, being involved in church fellowship is a great help to him. The church helps him to maintain his Christian life.

Actually, the difficulties of undocumented foreign workers begin just before they start working overseas. Being clandestine workers overseas is very risky. Hiroshi Komai (1993:9) clearly explains that “Undocumented workers (or people hoping to become undocumented workers) are placed in a difficult situation if they are refused entry into the country, but even when they enter the country successfully they must still avoid being deported within a certain period of time. The reason for this is that even before they come to Japan they must bear the expenses of an airline ticket, temporary living expenses, and must often pay a sum of money to a broker or to a contact in Japan. In addition, they often come with money borrowed from family, relatives or acquaintances.” This scenario has indeed been faced by some candidate Minahasan migrant workers who plan to work in Japan and in the USA.³⁴ They suffer as a result of the very disappointing experience and sometimes even spend the rest of their lives paying off debts. Komai continues to explain this infliction: “This total debt load is often enormous, and for all practical purposes impossible to repay in their

³¹ The Minahasan community in *Oarai* is a ghetto which in fact is a closed community due to its illegality.

³² *Rukun* is a part of the sub community in the Minahasan society. Yet, it is also part of the customs. It consists of a few families with the same genealogy which later expanded to the same village or same sub ethnicity. This is widely accepted and practised among Minahasans both living in Minahasa, other parts of Indonesia and throughout the world. They usually conduct an *arisan* or *mapalus* (pooling and sharing of money or material on a rotation basis). This cooperation aims at helping those who are sick or mourning. The meeting is festive and lavish and culturally speaking it is dangerous due to the noise generated by the meeting that interferes with Japanese neighbours who expect calmness especially in the evening and at night.

³³ *Kawanua* means village. Nowadays this is a common term referring to Minahasan groups living in every corner of the world.

³⁴ Minahasans are not interested in to working in the Netherlands anymore due to the strict Dutch law concerning foreigners. This does not apply to the legal Indonesian-Dutch agreement covering medical work, nursing and hospital related occupations.

home countries. Being turned away at entry or being caught and deported before having the chance to save a certain sum of money means enormous financial loss. In passing, it is important to note that when foreigners are forcibly repatriated (deported) to their home countries, it is they who must pay for the air fare, and if they are unable to afford this sum they find themselves confined in a detention centre.” This description is completely accurate, as it is experienced by Minahasan migrant workers in Japan and in the USA.

Overstaying migrant workers are in the majority in Japan as well as in the USA. In Japan, many *obase* previously came to Japan as tourists. They received a visa from the embassy or consulate of Japan for visiting this country. Once they entered the country, they stayed and started to work. Most of the overstayers have no qualifications or experience in executing the work in *kaisha*. Some are college graduates majoring in sociology, economics or law, and are not suited to work in car and computer factories in *Nagoya*, *Suzuka*,³⁵ and seafood cultivation *kaishas* in *Oarai*, and *Nakaminato* in the Prefecture of Ibaraki Ken.

The *obase* keep on staying in Japan due to the lack of manpower. *Kaishas* (companies) need labourers, so the *sacho* “protect” the clandestine workers. It is hard to find exact information concerning the illegal status of the clandestine workers in Japan. Their presence in the life of Japanese companies has caused much controversy between immigration officers and the owners of companies. In the life of these clandestine labourers, their illegal situation constantly threatens them. Because most of the Minahasan migrant workers are illegal so when *nyukang* (Japanese immigration officers) found them these illegal foreign workers are treated as criminal and they become victims of intimidation. Japanese immigration officers are so powerful, whereas these clandestine workers are so vulnerable due to their illegality; therefore these Minahasan Christian *obase* adapt Job 1:21 to read the *nyukang* gave and the *nyukang* has taken away (Makalew, Tommy; Mukuan, Philep. Personal interview, April, 2003). It is inflicted upon their lives daily and regularly haunts their souls. This forces them to flee from the police, as they know that they are breaking the law. Despite this dilemma they are forced to pursue a better life overseas.

³⁵ In April 2003, the *Gereja Masehi Injili di Jepang* expanded its ministry from *Oarai* to *Suzuka*, *Nagoya*

D.1.3. The family of the Minahasan migrant workers in Japan

A vocation, for Calvin, is not merely a post or a job. It is also acted out in the political, cultural, economical and family spheres. The work itself is related to proliferated factors in social life. Vocation and working are related to the family life as well. This is the reason for doing research into the family life of the research population.

In Japan, not all the Minahasan migrant workers live in a “family context”, whether it is a nuclear family, an extended family or within the kinship boundary as can be found in many villages in Indonesia (Koentjaraningrat, 1979). A few migrant worker families consist of a husband, a wife and children but most of the workers are alone, whether just a male or female or a teenager. They expect to live in a “family context” but immigration rules make this impossible to realize, because the immigration rules compel them to live separately. A man, for example, applies for a visa and is eventually admitted by the embassy or consulate of Japan. His wife later applies for a visa and is rejected. The opposite is also possible. Sometimes a husband, his wife and their children apply at the same time, but unfortunately just one of the family members is accepted. This generally occurs to the migrant workers in Japan and the U.S.A. Even the *nikkei*, who have a letter of eligibility issued by Japanese government (see detail information of the legal status of *nikkei* in section D.1.2.1 in this chapter), therefore they can enter Japan legally, have to leave their children behind in Indonesia. The reason is that no one can take care of them during working hours and Japanese schools are not willing to accept Minahasan children as these children find it very difficult to adapt to Japanese culture. A different situation occurs in the USA where American law grants the children born in that country citizenship which gives them the legal rights of a citizen without any discrimination.

Minahasan migrant workers in Japan face crucial family problems. Global communication is a means of sharing but it can hardly help them. International communication systems confine them to speaking about day-to-day happenings in both places but does very little for deep personal relationship. A working man or woman spends about ¥ 2000-3000 per week on communication and although this contact is very superficial, it is the only way they can maintain some sort of intimacy. This is part and parcel of the global-postmodern society and its concept of time-space compression.

The families of migrant workers in fact are separated by force of circumstance. As part of Minahasan culture, they are involved in lavish parties in apartments and also in ethnic community gatherings (*rukun*). Parties are held in the celebration of birthdays, marriage, or even when consoling bereaved people. Lavish parties are essential to Minahasan culture. At every gathering people provide food and drink to express politeness, kindness, and fraternity with both church and ghetto communities. This cultural expression often brings them into conflict with local Japanese in *Oarai* who prefer calmness and moderation (Rhein Lengkong; Sakamoto, Personal Interview, March 01, 2003).

This revelry enables them to counteract the pressures of working, loneliness and other inflicted burdens of alienation. This is positive and useful for psychological *catharsis*, but, on the contrary, it is harmful to the interaction with local Japanese. It is also a way and place where Christians can worship God. It is something that ties people together in overcoming loneliness and the burdens of work. Unfortunately this revelry supports “*samen-leven*” - a Dutch term that is popularly known among Minahasans and which means “living together”- which is illegal for Christians and not expected of church members. This is the cross of the Minahasan Christians in Japan. Work difficulties and loneliness overseas is a heavy cross for Minahasan Christian migrant workers to bear. Most Minahasan migrant workers used to be involved in traditional agricultural pursuit,³⁶ therefore they are sometimes sluggish. The cultural pressures of the Japanese that are intolerant of indolence, and Japanese cultural aggressiveness and their energetic work ethic (see D.1.4 on *kambate kudasai* in this chapter) are very challenging to the generally indolent unhurried Minahasan way of working.

Working away from their home country, leaving wife or husband, or children home is a part of the burden. Some Minahasans still live as true Christians, but, undeniably, some are living a sinful life. For example, some had already abandon Christianity before they leave Minahasa (Indonesia) because of family conflict, disagreement between husband and wife, “*samen leven*”, or a man betraying his wife’s love by having an affair with another woman, and vice versa. This is the sort of

³⁶ Van Peursen (1974) explains three stages of cultural development: first, mythical; second, substantialistic/rationalistic, and the last functional. In this model of thinking, the researcher classifies some Minahasans in the first stage. The work ethos changes if a person has had a study program in college or is compelled to do hard work because one has experienced working in a western owned factory in Indonesia or abroad.

cases that was rarely found in *Oarai* Japan. Nevertheless, the researcher's visit indicated that these "families" were still trying to live by Christian precepts. They are active in the fellowship of the church, and worship, even though they are faced by excommunication and humiliation by other church members. They have tried to continually be good Christians and some were very tearful when the researcher visited them and was exposed to their inner feeling. This could be seen by Reformed Christianity as a part of sanctification, if it is conducted in a proper way.

D.1.4. Minahasan Christians and the challenge of Japanese *kambate kudasai*

This is the essence of the Japanese commitment to work, and literarily means never giving up. This sort of work commitment is derived from the *Meiji* restoration policy and Samurai discipline.

Since the *Meiji* restoration, the Emperor has been highly appreciated and honoured. That is the modern emperor. In the 18th century it restored the whole mythology of the emperor as a divine manifestation. The Emperor was absolute as an incarnated god. In Japan the *samurai* warriors constituted as a special class. Some *samurai* warriors were Christians and played an important role in introducing Christianity to Japanese people.

In World War II, being human, the Emperor surrendered to the Allies. Since then, for young people, this divine concept of the emperor has been eroded and they no longer have a clear understanding of it.

In the *Meiji* era, the motto, *wa kon yoh sai*, meaning Japanese spirit combined with Western knowledge/technology was coined (Timothy Doyle, personal interview, April 2003). This motto has worked since World War II as can be seen in company loyalty. What does this Japanese spirit mean? Emiko Yamamoto, a female Japanese pastor, who serves in a congregation of the United Church of Christ in Mito, the capital city of the Province of Ibaraki Ken, noted that before the *Meiji* restoration, Japanese people would not mix with aliens (Personal interview, April 2003). Since the *Meiji* restoration, the Japanese saw that Western countries colonized China, India, and other countries in Asia, Africa and South America. They resisted this threat of colonization by studying hard, e.g. in scientific development. They sent many students to study abroad, especially in developed countries. Even though they took

modern science from the West they strictly maintained their own heritage, Asian, Japanese and *Shinto*. This process is referred to as *kikuna* (flower) and *katana* (sword) which reflect the paradoxical character of the Japanese people. It is often said that despite their living in an industrialized country, Japanese people are individualistic. Emiko Yamamoto disagrees with this statement and indicates that Japanese attempt to live out their lives in small close groups. *kaisha suisan* (a sea food company), for example, is a very modernized company, organizationally speaking. It respects individual expertise and power, but a Japanese family owns and runs the company. So, a Japanese man or woman attempts to be involved in a familial group and to bond with in a small group. This is quite different in western countries where people are generally more individualistic and liberal and not desirous to belong to a small group. So, to be a Japanese means being individualistic as well as being a part of a familial group.³⁷

Before World War II, Japanese were prejudiced against the West. Similarly, the West were prejudiced against the Japanese especially as they occupied a number of Asian countries. When Japan was defeated by the Allies, many Japanese thought of killing the Emperor because a god (Japanese: *kamisama*) should not lose a war. Instead of being cruel conquerors, the Americans turned out to be saviours who brought food and democracy and resuscitated the Japanese economy. Since then, Japan has become a leader in applied technology (vehicles and electronics). Now they respect capitalism, liberalism together with individualism. Japan is now open to the world and in fact many Japanese are Americanized, and the American way of life has pervaded their culture.

Why did Japan develop so quickly after World War II? Was it merely their openness to American influence and American aid and support or were there some inherent aspects of the Japanese culture which played a role?

Culturally, in the late 19th century, in the *Tokugawa* era, the Japanese embraced neo-Confucianism. This teaching gave more attention to moral order,

³⁷ This individualism has affected the development of the Christian Church in Japan. Jiro Oki has indicated that Japanese individualism causes problems for the Christian church. Because every Japanese has a right to do what he or she wishes to do, the children born to a Christian family do not automatically become Christian. Every young person makes up his or her own mind irrespective of their parents' beliefs. Young people leave their family homes as teenagers and this severely hampers their interaction with their parents (Jiro Oki, personal interview, March 2003).

education and the social hierarchy of *samurai*, peasant, artisan, merchant, and outcast (*eta*). The *samurai* depended on the merchants to provide for their daily needs and the *samurai* executed their military tasks. It is worth considering the *samurai* ethic:

- Obedience to the lords
- Self-discipline and respect
- ethical behaviour

This *samurai* ethic is called “*bushido*.” A *samurai* will not surrender up easily because surrender is disregarded as contrary to this ethic and leads to *hara-kiri* or *seppuku* (suicide).

This *samurai* ethic pervades the spirit of life of every Japanese and has become Japanese *conatus*. This is manifested in the ethic of hard work that is called *kambate kudasai*. This spirit permeates all economic spheres and every Japanese knows that a person must not give up. *Kambate kudasai* is usually coupled with honesty. Honesty, for Japanese, is deeply connected with personal dignity.

The *Tountemboan* Minahasans³⁸ have a work ethos reflected in words such as *re'dem* (diligent), *incaya* (rush) and other words. The Japanese work ethos in the word *kambate kudasai* has a more fundamental meaning. The Japanese *kambate kudasai* is a commitment to never giving up. *Hayaku*, a Japanese word for ‘work quickly’ is continually said to workers and it strengthens the *kambate kudasai*. In addition, Japanese continually pursue *ichi ban* i.e., the best, or number one.

When Minahasan Christians interact with Japanese in company activities, they must face the cultural spirit of Japanese, *kambate kudasai*. This inevitably shapes and forms Minahasan work mentality. This is the reason why this word is almost never absent in the daily *kaisha* activities of both Japanese and Minahasans. *Kambate kudasai* is of the spirit and motivation for working hard. Some Minahasans complain that the spirit of this Japanese work ethos constantly haunts them. At the end of the month, they find release from the burden and a reward, because of the earning of yen, an economical *catharsis*. Christian Minahasan migrant workers also give thanks to the fountain of all blessing, the Trinitarian God (Sukanto, Tommy Makalew, personal interview, April 2003). In other words, *kambate kudasai*, the Japanese work ethos, blends with the Christian ethos that yields a Christian fighting spirit and helps Minahasans to maintain their commitment and their responsibility as Christian

³⁸ See the map in appendices.

migrant workers. Most Minahasan Christians in Japan (see the description in the next section) acknowledge this work ethos as part of their Christian vocation or their carrying of a cross of Christ within their actual lives.

D.1.5. The Minahasan Christian work ethos in the midst of a Japanese environment³⁹

Before gathering data at the Seminar, material on the concept of Reformed work ethic and its relations to migrant workers (see appendix 1) was presented. Later, the questions were posed to the focus groups consisting of mothers, fathers, youngsters and a mixture of these three categories (see appendix 8). The following are the results of their discussions.

Almost all respondents agree that working hard is a blessing rather than a curse. Based on Gen.1:28, the believers are prepared to undertake their responsibility. For Christians, church ministry accounts for the threefold task of church witness, fellowship and service. Undertaking duty with high dedication to good quality of work is a realization of faith. They interpreted James 2:14 as indicating that work might bring blessing to others. Above all, working hard, as Paul's admonition to the Thessalonians indicates (II Thess.3:10), shapes a better future (Rhein Lengkong, discussion attendant) and this includes a call of faith. How can Christians glorify God if they are slothful and indolent? Japanese Christians say that "*sigoto nai tabe nai*" is identical with Tontemboan Minahasan "*ca tumawoi ca kuman*," meaning that idle people are unworthy of eating. Thus working hard is a gift from God and affects the 'fate' of relatives in Indonesia (Philep Mukuan, discussion attendant).

In executing the Christian vocation, they are obliged to carry the cross of Christ. The cross of the Christians manifests itself in the way that the Christians struggle to realize Christian truth in the midst of a pluralism of religions, languages and lifestyles or customs. Since most Minahasans were reared in a predominantly Christian, homogeneous society, being migrant workers makes them truly face the challenges of a pluralistic society. They have to compete with local Japanese and their spirit of "*kambate kudasai*." Minahasans also face the presence of migrant workers of

³⁹ Most of the data was taken from the Seminar on the work ethos of the church reformation. It was held on March 01, 2003 on the second floor of the *Gereja Masehi Injili Jepang* (Evangelical Christian Church in Japan) *Oarai, Ibaraki Ken*, Japan. See pictures in appendix 8.

other countries, such as Chinese, Pakistani, Iranian, and Filipino. Consequently, some *kaishas* strictly apply the capitalistic law⁴⁰ which force labourers to work on Sundays. As some Japanese believe in “*iranai*” i.e. that god is beautiful girl, mundane appeal, or me they regard church attendance as wasting money, and resting (Japanese: *yasmi*) on Sundays as unproductive. Some Japanese regard *sacho*, the owner of the company, as *kamisama* or god. This is a contemporary, capitalistic religion of the Japanese. For Minahasan Christians, this sort of violation brings about a sense of religious guilt. Trapped in a rigid, strict regimen of work and being absent from church worship constantly bother their souls. On the one hand, breaking this “law” (working on Sundays) means that the company will punish them by temporary exclusion (Japanese: *kubik*) from work. On the other hand, Minahasan Christians acknowledge that the main purpose of being in Japan is to earn money. This is in accordance with the view of a labour sociologist who says that migrant workers pay “less intention to staying: they work to return home, and not to create a new identity for themselves and, as such, approach work in an almost clinically instrumental fashion” (Grint, 1991:242). Living in a four-season country like Japan, for Minahasans originally coming from a tropical country means adjustment to a new natural environment. It is a struggle for the Minahasan migrant workers to be compassionate, long- suffering and steadfast in facing the strange customs of the Japanese people.

Other problems are psychological such as the uncooperative, unfriendly and destructive attitudes of the colleagues (Minahasans) because of envy, laziness, lack of creativity, lack of respect for fellow workers and egoism. Some Minahasan Christians are confident that once they can handle the hardship of the workplace they feel their faith has been victorious.

The stressful condition of being migrant workers makes some Minahasans seek God through church fellowship. Some (Tommy Makalew and Christ Sukamto, discussion attendants) confessed that they were previously criminals; a good Christian fellowship has challenged them to undertake works that draw them nearer to God.

Frankly speaking, the group composed of fathers acknowledge, that they plunge into stiff competition with *nihon jin* (Japanese people) and Indonesian colleagues. Whether they treat the stiff competition as healthy or destructive differs

⁴⁰ Abe san, a Japanese teenager, who is converted to Christianity and became involved in the Minahasan Christian church in Oarai, explains that some Japanese treat ‘*kamisama*’ (god) as money or profit. They view god in whichever way they wish as girls, human will, etc.

from person to person (Tommy Makalew). Some Minahasans have a wrong view of work. Instead of *ora et labora* (praying and working), they misuse the earnings and replace the Christian maxim with “*ora yasmi*” (never rest) and/or “*suntori et labora*” (drinking/drunken and working).

The group composed of mothers indicated that they work for the wealth of the family. Working is a means to bless others. In fact, some females are weak in faith. They go to the “snack,” a local popular term referring to prostitution. Moreover, some married people left their spouses in Indonesia; therefore, polygamy threatens these ‘single’ married people. This marriage perversion threatens Christian ghettos in the midst of the larger Japanese society and it affects their quality of work. Some wives discovered their husbands live with another woman. To illustrate, a few years ago, a Christian woman arrived in Japan ahead of her husband. It was hurtful for the husband to see his wife living with another man. It is just as upsetting for a married woman working in Japan, to leave her husband behind in Indonesia and to hear later that he is involved in an affair with another woman. Another problem the female married worker faces is the jealousy of *mamasan urusai* (fussy lady), the temptation of the “*otoko*” (male entrepreneur) and the arrogance of the *nikkei* in relation to the *obase* (Dyan Dumais, discussion attendant, March 01, 2003).

For the young people, being a migrant worker is challenging and demanding. They are really enjoying their work as they see it as honouring their parents and glorifying God. However, some misuse of their earnings, and gamble (*pachinko*) and even become involved in premarital sex in a liberal society like Japan (Nico Bolang, discussion attendant). Moreover, the burden of being migrants increases when they feel isolated from their parents and relatives.

Minahasan migrant workers in Japan are a part of postmodern society. Almost every Minahasan migrant worker in Japan has a TV set and mobile phone (Japanese: *ketai*). Most of the Minahasan migrant workers only have cellular phones and not fixed phones, which require a legal residence and a fixed address. However, the cellular phone is instrumental in integrating them into a postmodern, global society. As a result news easily spreads to all members of their ghettos. For example, the arrest of a Minahasan migrant worker or the uncovering of a plan to monitor the existence of their residence, it is easily spread to every Minahasan not only in Oarai, Nagoya, and Tokyo but also, to their relatives in Indonesia, and even to their friends

in other countries. *Ketai* is a useful means by which a fluent Japanese-speaking Minahasan, usually *kenshusei*, might continually interact over a long distance with superintendent Japanese to talk about his work. *Ketai* is also a very useful means of sharing church ministry plans and an invaluable tool for Minahasans in Japan to share their good and bad news with their relatives and family members in Indonesia. All of this interaction, for the sake of actualizing Christian vocation, is inseparable from postmodern media.

Most of the Minahasan Christian migrant workers go to church regularly and are involved in various church activities. Minahasan migrant workers in Japan are inseparable from the GMIJ church. The reason is obvious. All migrant workers, especially those who are *obase* (overstayers) are facing their illegality daily. This illegality haunts them almost every single day. In this desperate situation, as Christians, they are in need of God's help. The GMIJ church is aware of the real condition of her members. Therefore within the church community, the pastors regularly inculcate the Reformed teaching of the Christian faith and ethically guide migrant workers. A GMIJ pastor's job in Japan includes visiting police stations, immigration offices and jails. He has to arrange things related to the legal administration, beginning with talking to police officers, immigration officers and visiting those who have been arrested and are in jail at Mito or Tokyo (Rev.Talumantak, personal interview, April 2003), because this situation is almost always a part of the struggle of Minahasan migrant workers in Japan. To be sure, this church attempt does not legitimize their illegality (Semmy Pantow, personal interview, February 2003). However, Church involvement is viewed as a part of her responsibility to help them overcome their legal problems. The GMIJ church sees that this is a part of church ministry in the political sphere. It is inevitable that the host church (UCCJ) pastors and some Japanese Christians help the GMIJ church to deal with the legal problems of Minahasan migrant workers in Japan (Rev.Dicky Paat).

Most Minahasan migrant workers are active in church activities. Since singing loudly in the church or in their *aparto* (apartment) will bother Japanese neighbours, the services must be conducted very quietly. Despite the "pressure" of Japanese, the Minahasan Christians regularly go to Church. This struggle bears fruit. To a certain extent, the presence of Minahasan Christians, especially their Christian way of life and steadfastness to live out their faith, have changed some Japanese way of life, as a

few have begun worshipping Christ as Lord. This is the reason why Jin Aray, General Secretary of United Church of Christ in Japan confesses, “you have changed the city” (information gathered by Rev. Dicky Paat, A Minahasan *nikkei* Pastor, personal interview, March 2003). Some Japanese Christians are committed to evangelism among Japanese not only by sharing the Gospel via personal witness but also by good Christian behaviour, i.a. hard-working which is the real action of the vocation.

D.1.6. Conclusion of the field research in Japan

There are three categories of foreign labourers in Japan. The first, called *nikkei*, or the second generation Japanese nationals. A Japanese man married a non-Japanese woman and this man’s sons or daughters are categorized as *nikkei*. The Japanese government admits *nikkei* to work in Japan, therefore, they are legal migrant workers. The second group is called *kenshusei* which means the trainees. This category of foreign workers is a result of labour contract program between the Japanese government with non-Japanese governments (Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, etc.). The contract usually stands for three years. Through the program, the trainees are equipped with Japanese language competence and expertise in doing jobs in industrial companies. The third group are the *obase* (the overstayers). These foreign labourers are those who previously came to Japan as visitors and then worked and overstayed their visa. This category of migrant workers is illegal and most of the Minahasan migrant workers in Japan fall into this category.

It is undeniable that the context in which Christians fulfil their vocation significantly determines the way they undertake the vocation. Migrant workers in Japan have attempted to realise their vocation within Japanese culture and prevalent law.

Considering three categories of foreign workers above, only the *nikkei* and *kenshusei* are legal, therefore they can work safely in Japan. However, most of the Minahasan migrant workers in Japan are *obase*.

Legality is substantial to migrant workers undertaking their vocation. Immigration officers strictly treat illegal migrant workers as criminals. These people are facing a dilemma. Firstly, many overstay their visas because of a sense of responsibility to their employers to whom they have become committed and who need

their work input. Secondly, other migrant workers choose to continue in Japan with the status of “illegal immigrants” because the economic advantages of living in this country is so much greater than the economic conditions for their home countries. To leave Japan means loss of income, but staying in Japan leads to possible arrest and prison. This dilemma makes Christian Minahasan migrant workers seek the comfort of God which links with Calvin’s doctrine of perseverance and consolation.

Meanwhile, every Minahasan migrant worker is challenged to help those who are in need, especially their families in their home countries. Every Minahasan migrant worker can also improve their economic situation once they return to their home country.

Since working in a prosperous country such as Japan benefits them, especially regarding income, it is their responsibility to abide by Calvin’s ethical value of frugality. Temptation to spend money in improper places such as parlours and brothels need to be avoided.

As a part of the church community in Japan, *nikkei* and *kenshusei* are also called to help their colleagues, the illegal migrant workers. This does not mean that they agree with doing illegal work but they should show Christian solidarity with their fellow Minahasan Christian workers.

It is obvious from the empirical research that working in Japan involves family, marriage, social interaction, cultural interaction between Minahasan and Japanese culture and a proper attitude towards the law. In this real situation, the Minahasan migrant workers are truly challenged to fulfil their Christian duties assigned by God.

D.2. Minahasan migrant workers in the Netherlands

This section describes Minahasan migrant workers in the Netherlands.⁴¹ How do they differ from and how are they similar to those in Japan and the USA? It will be seen that historical and political background factors determine the relationship between the Dutch and the Minahasans. Why do Minahasans want to migrate to the Netherlands? Why do the Dutch treat Minahasans as a special ethnic Indonesian group?

⁴¹ In this research Nederland, Holland and the Netherlands are used interchangeably as all referring to the land of the Dutch people.

D.2.1. Historical root of Dutch and Minahasan relationship

The Japanese Minahasan labour relationship is established in blood relationship (*nikkei*), government-to-government labour contract (*kenshusei*) and those who worked illegally (*obase*). In the Netherlands, the case is different. The relationship between Minahasans and Dutch has been long established, and can be traced back to the 19th century.

Almost all Minahasans changed from primal religion to Christianity.⁴² This mass conversion affected the way the Dutch treated the Minahasans politically. While other regions in *Nederlandsche Oost-Indie* (former name given by the Dutch to modern Indonesia) were occupied and colonized by the Dutch, the Minahasans who had become Christians were not colonized by the Dutch. The Minahasan region was referred to as the “Twapro” (*Twaalfde Provinsie*), the 12th province of the Netherlands (Lundström-Burghoorn, 1981:17). Because of this, the Dutch gave special attention to improving Minahasan civilization, especially regarding modern education.

As a result of this treatment, some Minahasans became ministers (*dominees*) or teachers (*Inlandsche leraar*) in Minahasa. Secondly, in contrast to other ethnic groups in *Nederlandsche Oost-Indie*, a great number of Minahasans were recruited for the KNIL army.⁴³ Thirdly, Minahasans began to be westernized: they spoke Dutch; their children went to European schools built by the Dutch in Minahasa and other parts of the *Nederlandsche Oost-Indie*; they organized their houses in the Dutch style;

⁴² The missionary work of the *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap* (Dutch Missionary Society) in the 19th century caused many peoples in *Nederlandsche Oost Indie* to be converted to Christianity (Van den End, 1980). The success of the missionaries' Christianisation was sustained by their method, that is, introducing the Gospel not individual-by-individual but by sociological approach, whereby the missionaries approached social leaders. Missionaries approached the key persons. If these key persons converted to Christianity, then all of the social members followed their leaders (Sumakul, 1986). Minahasa is one of the ethnic groups of which most members are Christians. Other Christian ethnic groups in Indonesia are Ambonese, Toraja and Irian (West Papua) in Eastern Indonesia, and Batak (North Sumatera) in Western Indonesia. In fact, Minahasan and Ambonese mass conversion from primal, ethnic religion to Christianity occurred in the 19th century, while the other ethnic groups were converted at the beginning of the 20th century. This conversion had a political effect on the Dutch colonial government, therefore they recruited mainly Minahasans and Ambonese for the KNIL (Royal Nederland Indigenous Army).

⁴³ The Dutch established KNIL in 1830. It was made up not only of Dutch soldiers but also indigenous *Nederlandsch Oost Indie* (Indonesians), especially Christians. The army offered a good income and a pension. Generally Minahasan soldiers were loyal to the Netherlands, for example, fighting on the Dutch side during the Javanese war (1825-1839) (Godée Molsbergen, 1928).

celebrated the Queen's birthday; danced at parties; sang *polonaise de polka*, the quadrille Dutch songs and songs from *de bundel of Johannes de Heer*, and intermarried with the Dutch. As a result of the above, the Dutch began to treat Minahasans more as equals than as colonized lower class subjects. The improvement of modern education in Minahasan people and Minahasan's inclination to adapt Dutch culture, all this had caused Dutch to treat Minahasans in a certain degree equalled to them therefore Minahasans had the same rights with the Dutch.

Since the Dutch treated themselves as privileged, the opportunity of *etische politiek*, however, had brought about equality among the indigenous people of *Nederlandsche Oost-Indie* in general and Minahasans in particular. The main purpose of *etische politiek*, as reflected by the intention of the *Christelijk Etische Partij* in the Netherlands, was to improve the wealth of the people of the former Dutch colonized *Nederlandsche Oost Indische* by educating them and by respecting their rights and cultures. This had its impact in the improvement of the western model of education in Indonesia. Subsequently, the western educated people became involved in the political life in the spirit of Indonesian nationalism. This movement fundamentally influenced Indonesians in general and Indonesian Christians in particular to constitute political parties. Some Minahasan Christians even played important roles in founding the modern nation-state Indonesia in August 1945, for example Sam Ratulangi (a mathematician) and Maramis (a lawyer)⁴⁴ So, from an Indonesian nationalist point of view, the *Etische politiek* boomeranged on the Dutch as their civilization and education of subject people in Indonesia led to anti-imperialism and the expulsion of the Dutch. In the case of Minahasans, Christians began to realize that Christianity had a vital role to play in politics.

In this regard, it can be inferred that the role of the Dutch as the spiritual ancestors of Minahasan Christianity, and the agents of modern civilization, played an essential role in the shaping of the Minahasan concept of vocation.

⁴⁴ Sam Ratulangi and Maramis were among the famous educated Minahasans and founders of the modern, nation-state of Indonesia, who benefited by *etische politiek*. They and other Indonesians initiated and wrought the *Pancasila* ideology for independence in 1945 (Ngelow, 1996:31-36, 57-63).

D.2.2. Minahasan migration to the Netherlands

Why did Minahasans migrate to the Netherlands? What motivated this migration? There were various reasons. It must be noted that there were already some Minahasans living in the Netherlands before World War II. They had been invited by Dutch because of the close relationship between Minahasans and Dutch as explained previously. However, after 1949 most Indonesians, especially Minahasans and Ambonese, migrated to the Netherlands for political reasons. As a result of Indonesian independence in 1945, many indigenous KNIL soldiers preferred to join the Dutch army and consequently had to leave Indonesia. Because Indonesians proclaimed their independence that means Dutch must leave their former colonized country. Consequently, Dutch KNIL armies went back to their country. In this case, instead of joining the Indonesian national army established after Indonesian independence in 1945, many Minahasans and Ambonese wanted to join their colleagues of KNIL who went back to Holland.

From 1957 to 1960 a rebellion of the group called PERMESTA⁴⁵ occurred. Most of the rebels came from Minahasa and South Sulawesi, Indonesia. After this rebellion had ended some Minahasans sought asylum in the Netherlands. Their requests were eventually granted.

In general, in the 1950s and 1960s repatriates from Indonesia were allowed to enter the Netherlands on grounds of their connection with Dutch people or people in the Netherlands, either by birth or marriage.

Most Minahasans staying in the Netherlands later became Dutch citizens because of a Dutch government policy called *spijt optanten* which indicates that the Dutch still feel a measure of guilt for having colonized Indonesia. Therefore *spijt optanten* is a *tegen prestatie*, (Lat. *quid pro quo*) to make up for perceived wrongs done to Indonesians. As a result of this, Minahasans and Ambonese have been *gelijkgesteld* (assimilated equality), and are therefore treated as Dutch citizens with full political rights (personal interview: Diana Franz Rompis, August 2003).

⁴⁵ PERMESTA was a group of Minahasan and South Sulawesi troops who rebelled against the economic injustice caused by the Jakarta central government policy. Most Javanese people had more advantages than people outside Java. This rebellion occurred in Indonesia from 1957 to 1960. Java was predominantly in power and controlled people outside Java (B.S.Harvey, 1984)

Most Minahasans who migrated after 1965 did so less for political reasons than for economic reasons. Since 1970 some Minahasans have come to the Netherlands as tourists and applied for permanent residents, often wanting to live with the family who are already Dutch citizens. To ensure a better future, Minahasans try to take advantage of Minahasan historical ties with Holland e.g. some Minahasan women intend to marry a Minahasan Dutch man or a Dutch man to get their Dutch citizenship. This is called a 'passport-wedding.'

In conclusion, it would seem that there are specific reasons for Minahasan migration to the Netherlands. First, some came for a political reason e.g. Minahasan soldiers. Dutch political development also gave rise to the *spijt optanten* and *gelijkgesteld* policy. The second reason is an economic reason: Minahasans think a better future awaits them in Holland and therefore they establish a relation with Minahasan Dutch citizens to enter Holland and stay there permanently.

D.2.3. Minahasan cultural interaction and cultural change in the Netherlands

Minahasans are still preserving their own cultural values and practices in Holland. Many Minahasan words such as *Mapalus* (cultural cooperation), *Patuari* (relatives) and so on are used in their daily conversation (Kambey, August, 2003). They also still practise their ethnic religious rituals such as Christian-ethnic religious funeral rites, and socio- cultural customs of economic cooperation.

In Holland, Minahasans practice the *Mapalus*, a traditional custom of cooperation, and this has transposed itself into a new environment to be an expression for working together and socializing, for example, helping each other within a group (Minahasan: *kumpulan*), financially and otherwise (*arisan*: pooling and sharing of money or material on a rotation basis). The *Minasaruan ta waya*, one of the Minahasan groups in Holland, conducts *arisan* in favour of helping those who bereave, celebrate birthday, help the need of those who are sick, etc. Such a group conducts a monthly meeting. At the meeting they often read the Bible and sing Hymns. They have a meal together but no food is given to take home as it happens in Minahasa, Indonesia. Some Minahasan groups in Holland collect money for charitable use in Indonesia.

Traditional Minahasan rituals mixed with Christian services, as conducted by Minahasans in Indonesia, such as 3rd night ritual and 40th day ritual for the dead, are conducted in Holland as well. The members of Minahasan social groups gather together, singing hymns and other spiritual songs for those who are bereaved. This still reflects their inherent Christian spirituality. Their attempts to get Dutch citizenship or permanent residence are often accompanied by prayer and active involvement in church activities, even though theologically speaking these do not guarantee a holistic understanding of being a Christian and experiencing through Christian vocation.

Working abroad is not only a matter of earning money. Working in general and in particular working abroad causes much psychological stress (see the definition of migrant workers in Introduction of this present study). This also applies to Minahasan migrant workers in Holland, as they miss their home country, village life, and Minahasan customs. To counteract this, they form Minahasan groups to maintain Minahasan custom. *Kolintang*, Minahasan traditional music device is used at almost every Minahasan meeting. They conduct *maengket*, traditional Minahasan dances at Minahasan gatherings (F.D.Franz-Rompas, Arnhem, September 5, 2003). They still retain Minahasan cultural values inherent in them. Since Minahasan system of ethnic politics has never experienced monarchy such as in Java and other regions in Indonesia, egalitarianism forms the basis of the Minahasan cultural concept of power. Minahasans in Holland apply this cultural egalitarianism.⁴⁶ It is expressed, for example, in the way everybody wants to be a leader and this often leads to much disorder and dispute as appeared in *baku cangkal*: mutual destruction among themselves (Jossie Nijhof Lumi, August 17, 2003).

Sending money to their relatives and for charity and *diakonia* to Minahasans in Indonesia, express a sense of belonging to family and culture. To relieve homesickness and longing for Minahasan people and culture in Indonesia, some Minahasans in Holland visit their home country at least once a year (Roy Lumanau, Peter Sampow, personal interview, August 2003).

Minahasans in Holland are inclined to maintain the Dutch customs they followed before leaving Indonesia. When in Holland, Minahasans seem more devoted

⁴⁶ Egalitarianism is one of the cultural values inherent in the meaning of the name of Minahasa. See footnote no. 7 in this chapter.

to Dutch custom than when they were in Indonesia, for example concerning Western punctuality.

In this section we see that some cultural values and practices are still prevalent in Minahasan communities in Holland. Perhaps some cultural values and practices have been adapted to meet the new environment and this is a proof of cultural change (Dutch: *cultureveranderingen*) (Hekker, 1993). What makes Minahasans in the Netherlands different from those in Japan and the USA is their historical tie with the Dutch. They really feel part of Dutch culture although they still cling to their own.

D.2.4. Contemporary Minahasan migrant workers in the Netherlands

Minahasans in the Netherlands have similarities with those in Japan, especially *nikkei* and *kenshusei*, and in the USA with Minahasan US citizens and Green card holders. However, in Holland there are a very small percentage of illegal migrant workers. Because the vast majority of Minahasans in Holland have legal status they have security and a bright future. Most of them have Dutch citizenship (Jossi Nijhoff Lummi, personal interview, Den Haag, August 17, 2003).

In contrast with the Minahasans in Japan and the USA where most are illegal migrant workers, so that they must work extra hard to meet their daily needs and have to face much psychological distress, the Minahasans in Holland are legal, therefore they need not concern themselves with their legal status.

Due to the experience of the advantages of being Minahasan Dutch citizens, some Minahasan men and women in Indonesia have had tried to marry Dutch people. Sadly, many of these marriages are not based on love, but are mainly to secure a wedding passport which guarantees their citizenship (Roy Lumanau; Jos Tumober, personal interview, August 2003). Dutch, who are inclined to help, are mostly male because of Minahasan women's loyalty and submissiveness to husbands. In recent years, both Minahasans and Dutch have begun to surf the Internet to find and match candidate spouses (Jossi Nijhoff Lummi, personal interview, Den Haag, August 17, 2003).

As most Minahasans are adaptable people (Lunström-Burghoorn, 1981), eventually most are able to accept the Dutch individualistic, advanced way of life. As they live in a Western country, it is very common for Minahasan Dutch citizens to be

very individualistic. According to Sampow, he and some Minahasans state, “love yourself first and then love others provided they do not threaten your self-actualization and development” (Peter Sampow, personal interview, Amsterdam, August 23, 2003). This is reflected in their attitude to work. Work in the interest of yourself and thereafter in the interests of others. This attitude contravenes the Christian principle of work. Working for money satisfies one’s human needs but does not satisfy any spiritual needs. A true Christian gets much more out of work than simply a cash reward. Hard work without emphasis on reward is the essence of true Christianity (Kambey, Erwin. Personal interview, August 2003). Hard work with overemphasis on reward is the essence of humanism (Audy Supit Massie, personal interview, Bosnenlomeer, August 30, 2003).

To a certain degree, dual citizenship is allowed in Holland and some Minahasans still have Indonesian as well as Dutch citizenship. This dual citizenship does not affect social security benefits granted by the Dutch to all their citizens. Despite this grant, Minahasans generally keep working hard except for the elderly people (Erwin Kambey, personal interview, Almere Buiten, August 2003).

Since most Minahasans in the Netherlands have legal status, their bonds with the church are not as strong as in the USA and Japan. In the USA and Japan where most Minahasan migrant workers are illegal, they see the church as having a protective duty towards their interests. It should be noted that the church in no way tries to legitimize their illegality. However, Minahasan Dutch citizens see the church’s social functionality rather than its spiritual substantiality. From this tendency can be inferred that legality and religiosity, in the case of foreigners living in other countries, are inextricably intertwined.

The intensity of the pressures for the legal and illegal migrant workers is quite different. Most Minahasans in Holland are legal and therefore may intermingle with the Dutch. In addition, they are amidst the Dutch, working with them and generally fluent in their language.

Culturally there is still a commitment to work hard and not only to make money, but the Christian values behind the vocation have become somewhat hazy (Roy Lumanau, September 2003).

During five weeks of research in Holland, the researcher found five undocumented Minahasan migrant workers in a church meeting in Amsterdam. Each

confessed that it is very difficult to find work in Holland, even menial works. The Dutch are always asking for a work permit and this prevents Minahasans from finding steady work (Wowor, personal interview, September 2, 2003). Even though there is insignificant number of illegal Minahasan migrant workers in Holland, their hardships are similar to those of illegal workers in Japan and the USA.

D.2.5. Christianity of Minahasan migrant workers in the Netherlands

As one of the modern countries in continental Europe, Holland respects the full freedom for individuals.⁴⁷ This kind of freedom includes a right to abandon Christian belief. As a consequence, many Dutch people nowadays do not adhere strictly to Christian tenets. However, residual Christian principles, such as honesty, are still maintained. This challenges Minahasans to uphold the same value in the midst of basically foreign environment (Toby Meyer Salam, August 2003).

Rukun, a social gathering of sub-groups among Minahasans, plays an important role in Minahasan interactions in Holland. This to a degree reflects the dynamics of social interaction and attempts to perpetuate Minahasan tribal identity abroad. If Minahasans in Holland constitute Minahasan *rukun*, it is because of their inner ties with custom. They do not want to lose their identity. In keeping with this tendency, the church concerns itself with Christian spirituality as well as its congregation's cultural identity (Erwin Kambey, personal interview, August 2003). The negative effect of this political security and modern, European liberalism regarding their spirituality leads them to pursue humanistic freedom instead of Christian principles of life. Reading the Bible and prayer are more often done out of habit than through deep Christian conviction.

However, as Christian people, Minahasans are involved in church activities. Organizationally speaking, a Minahasan 'tribal' church in Holland was constituted sometime in 1960s but immediately vanished (J. Tumober, personal interview, August 2003). Nevertheless, as Christians they still had meetings for Bible study, sermons, singing and praying similar to the services conducted in the Minahasa, Indonesia. As

⁴⁷ This is a consequence of the elements of Enlightenment (French Revolution): liberty, fraternity and equality (see Bridgewater & Sherwood, 1950:725-726).

reported by Roy Lumanau (personal interview, August, 2003), there was a wish that a Minahasan 'tribal' church is necessary to be reconstituted. Eventually this plan was realized in June 2004 (information received from Erwin Kambey, long-distanced phone call, November 2004). This re-established Minahasan church tends to be a realization of postmodern characteristics (new tribalism and local determinism. See, chapter III B.6.5) reemphasizing Minahasan Christians' ethnic identity through which they wish to reaffirm their own Minahasan Christian identity.

To what extent do Minahasans understand their professed faith in their lives? Some church members are struggling to express their Christian faith in accordance with the Biblical witness. Minahasan custom and Christian tradition are blended together and are continually expressed in the way they regularly attend the church services conducted in Dutch and Indonesian. They conduct a thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year service annually as is done in Minahasa, Indonesia (Kambey, August 2003).

From data compiled by interviews (Roy Lumanau, Sampow), it is difficult for them to abandon Dutch Christianity. They (Minahasans) confess that the Dutch expression of Christian faith in general and Christian vocation in particular determine the way Minahasans express their Christian faith and their Christian vocation as well. It is fixed in their minds that Dutch have been their role model even in religious life. The reason is that in their minds, Minahasan Christianity derived from Dutch missionaries. Unfortunately, the religious profession of the Christian faith by the Dutch has changed as a result of modernism. Undeniably, Dutch liberalism has influenced Minahasans' expression of their Christian faith. Routine gathering for Christian worship, sometimes, is less meaningful for them and mere lip service. This brings about bad conduct and inconsistency in their expression of faith (Jenny Kambey, personal interview, August 2003).

However, undertaking work, responsibility and duty in family life and in company activities are taught by Reformed tradition. Not only was this inculcated before they left their home country, but this Church tradition is still apparent in the contemporary theology and church ministry of Dutch churches. Dutch churches assist the PERKI (Indonesia Christian fellowship), an Indonesia bilingual church in Holland (Roy Lumanau, Personal interview, August 2004).

Yet, Minahasan Christian religiosity is still apparent in the way they go to

church. Theologically speaking, the Word of God serves to meet the needs of and to guide the church members. Regular church attendants might still encourage people to undertake their vocation in a Christian way.

In conclusion, the Christianity of Minahasan migrant workers in the Netherlands is substantially conditioned by Dutch individualism, modern agnosticism, residual Christian disciplines (ethical conduct of honesty and toiling) and a blend of nominal Christianity and Minahasan culture.

D.2.6. Conclusion of the field research in the Netherlands

There are several reasons why working and living in the Netherlands is something unique for Minahasans.

Firstly, the long established relationship between Minahasan and the Dutch has enable Minahasans to interact with the Dutch closely and intensely.

Secondly, religious (mass conversion to Christianity) and political (the involvement of Minahasans in the KNIL) factors have resulted in the Dutch government promulgating the law called *spijt optanten* and *gelijkgesteld* that facilitated Minahasans getting their citizenship. Most Minahasans in the Netherlands are legal workers.

Thirdly, their legality allows Minahasans to pursue their work more easily and more securely in comparison with their compatriots in Japan and the USA.

Fourthly, challenges arise in that Minahasans are often caught between modern individualism and Christianity and between postmodern pluralism and Calvinistic Christian teaching and disciplines.

D.3. Minahasan migrant workers in the USA

This section describes the intentions of Minahasans who earnestly want to work in the USA. This is followed by the cultural change of the Minahasans which results from their interaction with the Americans and a Capitalistic culture; how Minahasan culture manages to survive in an alien situation, and lastly how the reality of postmodernity substantiates the way Minahasans in the USA express their Christian faith and vocation.

D.3.1. The Intention of working in the USA

Most migrant workers in the USA did not undertake the official training offered by the Indonesian government (see section B.1.3 in this chapter). They simply left their home country to pursue a better life in the USA which to them is one of the most attractive countries promising a materially prosperous life. This mindset was and is being established, in part, by American TV programs screened in Indonesia (Henderson Lumatau, personal interview, February 2001).

John Mambu, a senior Indonesian pastor in Los Angeles, comments on the situation of Indonesian immigrants: “Coming to this country is indeed an opportunity for Indonesian people. They are able to save some money to help their relatives in Indonesia and contribute something to society building back home. There are several beneficial things that they could get while they are here, including an opportunity to enrol for a variety of educational programs in schools and colleges. Life here is also a challenge for Indonesian people coming to this country, due to the vastly different lifestyle and values” (2003:115-123).

He continues, “One of the reasons the Indonesian people came to this country is to get a better life. In this country, they can earn more money than in Indonesia. Here in this country, they can live properly. They can buy a car, a house, brand name clothes and shoes, to name but a few things. They can save money and send some to relatives in Indonesia. Before coming to this country, they had never experienced this kind of lifestyle. This causes them to perceive life differently “(John Mambu, 2003:115-123). American prosperity keeps most of the migrant workers in the USA. Unfortunately there are very few data available regarding Indonesian immigrants in the USA.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ AS in Japan and the Netherlands, there is no detailed information about when Minahasans first came to the USA. Robert Mewengkang, a Minahasan US citizen, a leader of the *Maesa* (a Minahasan group) in the USA, who lives in New York, indicated that the first generation of the Minahasans came as seamen (Personal interview December, 2004). Many Minahasans arrived in the USA in the second half of the 1980s and this migration reached its peak in the early 1990s. According to Emile Mailangkay, the head of *Kawanua* (another Minahasan group) USA Inc., there are about 15.000 Minahasans in the USA at present (see. Appendix 3).

D.3.2. Minahasan cultural interaction with the American capitalism

Historically, the USA is a country which has struggled with a pluralism of races and cultures. This historical background has shaped Americans to respect pluralism. This respect of pluralism is evident in the experiences of many Minahasans (Neni Lengkey, personal interview, January 2004). However, this pluralism challenges Minahasans because, within this situation “the most significant challenge and opportunity faced by these immigrant people, is cultural difference. This difference has caused many immigrants to lose their identity” (Mambu, 2003).

According to Mambu, “All immigrants, including Indonesians coming to this country, experience change in almost all aspects of life. It is really painful for them to go through ‘an acculturation process’, which requires cultural skills to survive in a new society. It is painful and difficult in the sense that they experience cultural shock, loss of social support caused by social isolation, and stress due to the drastic change in status with little hope for economic improvement. They find themselves in an extremely complex cultural system, so to speak. Although Indonesians try to cope with these problems, the process of adjustment or acculturation is not an overnight walk. Rather, it is a lifelong journey. They must endure the hardship of immigration” (2003:115-123). Most first generation (Indonesian) immigrants face psychosomatic problems in their lives.

As a Western country, as in European countries, the elements of Enlightenment (French Revolution): liberty, fraternity and equality (Bridgewater W., Sherwood, E. 1950:725-726) are underlying values of American life. American individualism causes the Minahasans to live in psychological instability. Modernism and American individualism view work as “a career instead of a calling or vocation, which puts self-interest and service to the community together” (Mambu, 2003). Therefore the ethnic church plays an important role in helping immigrant workers to cope with the shock and other psychological disorder caused by the acculturation process. Church liturgy, sermons, and the ghetto life of the immigrants have helped them to cope.

Minahasans are interacting with American culture. Minahasans cannot avoid the rugged individualism of American people. In the USA, this rugged individualism

manifests in a pragmatic way, because Americans hold pragmatism (Dewey, 1948, 1916; James, 1991)⁴⁹ as the most significant philosophical value. In addition, individualism and pragmatism are coupled with capitalism. In this regard, Max Weber (1976: 22) states that capitalism is coupled with rational capitalism which applies in the organization of labour and social structures. The enterprise must abandon the traditional meaning of labour as a part of household business. There must be a separation between personal property and business enterprise. Rationalization is the principle of Occidental Capitalism. To indicate that this is American utilitarian capitalism, Weber quoted Benjamin Franklin's sermon: "Remember, that *time* is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labour, and goes abroad, or sits idle one half day of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon that the only expense; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides" (Weber 1976:48). This statement fits in with Calvin's idea of social ethics: temperance, sobriety, frugality and moderation (Harkness, 1931:159-177).

As a consequence of capitalism and rugged individualism, strict competition is a part of socio economic life. This strict competition promotes quick and skilful work. This American approach to work exists in all American factories. The harder labourers work, the more opportunities they have to work and earn more income. Many Minahasan migrant workers fall in with this practice. In busy times, especially in summer, when factories increase production, Minahasans work double and even triple shifts daily. (Researcher's participant observation, March 2001).

In postmodernity, the capitalistic spirit and the characteristics of a consumer culture blend with each other and this is very apparent in American society. The American society practices the postmodern concept of a consumer society. Advertising plays a predominant role in all the media. This encourages many people including Minahasan migrant workers to overspend in malls, supermarkets and even in Internet trading. This undermines the Minahasans' (who are only temporarily in the USA) responsibility to see to the needs of their relatives in Indonesia. This

⁴⁹ "American philosophy American pragmatism"
<http://www.radicalacademy.com/amphilosophy7a.htm> Accessed in April 30, 2005. Rockefeller states that Dewey is one of the founders of American pragmatism. "Together with Charles Sanders Peirce and William James he [Dewey] founded the revolutionary American philosophical movement known as pragmatism, and by the end of his career he was being honoured at home and abroad as the foremost American philosopher (Rockefeller, 1991: 3).

consumerist culture is one of the negative effects of postmodernism, as there are undesirable spin-offs such as free sex, pornography, etc. Calvin's precepts of moderation and frugality are useful weapons to counter this culture of extravagant consumerism.

In the midst of their "busyness", Minahasans try to maintain their cultural identity. They participate in ghetto meetings, for example, they arrange cultural (*Maengket*) and other dances, *rukuns*, and celebrate birthday parties, gather at wakes, etc. Most of the meetings begin with Christian worship. Traditional social cooperation (*Mapalus*) still takes place. As Minahasans in Japan and the Netherlands do, Minahasans in the USA also support their relatives at home financially. Unfortunately, *baku cingkel* (covetousness, jealousy and resentment) plagues Minahasans society at home and abroad and is a very negative aspect of Minahasan culture, as it leads to bad feelings, animosity and fragments society. Fortunately, to counter this negative proclivity, the Minahasan cultural system inculcates other values, such as *masawang-sawangan*, *matombo-tombolan* (mutually support and assistance), and *maupu upusan* (mutual affection), which seems to have a Christian connotation. These positive and constructive admonitions are frequently emphasized at both domestic and overseas Minahasan meetings.

Minahasans in the USA are interacting with American individualism, pragmatism and capitalism. Even though the American culture overwhelms Minahasans, they are still generally maintaining their own culture.

D.3.3. Contemporary Minahasan migrant workers in the USA and Church ministry in the USA

Contrary to Japan where the majority of people practise Shintoism, and the Netherlands where Christianity is waning, America is a country in which the number of churchgoers is steadily increasing (Cf. Davidson, Caddell, 1994:135-147). Revivals occur regularly, and are popularized by TV. People assume that American religiosity is inseparable from business and capitalism. Preachers share the Gospels in very pragmatical ways so that people are attracted to their meetings. This leads to the establishment of new denominations and congregations. This can also lead to the movement of Christians between congregations and denominations. This practice

tends to superficialize Christian worship, and mammon seems to be worshiped as much as God is. Pragmatism, consumerism and emotionalism are characteristics of American religiosity.

This religious fact has not passed the Minahasans in the USA by, as Minahasans also developed a tendency to move from one denomination or congregation to another. In New Jersey, for example, there are Minahasans who belong to the Presbyterian church (USA), the Lutheran church and the Reformed church of America. There are also the Seventh Day Adventist, Pentecostal, Charismatic and Roman Catholic Minahasans. This challenges the GMIM church to strengthen their theology and practical ministry to Minahasans abroad. In contrast to this tendency, Minahasans in Japan attend only two churches viz. the reformed GMIJ and the evangelical PII. In the Netherlands, generally Minahasans belong to only one church, viz. PERKI. However, a relatively small Minahasan church was established in 2004.

Moningka (personal interview, February 2001), a pastor of the *Marturia* Presbyterian Church (USA) in Rochester, NH., commented on the relationship between reformed theology and being migrant workers in the USA. He, as a reformed pastor, continually reminds church members to seek God who has bestowed his precious gifts on them. This gift, which was endowed upon Minahasan migrant workers while they were still in Indonesia, has been carried forward into the host country, the USA. The pastor reminds migrant workers that the prayers of church members in Indonesia were with them when they applied for visas, tried to secure the necessary funds, etc. This fits in with what Calvin mentions in *Inst.iii.21* about the meaning and necessity of Christian prayer. This creates an expectation that migrant workers of the GMIM church in the USA should appreciate that their presence in the USA is a gift from God, therefore they have to live as good Christians: it is the Christian's duty to respond to God's gift by obeying His commandments, by being a good Christian and working hard in accordance with His will.

Church involvement has perpetually shaped their Christian mindset and it ultimately leads to their undertaking vocation. A migrant worker who worked in DT magnetics, Dover, New Hampshire (Harry Lumintang, personal interview, February 2001) witnessed that the Christian education he had in his home church (GMIM) keeps reminding him of how good it is to be a Christian migrant worker. His

Christianity is implemented in the workplace: honesty, hard work and the avoidance of moral liberalism are the cornerstones of a good Reformed Christian. God has given us His precious gifts and it is our responsibility to obey his law (Harry Lumintang, personal interview, February 2001).

Christian faith cannot be separated from politics. This is also experienced by migrant workers of the GMIM church in the USA. The global political disaster of September 11, 2001 compelled the US government to view immigrants in the USA in a different way and this has impacted on migrant workers of the GMIM church in that they have to reassess their own identity (Rosye Repi, Hermanus Lengkey, personal interviews, December 2003). Illegal foreign workers in general are now compelled to report to the Bureau of USCIS, United States and Immigration Services (formerly INS) of the US Department of Homeland security. They are prosecuted in court. Most Minahasan illegal workers in New Hampshire are fortunate in that they are helped by a legal Minahasan the pastor of the *Marturia* Presbyterian Church (USA). The host church (PCUSA) provides a lawyer to defend overstayed Minahasan migrant workers in court. This emphasizes the good relationship between the GMIM church and its sister church.

The postmodern concept of time-space compression cannot be separated from the mindset of migrant workers of the GMIM church in the USA as well as their compatriots in Holland and Japan. As people living in an advanced society, and similar to that in Japan and the Netherlands, Minahasans in the USA mutually exchange information by using mobile phones. Much of the communication between Minahasans in the USA and their family in Indonesia concerns how the money sent via electronic means is being spent in Indonesia. The contrast between industrial society (USA) and a traditional agricultural society (Indonesia) is a regular subject of conversation.

There is also communication as regards matters concerning the church in both countries through the use of cellular technology, e.g., people in the USA can participate in funeral services or birthday thanksgivings in Indonesia and wives and husbands can be intimate while separate. Politics receives much attention, as both Minahasans in the USA and in Indonesia have become part of a shrinking world in which the impact of local political events is not limited to individual countries anymore.

What has been said above about international communications via the Internet, mobile phones and other electronic media proves that postmodern devices shape postmodern society and postmodern people live in an ever-shrinking world. In undertaking vocation, Christians cannot avoid the reality of postmodernity and empirically speaking, they have to critically adapt to it.

D.3.4. Conclusion of the field research in the USA

Minahasans, like most people in the world, view the USA as a very prosperous country; therefore, Minahasans eagerly apply for visas to enter this country. Since the September 11, 2001 disaster, it has become very difficult for Minahasans to get visas to enter the USA, because, although most Minahasans are Christians America regards Indonesia indiscriminately as a Muslim country. As a result of the 9/11 disaster, Japan and the Netherlands have also tightened up their immigration law. This has made the obtaining of visas extremely difficult.

The GMIM church in Indonesia encourages their members who are working legally abroad to be even more law-abiding than before. Host churches, especially in the USA and Japan are helping to facilitate the legalizing of illegal Minahasan migrant workers of the GMIM church.

Minahasans in the USA generally maintain their cultural heritage: they live in a ghetto, participate in traditional dances, ethnic Christian rituals, etc.

Minahasans migrant workers in the USA are compelled to keep up with the capitalistic American pace. Many of them have more than one job and many others work double or even triple shifts daily. This is especially the case in the summer months.

E. Conclusion

The research has shown that the concept of calling involves many aspects. Christian vocation of the Minahasan migrant workers is multi-faceted and includes cultural background, economic stimuli, family imbalance and fragility, and political struggle abroad. The concept of vocation inculcated by the GMIM church, inevitably influences their Christian lives. It is the task of the church to respond to the needs of

migrant workers with the evangelical, Reformed statement of faith. The obligations that the Minahasan migrant workers face include: being law-abiding, honest, and energetic in the work situation, steadfast in their Christian outlook and responsible regarding their commitment to their family in Indonesia.

Industry in the developed countries adheres to the capitalistic linear concept of time, whereas Minahasan migrant workers, owing to their cultural heritage, have a looser concept of time. This means that their work rate varies from slow to moderate to very rapid depending on their commitment to and the pressure of the work. This is in line with the postmodern *polychronic* concept of time (see chapter IV.B.2.2).

Minahasan culture is contradictory in itself.⁵⁰ On the one hand, the positive aspect of the heroism of the Minahasan *waraney* and *sei reen* facilitates and strengthens their commitment to work hard. On the other hand, the negative aspect of the *baku cungkel* (mutual destruction among them) is a Minahasan cultural disease originating from egalitarianism. This is an obstacle to achievement of Christian vocation. It is the responsibility of the Minahasan Christians that these cultural contradictory aspects should be put into the continual inner dialogue with their Christian Reformed principles.

The actualization of Christian vocation manifests itself in postmodern social interaction. Postmodern interaction using global devices such as *ketai*, (the Japanese word for mobile phone) and other types of international postmodern communication media, such as surfing websites on the Internet, may alleviate the burden of loneliness and isolation from loved ones. Postmodern devices are a means to facilitate virtual interaction between Minahasans and their family in their home country. The virtual communication between Minahasan migrant workers abroad and their families in their home country is now a means in which they share their Christian faith, struggles, hardship and hopes. This kind of virtual communication used by Minahasan migrant workers abroad and their family in Indonesia can be seen as the new postmodern Christian phenomenon, if not a postmodern Christian congregation. The Christian church, which in traditional sense refers to the territorial and parochial church, is no longer the only place in which the Minahasan migrant workers share their faith experiences. This new approach to express Christian faith within postmodern

⁵⁰ The meaning of Minahasa has its contradictory elements. See footnote no. 7.

telecommunication is evidenced in Japan, Holland and USA and probably exists in other countries in which Minahasans are doing migrant work.

[Http://www.sulutlink.com](http://www.sulutlink.com) is one of the important and significant Minahasan global websites which regularly informs the Minahasan *rukun*'s and *mapalus*' activities across the globe. This phenomenon affirms the postmodern theory that people are living in a borderless country or global village.

Each country applies its own cultural values in the work place. Japan, for example, is an Asian capitalistic country. In the workplace, Asian values of Eastern culture, traditions, and customs is blended with elements from the modern Western scientific culture. In the Netherlands, moral liberalism and rugged individualism are parts of social life in the work places. On the other hand, in the USA, political liberalism and the respect of pluralism are parts of social interaction in working places.

The application of the modern state theory is, in essence, pluri-form. Each country has its unique political background that, in turn, shapes every person residing in a particular country to interact politically. Japan, for example, has many illegal migrant workers even though the laws prohibit this practice. These illegal migrant workers are in Japan because sachos (company owners) need them. In this case, although Minahasans migrant workers benefit financially, they are victimized by the directives of Japanese laws. Similarly, in the USA, there are also many illegal migrant workers. Since the global political event of September 11, 2001, every illegal migrant worker must report and register to the US Department of Justice. This application of national law indicates that the sovereignty of the nation-states, as stated by Giddens (1990:65,67), still exists.

All the above factors make it very difficult for illegal Minahasans (*obase* in Japan, and undocumented Minahasan migrant workers in the USA) to pursue their Christian faith and vocation. However, many of them see this burden as bringing them closer to God and this makes them persevere in their vocation. In the case of legal migrant workers (*nikkei* and *kenshusei* in Japan, green-card holders and Minahasan American citizens in the USA, and Minahasan Dutch citizens in Holland), the fewer the burdens they carry, the less is their commitment to their Christian principles. Therefore, it seems as if the social and psychological conditions of Christian Minahasans to a large degree determine the expression of their Christian faith and Christian vocation.

The Christian church, which traditionally refers to the territorial and parochial church/congregation, is no longer the only place in which Minahasan migrant workers express their Christian faith. They now meet in smaller groups in apartments and this maintains the traditional *rukun* (Minahasans subgroup, familial and kinship unit originating in Minahasa).

These social, cultural, legal interactive aspects affect the way Minahasans express their Christian vocation and the way in which they are challenged to fulfil God's call.

CONCLUSION

A. Two main theses

There are two main theses in this study:

1. There is a concept of vocation in accordance with Reformed theology and its expression in the GMIM church. As a criticism of medieval Roman Catholicism that confines vocation to monastic activities, Reformed theology claims that non-clerical activities outside the monastery are in themselves essential Christian activities that are part of God's call. In the God-given estates (Luther's concept of *in vocatione*) and through God-given estates (Calvin's advanced concept of *per vocationem*), Christians realize God's call, to participate in God's perpetual maintenance of His creation, and this is a response to God's gift endowed upon them. The execution of God's call is to His glory. GMIM church is a Reformed church that upholds and inculcates Reformed theology, including the theology of vocation.
2. This research claims that postmodernity is the zeitgeist of people living in contemporary society. Although modernity cannot be completely abandoned as it still exists in society, postmodernists insist that modernism is not a single metanarrative. Modernity asserts a single universal truth (metanarrative) of rationalism and promotes progressivism and material production. Postmodernity affirms that it has a unique reality in which modernity is one of its elements. This indicates that postmodernity supersedes modernity. Postmodernism is a term that refers to a diversity of views that have been blended into a system of thinking: it is a combination of ideas and views of globalization, poststructuralism, change, etc. Postmodernism claims that, philosophically, it encompasses the elements of pluralism, new tribalism, de-bureaucratization, etc. Sociologically, it can be identified with the rapid dissemination of information, time-space compression and consumer culture, which shape the worldviews of contemporary people.

Based on the results of field research (chapter IV), what follows is an analysis of two theses in the minds of migrant workers of the GMIM church.

B. Reformed understanding of vocation

B.1. Work as an entry point to an epistemological analysis of the social world and Christian ethics

For most people work is the substance of life, understanding work can therefore be used as an entry point to investigate the epistemology of human existence. Work involves meeting colleagues, building friendships, coming into contact with bureaucracy, acting as superiors and subordinates, earning money, applying skills and abilities, experiencing excitement and desperation, etc. (Cf. Kolden, 1994).

Ethically speaking, in work one obliges (deontological) to undertake a job, pursues a purpose (teleological) and challenges the working conditions (contextual) (Frankena & Granrose, 1974:29-99; Fletcher, 1966; Brownlee, 1981:31-40). Religiously speaking, in work one sometimes feels innocent with his or her religious or moral norms if he or she is an agnostic while the Christians who view that work as the place where he or she is called to undertake God's call are critically aware of being guilty because of the improper conduct or worthy because of his or her attempt to execute jobs in accordance with God's law. In this regard, axiology and religious norms are inextricably intertwined.

In conducting their vocation, workers must always consider the ethical approach to work. From a deontological point of view, in the three countries where the field research was conducted, foreign workers had no option but to work hard without the benefit of any social security services. Illegal workers who are temporarily laid off have great difficulty in surviving. In addition, they have to be extra cautious of the law. Both legal and illegal workers have to abide strictly by the laws of the host countries, and for Christians this is in keeping with Calvin's social and political ethics (see chapter II.D.3).

From a teleological point of view, the challenging and demanding situations in which migrant workers live, encourages both legal and undocumented Minahasan

migrant workers to work hard, especially because they will never live in the host countries as long as they want to. The immigration officers might suddenly investigate the undocumented migrant workers and subsequently deport them. This is the reason why the migrant workers, especially the undocumented ones, have to use these invaluable opportunities to earn money and save for the future.

From a contextual point of view, their decision-making should always be in dialogue with the cultural values of local customs. This is essential in maintaining good relationship with local people in the workplace and in the areas in which they live. This also applies to the way they practise their Christianity amongst the host population.

B.2. Work in a wider sense as a Christian vocation

Vocation was a part of Calvin's great debate with Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism and Anabaptism. Roman Catholicism believes that work is the human attempt to attain salvation, that hard work, especially via monastic seclusion, is the essence of salvation. Luther indicates *sola gratia* bears fruit in good works, Christian freedom, and vocation. Vocation is viewed in his two-kingdom concept (heavenly and earthly kingdoms). Like Luther, Calvin heralds salvation based on the *sola gratia* but he intensifies the emphasis on sanctification and the glorification of God. Anabaptists are Protestant in theological outlook but they overemphasize Christian perfectionism. Political activity, for example, is seen as a process of spiritualistic perfectionization. This attitude disregards political estate as God's instituted *lex naturalis* and does not view it as a place where Christians realize their vocation. Yet, from the Protestant/Reformed soteriological point of view, spritualistic perfectionism is a new form of Catholic religious moralism (e.g. *ex opere operato*).

Both Luther and Calvin emphasize the significance of vocation in Christian life. For these Reformers, vocation is not only confined to the spiritual sphere but also plays an important role in work and social-political, and family life. The Bible indicates that work is a divine mandate and that earthly works are in themselves divine works. According to Luther, Christians conduct their earthly works and tasks in the stations (*Beruf*: calling) of believers (*in vocatione*) and these are called vocation. Calvin's view is more progressive, in that he indicates that Christians

should be deeply and seriously involved in the social interaction of worldly activities as part of their Christian sanctification. Vocation itself is seen as a means (*per vocationem*) of glorifying God. In Calvin's opinion, vocation is the confirmation of election (predestination), therefore, working hard and its Christian social attitudes of frugality, thrift, moderation, etc. must confirm vocation (Holmes, 1978:17-20; Weber, 1976; Harkness, 1931:159-167). For Calvin, Christians must treat the work as obligatory without losing its eschatological (future, beyond the life in this world) purpose. In undertaking vocation, Christians must respect social hierarchy, the boundary and dynamics of vocation to avoid disorder (ἀταξία). Work embraces every aspect: cognitive, behavioural, affective, religious or practical. Obviously, workers also need rest and relaxation, because necessary economically unproductive activities are parts of human life. Therefore, Christian vocation includes work and relaxation (Ryken, 1987: 11-40, 181-230; Hardy, 1990:111; Duff, 1999: 308).

The understanding of work in the modernist paradigm still prevails in the minds and attitudes of many people. People view the work merely as a specialization in the individual career, occupation and job. Modernists tend to separate the secular world from the Christian theological world; Christian ethics are often regarded as not applicable to work ethics: deception, dishonesty, self-interest, covetousness and workaholism are viewed as value-free. To Reformed Christians, Calvin's precepts offer an answer to this social, ethical modernist predicament. Therefore, it is incumbent on Reformed Christians to apply Reformed work ethics in their lives. This research has indicated that Christian vocation, from a Reformed point of view is a response to *sola gratia* (God's saving grace) and this response is embodied in the social spheres of Christian life.

This research has also attempted to demonstrate the Reformed understanding of vocation as it is seen in the workplace of migrant workers. This research claims that vocation and the workplaces are inseparable.

B. 3. Reformed social ethics of the Minahasan migrant workers

According to Luther, and in particular Calvin, Reformed social ethics does not deny *lex naturalis* (natural order). In this research, *lex naturalis* in the social sphere refers to politics, work and Christian family life. *Lex naturalis* is a part of God's

created order and therefore Christians accept it as an integral part of their Christian faith. According to Calvin, it includes submission to superiority and the dynamics and boundaries of vocation (see chapter II.C.3-5). In essence, *lex naturalis* is the sphere in which Christians live out their lives. Therefore, it is the sphere in which Christians demonstrate their vocation and God's salvation.

Based on the result of field research (chapter IV), the *lex naturalis* (work, family life and politics) of Reformed Christian migrant workers of GMIM church is summarized as follows:

Firstly, work. Since the object of this field research is migrant workers of the GMIM church working in industry, this deals with the modern 'sphere.' It is obvious that the modernist system of work still prevails (i.e. the result of modern technology and associated with the philosophy of modernism), as is evidenced in the way that Minahasans in Holland, for example, display their rugged individualism. This is proof of the influence of modernism. Modern social life challenges the Christian's understanding of work. Modernism blends with capitalism, promotes progressivism and even idolatry, as is indicated by workaholics. As long as Christians undertake work in conformity with the precepts of the Reformed, Biblical Christian ethics (moderation, frugality, sobriety, etc), work sanctifies earthly duties. A Christian's view of work must be such that God's calling shapes his or her outlook, so that work is regarded as a divine task. Since postmodernism asserts pluralism, this Reformed Christian outlook is one of the options to counteract the destructive modernist work ethos e.g. workaholic, rugged individualism.

In the case of church members of the GMIM church working abroad, undertaking vocation is inseparable from the cultural background in which these Christians are reared and in the way Minahasan cultural background interacts with the cultures of other people. As indicated in chapter IV, the cultural values of the host country challenge the Minahasan work ethos. In Japan, for example, the *kambate kudasai* (Japanese commitment to hard work) and the Western concept of work, intermingle with the Minahasan *re'dem* (diligence) to form a new concept of the work ethos among Minahasan migrant workers. Although each outlook is somewhat different, they (Japanese, Westerners and Minahasans) are similar in that each emphasizes the necessity to work hard. However, the differences relate to the natural, cultural environment and religious teaching. *Kambate kudasai* and Western view of

work emerge from the natural seasonal environment which motivates people to work hard. In addition, the Japanese are committed to the *Samurai-Shinto* teaching of *hara-kiri*. Besides the seasonal challenges, the Western view of work is also motivated by Calvinistic Puritanism, *laissez faire* and capitalism (Weber, 1976; Adam Smith, 1937). By contrast, the Minahasan concept of *re'dem* (diligence) while also an expression of assiduousness, it is also affected by a natural absence of extreme seasonal change. Perhaps Minahasan *re'dem* is undertaken within their ethnic religious scheme of admonition. Once Minahasans live abroad, their *re'dem* is challenged by the cultural values of work ethos of the host countries and the seasonal variation.

Calvin's understanding of perseverance in the Christian vocation covers all aspects of work, whether it be blue collar, menial, intense, burdensome or fulfilling. Minahasan migrant workers of the GMIM church have worked hard and this involves (physical and psychological) hardship and Christian devotion. Work in all its aspects is seen as a calling from God and as the manifestation of His grace. For a Christian to be involved in meaningful work, entails commitment to worship, Bible reading, prayer, ministry and spiritual meditation of the world to come.

Secondly, family life. The family unit has been instituted by God. The intimate sexual relationship between husband and wife is a gift from God and cannot be ignored. Living together in marriage is a blessing from God. Migrant workers face the reality of being separated from their loved ones by necessity. Separation from family is often felt very intensely by the migrant workers and similarly by their spouses and families in Indonesia. This enforced separation leads to a perversion and the distortion of Christian family values. Because of this separation, Minahasan migrant workers face the temptation of free love and free sex which are features of moral liberalism in the host countries. In the midst of being separated from their loved ones, most Minahasan migrant workers are still obedient to the Christian family precepts.

Thirdly, political sphere. Migrant workers cannot escape the political realities of their home country and the host country. This applies especially to illegal migrant workers. The threat of discovery hangs permanently over their heads as they could be arrested at any time and either imprisoned or deported. In Japan and the USA the threat is greatest as there are regular police action to find the illegal migrant workers

and punish them mentally and physically. In Japan, Christian Minahasan illegal workers adapt Job 1:21 to read the *nyukang* (immigration officer) gave and the *nyukang* has taken away. This emphasizes their feeling of helplessness. Freedom has largely disappeared from their lives. One must face the fact that the term “illegal migrant workers” has within itself an intrinsic contradiction. Migrant workers must enter their host countries legally. However, the problem of becoming illegal immigrants arises when for a variety of reasons they overstay their visas and consequently become “illegal” migrant workers.

From the perspective of Calvin’s reformed theology this represents a serious contradiction. Their illegal status means that they are transgressing the existing legal code of the country in which they are residing. Unquestionably this situation represents a deeply challenging and ethical problem for Christians who struggle so that their ethics in this world will glorify God. In the view of the researcher this dilemma represents part of the process by which the migrant worker must seek to live out his or her faith within the context of Christian vocation. The only way to live and to work in comparative safety is to become docile and law-abiding. This attitude is in keeping with Calvin’s political view: everybody should be subject to the law (chapter II.D.3) since it (*lex naturalis*) is a means to express Christian faith in this present world. This is another facet of Christian pilgrimage (chapter II.B.7). Showing their Christian values in their daily lives as migrant workers is the essence of their Christian pilgrimage.

Politics is a sphere in which Christians must demonstrate their vocation. The Reformed Church is obliged to teach the Christians that politics should neither be avoided nor lead to compromise. It is the duty and responsibility of the church to proclaim the gospel, institutionally and individually. The church must give real and practical Biblical teaching and spiritual input so that the migrant workers will be able to both grow in faith and live out their faith in the situation in which they live and work.

Legal workers (Japanese *nikkei*, *kenshusei*, American green-card holders, etc.) obviously do not face this same reality of arrest and deportation but as Reformed Christians they also must obey the law of the host country. Unfortunately, the result of field research has indicated that the more secure legal workers feel the more they are inclined to abandon their Christian values. This can often be seen in the attitudes of

many Minahasan Dutch citizens, *kenshusei*, *nikkei* in Japan and green-card holders and Minahasan American citizens in the USA. This challenges the church to inculcate the values of Christian disciplines (moderation, frugality, etc.) in all Reformed Christians so that these disciplines can guide them to genuinely undertake their vocations for God's glory.

C. Postmodernity

Postmodernity deals with change. Regarding the theory of change, it is wise to consider Heraclitus' concept of change without losing the platonic concept of eternity (Bertens, 1990:109,112), and this can be applied to the empirical life of human beings. In understanding and applying in doing theology, it is wise to see the empirical change without losing the essence of Christian truth.

In the postmodern era, the concept of change refers to rapid uncontrollable change. Postmodernists such as Derrida (poststructuralists' *difference*. Chapter III.B.5.1), Baudrillard (media, hyperreality and simulacra. Chapter III.B.6.1) and Toffler (third wave. Chapter III.B.2.3) are very affirmative about the rapid change as the *sitz im leben* of the postmodern people.

From a Reformed theological perspective, this postmodern change challenges Christians to apply the formula of *ecclesia reformata est semper reformanda* (The Reformed church is always being reformed). Perhaps Calvin did not intend to apply his ethics permanently to every age. His theological works and ministry provide a pattern for applying Reformed principles to the actual context in which Christians live out their faith (Singer, 1959:227-242). Calvin's writings show that the ethical issues and moral social problems facing Christians in his time and the way he coped with them were applicable only to Genevan Christianity and could not apply *mutatis mutandis* to other times. There are huge differences and abysses to be overcome. It is impossible to find similarities between Genevan Christian society and contemporary postmodern society. Calvin's social problems might be totally different from our own social problems. Similarly we live in the midst of ideas that would be foreign to Calvin. For postmodern Christians, the tasks of the Reformed churches are to uphold Reformed principles, analyse these principles and then apply them meticulously to the zeitgeist of postmodernity to the glory of God.

From Calvin's perspective it can be stated that Christian faith is holistic and is articulated and actualised in Christian stations. Similarly in this postmodern era, Christian faith must pervade every single sphere of postmodern technological networks because faith is not only an abstract confession but also a profession.

There are several postmodern characteristics of Minahasan migrant workers abroad:

C.1. Cultural identity: locality and globality

In postmodernity, people are inclined to think globally, while still maintaining their cultural identity. In the case of Minahasan migrant workers this can be seen in the spirit of *sumengkot* (spirit of expatriation). This is blended with *waraney* (cultural heroism). This *sumengkot* can be realized because of the possibility provided by postmodern devices when people in Minahasa Indonesia are invited by their colleagues abroad to join them.

Postmodernity intensifies the *pluriformization* and *pluralization* of ethnic groups as indicated by the shift in Minahasan culture from metamorphosis to *plurimorphosis*. At the metamorphosis stage, the Minahasan people in Indonesia interacted with nature, with themselves and with other people. In the modern era, they are integrated with other ethnic groups within the national boundaries of Indonesia. Now in the postmodern era, they are scattered throughout the world and live in a time-space compression and global, postmodern world in which all groups of people are interconnected. This means that Minahasans can accommodate and interact with cultures such as those of Japan, Holland, America and Australia. Through this interaction, they are able to express their cultural identity. Each Minahasan group has a right to have its voice heard. However, in the postmodern culture, Minahasans abandon their archaic, traditional culture as a single culture that belongs to them, as they are no longer confined to the modern view in which communication is limited to the physical means of modern technology. They are "united" by a postmodern means of telecommunication in which time-space compression shapes their own world as a part of global culture. This postmodern world of Minahasans shapes their *plurimorphosis*.

C. 2. Postmodern pluralism, relativism and absurdity

Postmodernism acknowledges every organic aspect of society. Postmodern pluralism at best can be referred to as pastiche. This is the entry point at which

Reformed Christianity should share the Gospel in a postmodern society.

Postmodernity acknowledges the diversity of the denominations and Christian traditions. Not all migrant workers adhere to the GMIM Reformed tradition, as there are also Evangelical, Pentecostal and Roman Catholic members of the Minahasan communities at home and abroad. They compete against one another. Competition is *per se* not unhealthy provided that it is conducted in a spirit of Christian goodwill.

In postmodern society, it must be accepted that the Reformed tradition is not the only Christian tradition. However, in regard to the postmodern pastiche, the Reformed tradition has an opportunity to continually affirm its uniqueness as it understands itself within the theological scheme of Reformed/Protestant theology and emphasize the holistic view of ministry. The GMIM church as an institution, and her church members, view this world as dualistic they betray their Biblical Reformed principles.

Postmodernism admits pluralism and relativism. Sociologically, this impacts on the social life of religions, cultures and politics. The universal, single truth concept of modernity is abandoned. On the one hand, Postmodernism gives every culture and religion an opportunity to express its identity, uniqueness and conatus. Postmodern pluralism gives Reformed Christianity an opportunity to be heard. This is possible because the insistence of rationalism as the only a single truth (metanarratives) that applies to every sphere of society has become obsolete. On the other hand postmodernism imposes a threat against the universal truth of the Gospel which must be shared with others by every Christian. Making relative this ultimate truth of God and His salvation betrays and despises Christianity.

In the midst of a diversity of options Reformed Christianity must insist that faith is not a matter of choice and emotional preference but a matter of eternal truth (*sola gratia*). Consequently, it must form the basis of viewing Christian ethical conduct, and through the power of the Holy Spirit, Christian faith will grow in their lives as they undertake vocation.

Furthermore, in the midst of pluralism and relativism, postmodernism imposes

a new tribalism on social groups. Veith states “ Postmodernism has the effect of both leveling cultures and exaggerating the differences between them. Postmodernism fragments society into contending and mutually unintelligible cultures and subcultures...Christianity itself is ghettoized” (1994:44). The shift to electronic production has not only brought about miniaturization and multi-functioning of technological devices, e.g. cellular phone, and Internet, but it has also caused an intense proliferation of social life and the uncontrollable, rapid dissemination of information. In this regard, postmodernism also affects subcultures. For example, Minahasan migrant workers abroad are helped to survive in the ghetto of postmodernism, despite the threats imposed by their illegality abroad.

From a Christian ethics point of view, postmodern absurdity can be identified in the way it provides electronic facility in financial transactions (credit card, etc.) as well as seduces people to a lavish, consumerist culture.

Similarly, postmodernity, on the one hand, exacerbates the difficulties and problems that Minahasan migrant workers already face abroad. The “omnipresence” of postmodern telecommunication devices and services, such as cellular phones, Internet, etc., makes it easy for people to be dishonest or to dissemble without fearing discovery. For example, a Minahasan migrant worker can profess his love for his wife while visiting his mistress. For Reformed Christians, the omnipresent, omnifigent and omniscient God (*Providentia Dei*) is stronger and more magnificent than the omnipresent access of postmodern media.

On the other hand, postmodernity offers many advantages as, for example, the same devices that can be used for dishonesty and dissembling can be used to express genuine love for spouse and family and concerns for their future.

From a Christian perspective, the use or the abuse of these devices and services depend on whether Christians can remain true to their Christian values. In this regard, the church has a vital role to play not only must it strive to uphold the Christian values of decency and morality, but it must support in a practical way both the migrant workers abroad and their families at home.

C. 3. Minahasan migrant workers and virtual society

Postmodern media constitute a virtual society. A virtual society is a world in which people impersonally share family intimacy, cultural exchanges, struggles and hopes.

The postmodern concept of time-space compression cannot be separated from the mindset of migrant workers of the GMIM church in the USA as well as their compatriots in Holland and Japan.

Minahasans living abroad exchange information by using mobile phones. Much of the communication between Minahasans living abroad and their families in Indonesia concerns financial matters, family life, politics and conditions in other countries as compared with those in Minahasa, Indonesia.

There is also communication as regards matters concerning the church in both countries through the use of cellular technology, e.g., Minahasans in the USA and in Japan can participate in funeral services or birthday thanksgivings in Indonesia and wives and husbands can be intimate while separate. Politics receives much attention as both Minahasans abroad (in the USA, the Netherlands and Japan) and in Indonesia have become part of a shrinking world in which the impact of local political events is not limited to individual countries anymore.

Hyperreality and simulacra (Baudrillard. Chapter III.B.6) have accelerated the effect of globalization on migrant workers and their families' lives. News of events and happenings concerning Indonesians at home and abroad is disseminated within seconds. Migrant workers' view of reality is determined by postmodern cosmology. Even when working in modern industry, they view reality in a deconstructionist paradigm (see chapter III. B.2.3.B.5.1). This means that they are under the control of the Subject (system, etc.) and therefore they are subject to the technological systems of postmodernity and consumer culture.

Internet, cellular phone (i.a. Short Message Service) and TV live-shows are examples of postmodern devices in which people are globally integrated and able to communicate in the instantaneity, simultaneity and the "real time" dimensions of postmodernity. [Http://www.sulutlink.com](http://www.sulutlink.com) is one of the important and significant Minahasan global websites regularly which informs the Minahasan *rukun*'s and *mapalus*' activities across the globe. This phenomenon affirms the

postmodern theory that people are living in a borderless country or global village. Migrant workers of the GMIM church are grouped among other groups in the postmodern society. This is one aspect of postmodern cosmology.

What has been said above about international communications via the Internet, mobile phones and other electronic media proves that postmodern devices shape postmodern society and postmodern people live in an ever-shrinking world. Postmodern Christians within which the vocation of Christians is actualised, cannot avoid the reality of postmodernity and, empirically speaking, they have to adapt to it.

D. GMIM church: Reformed tradition and postmodernity

To Reformed Christians, the activities of the earthly life are in themselves seen as the means through which (*per vocationem*) Christians live out their vocation. It is the responsibility of the church to teach, through her different kinds of ministries, migrant workers to be law-abiding guests or visitors. Together with members of the local congregation the migrant workers are called to live as members of the one body of Christ and to mutually support one another. Being wise in foreign countries “by practising frugality, moderation and Christian charity” as exhorted to by Calvin is an essential requirement for all Minahasan migrant workers.

Christian migrant workers are facing temptation, fragmentation of family life and the possibility of misusing of income. Therefore the Reformed church must realize her responsibility to function as a “mother.” In other words in the context of the Reformed church as an institution she is also the mother who gives birth to her children and then nurtures and takes care of them (*Inst. IV.3*).

Most of the GMIM church members go to church regularly. Their faith and fear of God indicate their religiosity. One of the postmodern characteristics is its respect for non-rationalism (emotionalism). The non-rational aspect of religiosity could become an entry point that could encourage Minahasans to maintain their faith. Their fear of God fits in with the postmodernist concept of non-rationalism; therefore, postmodern churches should respect this religious tendency.

. This is how Christians execute God’s call in a postmodern world characterized by pluralism, differences, a proliferation of signs, *heterotopia*, and even the absurdity of relativism.

Minahasan Reformed Christians should be aware that their religious values, including their Reformed Christian understanding of vocation governs their whole view of life within a postmodern world.

E. Suggestions for the GMIM church

The conclusion of this research is clear that postmodernity exists. The GMIM church as an institutional church has undertaken her duty, responsibilities and tasks in social and political life. This church has brought the ministry to migrant workers by establishing church agreements with churches abroad and by sending pastors to minister to countries where a significant number of members of the GMIM church are working. However, because of the fast growing and penetrating power of postmodernism, the GMIM church must now become increasingly responsible in ministering in the context of the postmodern paradigm.

For example mobile phone has become the “cyber unifier” of the family and the means of communication between colleagues and other social groups. Through this device, despite a vast separation, family members are able to contact one another, to share and update family news and social and political information. This is now being done by Minahasan migrant workers. From a theological perspective, the challenge is to “Christianise” this postmodern media device. There is a possibility to send a Christian text, prayer and to offer Christian guidance to people without regard to geographical distance.

This is part of the calling of the postmodern church which no longer confines its ministry to traditional, parochial, territorial congregations. The GMIM church members in Minahasan, Indonesia together with her members abroad are now learning to live, work and minister in a global postmodern context. This is the *conditio sine qua non* of the postmodern church. Because of the current virtual interactions between GMIM church members in Minahasa, Indonesia and those living abroad indicate that the GMIM church has become a global church.

The GMIM church cannot ignore postmodern media and must use it in ministry if she wishes to retain her relevance in serving her members, particularly those who are involved in migrant work. The following suggestions are offered to achieve this:

1. It is essential that the Minahasan church constantly study and evaluate the literature associated with the sociological, epistemological, and theological background of this study. It is essential that the church fully understand Calvin's doctrine of vocation so that it can effectively minister in the postmodern world. This means that the church must be involved with the "secular" everyday work in which church members are involved. It is in the workplace that church members must face and evaluate and actually practise their faith. In the workplace every church member must make ethical decisions and work. It is in the workplace situation that the Christian's call needs to be truly lived out and seen by others. In keeping with the experiences that were described by the research population, the Reformed faith enables them to recognize their self worth. The Reformed faith helps them to recognize the importance of genuine commitment expressed through diligence in their work. The GMIM church has already tried to be involved in social development e.g. to improve the social status of people with work that is perceived as "low status" such as drivers of horse-drawn taxis, and farmers (The present program of the synodical functional ministry of GMIM church). However, this is not enough. The church is called to translate the Reformed theology of vocation into real life situations and so reduce and finally eliminate perceptions of some forms of work as being "high status" or "low status". The church is called to analyse and evaluate the social, economic and political conditions in which church members live and work. Similarly the church is called to give guidelines so that the teaching about Christian vocation can be applied. Likewise the church must listen carefully so that the leaders can understand what church members are hoping for and hear their cries and sufferings. The church needs to equip each church member so that he or she will understand that each person's work whether as a farmer, a government official, trader, home maker, or anything else is a God-given vocation.
2. To inculcate the Biblical message of Christian vocation, the church must become more involved in the affairs of migrant workers and their families to help them to cope with the difficulties and sometimes traumatic situations that they find themselves in, in a postmodern society. Therefore, in order to meet her obligations the church has to accept postmodern reality and use it to her ministerial advantage.

3. In line with point two above, the church will have to rethink her ministerial approach and make use of postmodern technology to reach and serve its members throughout the world, for example, a prayer line service run by professional theologians and pastors to pray with and for distant members who are in need. The church could also consider opening a website to provide information about GMIM church activities and events and, more importantly, meditations, sermons, pastoral chat-lines, etc.
4. The GMIM church still needs to improve and extend her working together in relationships with host churches in countries in which her migrant workers are working.

F. Recommendations for further research

There are many aspects of Christian vocation that must be investigated in relation to the Church of God. This is especially so in the lights of postmodern religious resurgences, religious pluralism, religious fundamentalism and the popular New Age Movement, which is a combination of postmodernity, modernity, religions, health, etc.

The researcher recognizes that there is a need to conduct a further analysis of postmodernity and Christian vocation and practical theology in keeping with developments in psychology, international law, and philosophy of communication. This researcher is of the opinion that dialogue should be undertaken with other Christian denominations in regard to the reality of postmodernity and the challenges and threats it presents to the Christian church as whole.

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ABSTRACT

This present study examines two main concepts: reformed theology of vocation and postmodernity. These concepts are identified in the migrant workers of the GMIM church (The Christian Evangelical church in Minahasa, Indonesia) working in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA.

Based on Protestant principles (*sola gratia, sola scriptura, sola fide*), Calvin, who was one of the leading theologians, expounded the Christian concept of vocation in the medieval era. He advanced the theology of Luther, his predecessor. Luther claimed that medieval Roman Catholicism had reduced the meaning of vocation to monastic life as a consequence of its dualistic view of soteriology (salvation). This dualism impacted on the way the clergy and the laity were treated. The clergy is more highly esteemed than the laity. With the result that, lay people and their activities were largely ignored.

Calvin teaches that work does not apply to secular activities only but also to Christian vocation, which means that Christians should be involved in the perpetual maintenance of God's creation (*Providentia Dei*), and God's election (Predestination) is confirmed through their vocation, to the glory of God.

As does Luther, Calvin views *lex naturalis* in social life (working, family life and politics) as constituted by God, therefore, through these social spheres, Christians are called by God to undertake their tasks, duties and responsibilities. To Calvin, earthly activities such as work, family life and political relations involve critical, Christian submission to superiority and the exercising of power of the authorities in a Christian way; respecting boundaries; and promoting the dynamics of vocation. Calvin also admonishes that moderation, frugality, thrift, awareness of pilgrimage and perseverance should be the ethical attitudes of reformed Christians.

The second concept elaborated in this study is postmodernity. The researcher contends that postmodernity is the zeitgeist of people living in the 21st century. According to Lyotard, Baudrillard and other postmodernists, it is stated that postmodernism is the leading concept that can be used to identify the thought, behavior and motivation of people living in contemporary society. One of the claims of postmodernists is that postmodernism supersedes modernism. Modernism is based on a single metanarrative (Rationalism) that promotes progressivism and material

production. This phenomenon is waning since globalization theorists argue that in contemporary society, the improvement of technology (Internet, mobile phones, etc.) has swept away the geographical constraints of social interactions. This study claims that globalization is the social integration of people brought about by technological improvement and that it shapes concepts of contemporary reality and how people view contemporary reality (postmodern epistemology and cosmology).

Postmodernists state that, although modernity cannot be completely abandoned as it still exists in society, it is no longer a single metanarrative prevailing in society. Postmodernity as a unique reality in which modernity is a part of its elements. Postmodernism claims that non-rationality, emotionalism and other aspects are excluded by modernism as elements of postmodernism. The word *pastiche* best explains the reality of postmodernism and the pluralism of society. This is the ambiguity of postmodernism, namely, on the one hand it respects pluralism and therefore challenges every element of society, rational or non-rational, Western or Eastern, etc., to participate in celebrating postmodernity. On the other hand, it is an absurd, incoherent and incommensurable.

The two concepts as explained above (the concept of vocation in reformed theology and the concept of postmodernity) are examined in the minds of migrant workers of the GMIM church. The reasons are, firstly, that GMIM is a reformed church. This church is a member of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and holds reformed principles. Migrant workers of this church, working in Japan, the Netherlands and the USA make up the research population. The second reason is that these migrant workers are overwhelmed by postmodernity.

The field research indicates that the law of the host countries in which migrant workers work, influence them in the undertaking of their Christian vocation. Each host country has its own legal system. Being migrant workers also involve between the cultures of the migrant workers and the cultures of the host countries. This tendency strengthens the concept that, even in the postmodern era, the function of the nation-state is still influential.

The field research also indicates that postmodern media, such as cellular phones and the Internet, are influential in the lives of migrant workers, communally and individually, since they affect their ghetto life and their interaction with their

family in their home country. This, to an extent, proves that a postmodern, global borderless country does in fact exist.

The hardship of work, the law-enforcement of the host country and the pleasure of experiencing postmodern media make up the “abstract milieu” in which the migrant workers express their Christian vocation.

The church has to be aware of the intense pressures of the postmodern influences that pervade every sphere of human life, including Christian ethics, values and attitudes and must provide a ministry that can meet the challenges and the threats of a postmodern society.

OPSOMMING

Die studie ondersoek twee hoofsaak: 'n gereformeerde teologiese opvatting oor roeping, en postmoderniteit. Daar word ook nagegaan hoe hierdie twee begrippe funksioneer onder trekarbeiders van die GMIM – kerk (Christelike Evangeliese Kerk in Minahasa, Indonesië), wat in Japan, Nederland en die VSA werksaam is.

Gebaseer op Protestantse beginsels soos *sola gratia*, *sola scriptura* en *sola fide*, het Calvin, as een van die toonaangewende teoloë, die Middeleeuse roepingsbegrip verbreed. Hy het voortgebou op die teologie van Luther, sy voorganger. Luther het beweer dat die Middeleeuse Rooms-Katolisisme, a.g.v. hul dualistiese opvatting van redding, die betekenis van roeping verskraal het tot die kloosterlewe. Hierdie dualisme het die behandeling van geestelikes en leke beïnvloed. Omdat die geestelikes hoër geag is as die leke, is laasgenoemde en hulle aktiwiteite grootliks geïgnoreer.

Calvin het geleer dat werk nie net op sekulêre aktiwiteite van toepassing is nie, maar ook op die roeping van alle Christene om betrokke te wees by die voortdurende onderhouding van God se skepping (*providentia Dei*). God se uitverkiesing (*praedestinatio*) word bevestig deur hulle roeping, tot sy eer.

Soos Luther sien Calvin ook die *lex naturalis* in die sosiale lewe (arbeid, gesin en politiek), soos deur God ingestel. Christene word derhalwe deur God geroep om in hierdie sosiale kringe hulle take, verpligtinge en verantwoordelikhede na te kom. Aardse aktiwiteite soos daaglikse werk, gesinslewe en politieke verhoudinge veronderstel dus kritiese, Christelike onderwerping aan gesag en die uitvoering van gesag op 'n Christelike manier; die eerbiediging van grense; en die bevordering van die dinamiek van roeping. Calvin beveel ook aan dat die volgende etiese gesindhede gereformeerde Christene sal kenmerk: matigheid, spaarsamigheid, bewustheid daarvan om 'n pelgrim te wees en volharding.

Die tweede begrip waarop die studie konsentreer is postmoderniteit. Die navorser is van mening dat postmoderniteit die tydsgees van mense van die 21^e eeu is. In ooreenstemming met Lyotard, Braudillard en ander postmoderniste word aanvaar dat postmodernisme die grondmotief is wat die hedendaagse mense se denke, gedrag en motivering bepaal. Postmoderniste maak o.a. daarop aanspraak dat postmodernisme bo modernisme uitgaan. Modernisme berus op 'n enkele

metanarratief (rasionalisme), wat vooruitgang en materiële produksie bevorder. Hierdie verskynsel is egter tans besig om te vervaag. In die lig van die huidige globalisasie meen denkers dat die verbetering van tegnologie (internet, selfone ens.) die geografiese beperkinge op sosiale interaksie in die hedendaagse samelewing afgebreek het. Hierdie studie is oortuig dat globalisasie die sosiale integrasie van mense teweegbring, en dat dit mense se siening van die werklikheid beïnvloed (postmoderne epistemologie en kosmologie).

Postmoderniste glo dat, hoewel modernisme steeds voorkom en nie totaal geïgnoreer kan word nie, dit nie meer die enkele metanarratief in die samelewing is nie. Postmoderniteit is 'n unieke werklikheid, hoewel moderniteit miskien 'n onderdeel daarvan is. Postmoderniteit maak daarop aanspraak dat irrasionaliteit, emosionalisme en ander aspekte die nie-moderne elemente van postmoderniteit is. Die woord *pastiche* verduidelik die realiteit van postmodernisme en pluralisme die beste. Dit is die tweeslagtigheid van postmodernisme : Aan die een kant respekteer dit pluralisme en daarom word elke faset van die samelewing (rasioneel én irrasioneel, Westers én Oosters) opgeroep om deel te neem aan die viering van postmoderniteit. Aan die ander kant egter is dit dikwels 'n absurde, onsamehangende en onverstaanbare denkpartroon.

Die twee bogenoemde begrippe (roeping en postmoderniteit) word verder ondersoek in die gedagtes van trekarbeiders van die GMIM-kerk. Die redes hiervoor is tweërlei. Eerstens is GMIM 'n gereformeerde kerk, lid van die Wêreldbond van Gereformeerde kerke, 'n kerk met gereformeerde beginsels. Lidmate van hierdie kerk wat in Japan, Nederland en die VSA as trekarbeiders werk, vorm die navorsingsgroep. Tweedens is juis hierdie trekarbeiders wesenlik onder invloed van postmoderniteit.

Die ondersoek het aan die lig gebring dat die wetgewing in die lande waar die gasarbeiders werk die uitoefening van hulle Christelike roeping beïnvloed. Elke gasland het sy eie wette. Om gasarbeiders te wees impliseer 'n wisselwerking tussen die kultuur van die werkers en die kultuur van die betrokke gasland. Dit beklemtoon die feit dat, selfs in die postmoderne era, die funksionering van die nasiestaat steeds belangrik is.

Die veldondersoek het ook aan die lig gebring dat postmoderne media soos selfone en die internet die lewens van trekarbeiders beïnvloed, gemeenskaplik en individueel. Dit raak hulle ghetto – bestaan sowel as hulle interaksie met hulle familie

in die land van herkoms. In 'n mate bewys dié verskynsel die bestaan van 'n postmoderne, wêreldwye grenslose staat. Die swaarkry van die daaglikse werk, die wette van die gasland en die vreugde van die belewing van postmoderne media vorm alles die “abstrakte leefwêreld” waarin die gasarbeiders hulle Christelike roeping moet vervul.

Die kerk moet bewus wees van die geweldige druk wat die postmoderne invloed op elke faset van die menslike bestaan plaas, insluitende Christelike etiek, waardes en gesindhede. Die kerk moet 'n bediening voorsien wat die uitdagings en geleenthede van 'n postmoderne samelewing die hoof kan bied.

KEY TERMS OF THIS THESIS

1. VOCATION
2. REFORMED
3. PROVIDENTIA DEI
4. PREDESTINATION
5. MIGRANT
6. WORKER
7. WORK ETHOS
8. POSTMODERNISM
9. POSTMODERNITY
10. POSTMODERN ETHICS
12. MINAHASAN REFORMED CHURCH

APPENDICES

Appendix No.1

Seminar on work ethic in an overseas Minahasan Reformed church.

Held in the Gereja Masehi Injili di Jepang (Evangelical Christian Church in Japan)

Oarai, Ibaraki Ken, Japan, March 01, 2003

Introduction

This seminar intends to inquire how church members nurtured in the reformed tradition grasp and experience the meaning of work, its opportunities, hardships and complexities, and understand it as vocation: is it related to Christian faith or not or partially understood or utterly absurd?

To introduce the theme, I will briefly explain the reformed theological view of vocation and thereafter you are invited to share, in group discussion, your understanding and experience of vocation in your lives as migrant workers in Oarai, Ibaraki Ken, Japan.

Historical background of the Reformation church

Church reformers in the 16th century criticized Roman Catholicism for its perversion and distortion of church life, especially as a result of the politicization of the church for the benefit of the clergy.

Medieval humanism (Renaissance), which revived interest in ancient writings, inspired church reformers to investigate the Bible in its original languages. The church reformers rediscovered basic Christian truth and accused the popes of perversion and distortion. *Sola fide, sola gratia, sola scriptura* are the central doctrine of the church and refer to Christ alone being able to save human beings from their sins. Therefore, any human attempt that endeavours to attain salvation is useless. It is God alone, through His only begotten son Jesus Christ, the crucified and resurrected Lord, who assures salvation.

Sixteenth century Roman Catholicism also propagated the dualism of spiritual and physical realms. This dualism admits that the spiritual realm is elevated above the material, physical one. Therefore, political, economical, family/sexual life is viewed

as part of the spiritual realm and the broad laity are virtually ignored. However, the Church reformers highlighted the doctrine of the priesthood of believers. This doctrine insists that all humans are equal before God. None is elevated above another. Each person is unique but has the same value in the eyes of God (I Pet.2: 9, I Cor. 12). John 15:16 advocates that God elects his people to bear fruit according to their talents.

Work ethic of Reformers

Martin Luther proclaimed an evangelical church based on the biblical truth of salvation by grace and faith alone. Believers have to respond to God's salvation by cultivating each *kharisma* (talents) bestowed by God. Luther identifies three kinds of estate in the church:

1. The church service of the pastors, and other related church services;
2. family life (husband, wife, parents, children);
3. socio-political life (politicians/magistrates, traders, farmers, etc.)

All these are treated as vocations. The fulfilling of vocation involves:

- that pastors should not underestimate lay people's work;
- every believer works to meet the needs of others;
- work is a temporal gift.

In the world, work is subject to the law, people are different, and development is gradual, active and tentative. In heaven, there is no work; everything is uniform, passive and eternal. Before God, everyone is equal, but in the world people fall into different hierarchy. The Christian believes that, before God, everyone is a servant, but before human beings the Christian believers have divine tasks.

Even though God has bestowed victory of the resurrection, believers must pursue their earthly struggle.

Questions to be discussed:

1. To what extent do you think that work is a vocation?
2. Are works separate Christian vocations? If yes, why? Is the Church neglecting teaching this? Self-neglect? Unable to adapt to the new environment? Does it involve family life and political life?
3. Can you identify the cross that you bear in the workplace? Does the cross refer to a victory of Christian faith or is it a worldly challenge or a temptation brought about by Japanese sophistication?

Appendix No. 2

Letter of the Governor of the North Sulawesi Province Indonesia to the Governor of the Prefecture Ibaraki Ken and the Mayor of Oarai Town, Japan

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF NORTH SULAWESI INDONESIA
MANADO

Manado, February 24, 2003

No. : 560/4.118
Attachment : ---
Subject : Intergovernmental cooperation regarding labour force

To.

- Governor of Prefecture Ibaraki Ken
- Mayor of Oarai Town

In

Japan

Dear Sirs,

In our meeting with Mr.Sakamoto, the Coordinator of the Indonesian labour force of the Oarai Association of Entrepreneurs in Japan, we were told that information that there are about 800 Indonesian labourers, originally coming from North Sulawesi Province, now are working in Oarai, Japan. They have been working in Oarai, Prefecture of Ibaraki Ken for eight years. We also have information that most labourers are undocumented.

Due to the constant need of labourers in Japan, we, the government of the Province of North Sulawesi Indonesia, in cooperation with the Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa (GMIM), plan to provide 'ready for use,' legal labourers to dispatch to Oarai.

To realize this plan we kindly ask the government of the Prefecture of Ibaraki Ken and the Mayor of Oarai in Japan, to enter into an official agreement with us, the

government of the Province of North Sulawesi, Indonesia, to dispatch workers especially GMIM church members.

We expect the official agreement to come into force very soon. We would be very pleased if the governor of the Prefecture Ibaraki and the Mayor of Oarai town could invite us to have discussion this project.

We would appreciate a speedy reply.

Governor of the Province of North Sulawesi

Drs.A.J.Sondakh.

Copies sent to:

- The Minister of Domestic Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta
- The Minister of Labour of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta
- The Minister of Foreign affairs of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta.

Appendix No.3

A letter of Kawanua USA to the President of the USA

Mr. President George W. Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

February 6, 2003

Dear Mr. President:

First of all please accept our condolences and deepest sympathy for the tragedy of the Columbia on Saturday, February 1. May the Most Gracious God shelter this great nation and comfort the families of the brave and heroic astronauts who sacrificed their lives to advance the cause of humanity.

On behalf of *Kawanua USA, Inc.* a not-for-profit corporation with over 15,000 members in the United States, I would like to express our appreciation for providing us with the opportunity to reside in the United States and to participate in the development of the well being and prosperity of this great nation.

We are people from Minahasa, Province of North Sulawesi, Indonesia. The land of Minahasa is the home of almost one and a half million Christians, who together with around seven million other Christians, scattered all over the Indonesian archipelago, make up the 5% Christian minority among more than 200 million Moslems and other smaller religious groups. *Kawanua USA, Inc* is a brotherhood of Minahasa people—known as the *Manadonese* for its provincial capital *Manado*—who were forced to leave various parts of our country of origin to find freedom, and make our home in the United States.

This letter is written to convey our concern over the plight of our thousands of brothers who face serious predicament brought upon the newly introduced laws necessitating non-immigrant from Indonesia to report to INS. While we wholeheartedly support your policies and concerns for national security, we humbly request that our members and all individuals from Minahasa currently in the United States be exempt from participating in the call-in registration program for the reasons enumerated below.

1. We the people of Minahasa, North Sulawesi, Indonesia have for decades felt ourselves alienated in our own country. In fact, everywhere in Minahasa you can see open display of affection toward US and the West, a sentiment that has its roots in our history. In the fifties when Indonesia was falling further and further into the Communist camp, Minahasa rebelled under the leadership of her Western-trained generals. The rebellion, soundly defeated, making Minahasan people more determined to seek protection across the Pacific.

2. Within weeks of September 11, 2001, thousands of marchers observed a moment of silence at the Square of Tondano, regency of Minahasa, in a show of respect for the victims of 911 and solidarity with the people of the United States, to condemn the act of terrorism, waved US flags and burned the effigy of Osama bin Laden.
3. On October 19, 2001, a greater rally was held at Sario Square, Manado, capital of North Sulawesi, with the theme "Prayer for All" and "Declaration of Peace," condemning terrorism in all types or forms, supporting all international agencies and efforts to combat terrorism and proposing the establishment of anti-terrorism laws in the Indonesian legislature. American flags were again waved in this respectful occasion.
4. On September 11, 2002, another rally was held in Tompaso, Minahasa, where the *Alliance of Minahasa People Against Terrorism* (Almamater) sponsored an ecumenical prayer gathering in commemoration of the 1st anniversary of the September 11 tragedy, and to denounce terrorism. About 6.000 people attended.
5. The last five years have witnessed massacres and mass killings of Christians by fanatic Moslems using firearms in Maluku, Central Sulawesi and other parts of Indonesia, not to mention the burning of churches all over Indonesia, all without any meaningful restraint from the Government. Throughout, Minahasa, Indonesia's only place where Christian has absolute majority, has remained calm and stable thanks to the peace-loving spirit of the Manadonese. Not even one of the few mosques in Minahasa has one rock thrown at it. In the meantime, thousands of Christian refugees from various parts of Indonesia have arrived by boatloads to find shelter in the land of Minahasa, to escape torture, killing and burning.
6. Various attempts of terror have been foiled in Manado recently thanks to the people's strong unity and vigilance. We praise the Lord Almighty for that. There are strong indications however that the militants are putting together plans to launch major strikes against Minahasa, the last bastion of Christianity in Indonesia. At the same time, a bill is being pushed very hard in the legislature to change Indonesia constitutionally to an Islamic State.

The presence of the Manadonese in the United States, these peace-loving, hard-working and law-abiding people, and what meager assistance they are sending every now and then to their families and loved ones back home are part of the support that makes Minahasa what it is today. Many of us are US citizens and permanent residents and many of our children have served your country in the armed forces.

We have come to you with a special request for the Manadonese Indonesians who have been staying in the United States for years to be exempt from the call-in registration program. We are a small community; we know one another and we can say with confidence that none of us are a threat to the United States national security or harboring subversive activities against the United States. We are law-abiding citizens and have contributed to the well being of the nation in many and various ways. We work hard and we pay our taxes. We have left our country behind to seek freedom in this land of opportunity; please don't deny us what we have come here for. We are casting our lot with the United States.

Detention and deportation of our people will not help our fight against terrorism. Granting us permit to stay and live free here in the United States will. For this reason I would like to meet with your representatives to further discuss this matter. Be rest assured of our loyalty and cooperation for your efforts. Your attention to this important matter is highly appreciated. Thank you very much. We look forward to hear from you soon.

God bless you, God bless America and God bless the people of Minahasa.

Respectfully yours,

Emile D. Mailangkay
Chairman "Kawanua USA, Inc."

Copies Sent to:
Mr. John Ashcroft
Attorney General of the United States
U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530

Mr. Tom Ridge
Secretary of the Homeland Security
Room 225, Main Capitol Building, Harrisburg, PA 17120

Mr. Collin L. Powell
Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C. 20520

Mr. Michael J. Garcia
Acting Commissioner
U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington D.C.

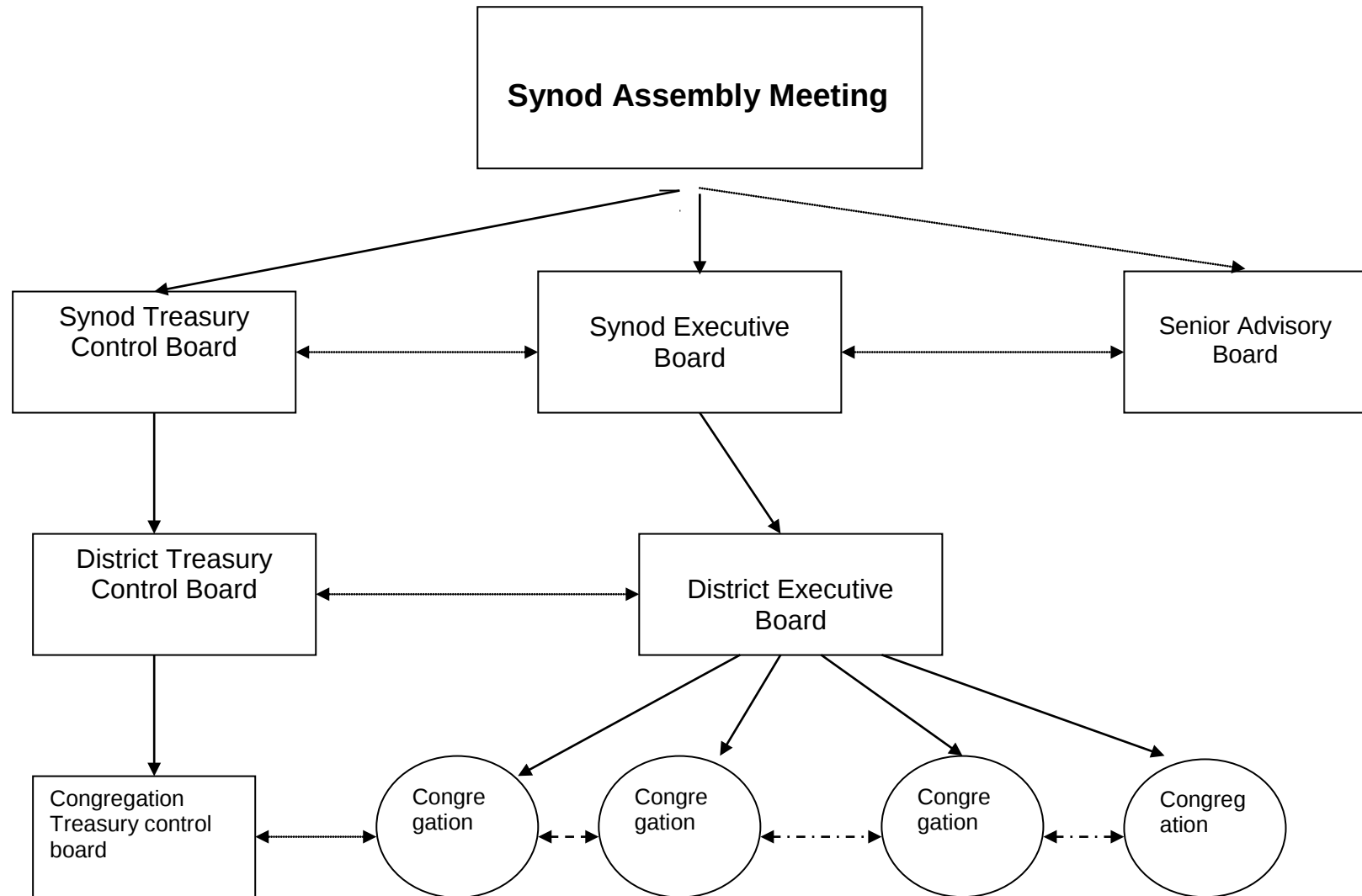
Mr. Sumadi D.M. Brotodiningrat
Indonesian Ambassador to the United States, Washington D.C. 20036

Mr. Ralph L. Boyce
U.S. Ambassador for Indonesia
Jl. Merdeka Selatan, Jakarta, Indonesia

Mr. A.J. Sondakh
Governor of North Sulawesi, Manado, Indonesia

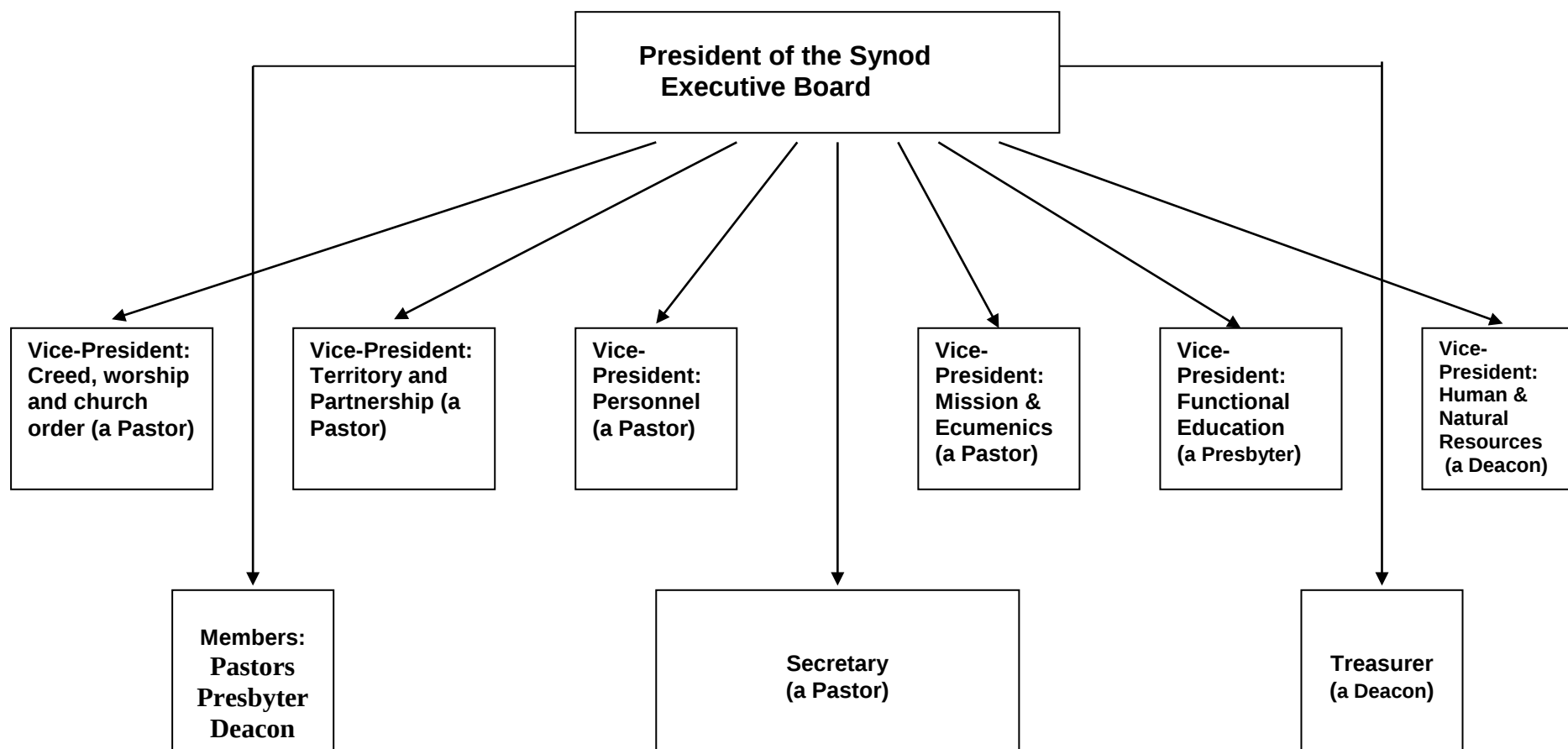
Mr. Vreeke Runtu
Regent of Minahasa, Tondano, Indonesia.

Appendix 4. Organizational structure of the GMIM Church



Appendix 5

Synod Leadership Structure of the GMIM church











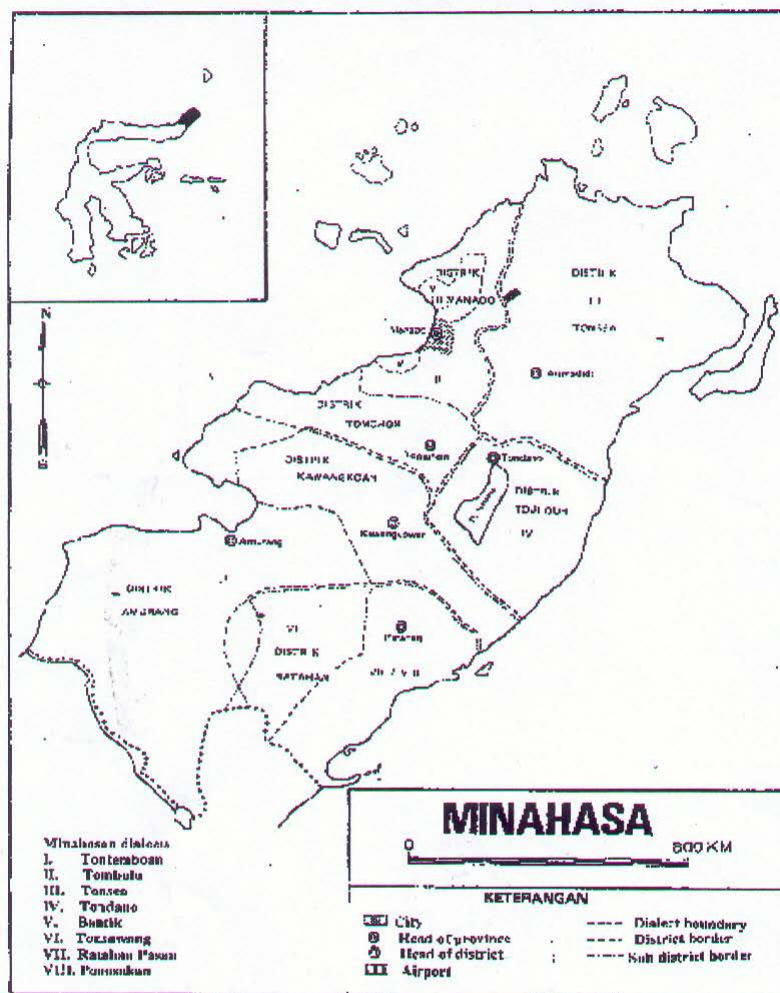
Appendix 10.

Minahasan migrant workers in the Netherlands



Rear row: Left, a Minahasan male and his wife, the second from right and their children; another couple: second from left a Minahasan female and her husband, a Dutch. Sitting: a daughter of Sam Ratulangi, a Minahasan intellectual.

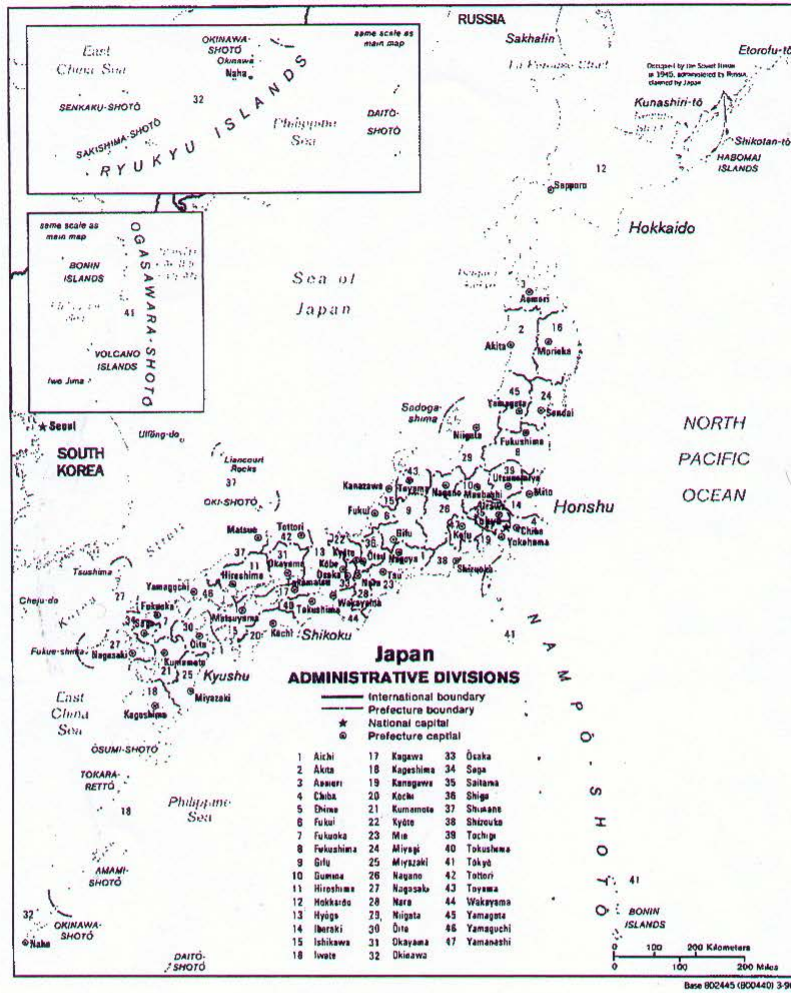
Appendix 11. Map of Minahasa Land, North Sulawesi, Indonesia



MAP 2 MINAHASA LAND

SOURCE: Koesdjaraingrat (1979)

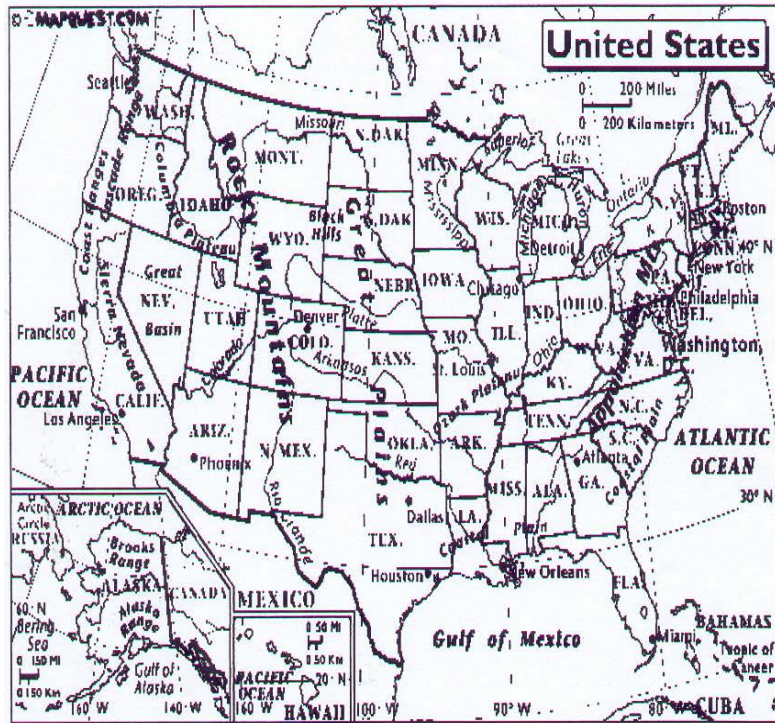
Appendix 13. MAP OF JAPAN



Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/japan_divisions.jpg



Source : http://go.hrw.com/atlas/norm_nethrnd.htm



Source : http://www.go.hrw.com/atlas/norm_hm/usa.htm

