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Crafting Lutheran Pastors in Tanzania

Perceptions of Theological Education and Formation
in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

To Lukas and Julia

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Abstract

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The quest for theological education is embedded in the history of the churches in sub-Saharan Africa and is, at the same time, inherently linked to how the churches continue to evolve and shift in character over time. It relates to the self-understanding of the churches and their role in society, including their academic and pastoral obligations to adequately educate and train leaders to work in the localities. With its estimated 6.5 million members, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) is today one of the largest Lutheran churches in the world. The role and impact of institutions for theological education are high on the agenda in the ELCT, not least as the various educational institutions for ministerial training are often seen as important means in the processes of theologising and strategising for the future.

This qualitative study draws heavily upon interviews with Lutheran bishops and theological educators in Tanzania, and identifies leading motives and ideas behind their current engagements in the field of ministerial studies. More specifically, it shows how the informants reflect upon, argue about and negotiate their perceptions of higher theological education. It demonstrates by what means, techniques, and practices they claim to govern, guide, and form the students in theology. Formal ministerial studies are not carried out in a vacuum but in and through certain institutions, appropriately designed to serve their purposes. In order to gain academic accreditation, institutional and theological recognition, and to oversee the processes of quality assurance, the ELCT cultivates its links with relevant actors and institutions in Tanzanian society. Even the global networks and connections, such as other churches and missionary organisations abroad, play a significant role in this regard.

Drawing inspiration from governmentality studies and the notion of governmentality, this study focuses on 'how' questions; it examines how the interviewees think about governing, and how they calculate, strategise, or respond to certain problems linked to the multiple forms and models of theological training. As such, the study focuses on how government operates, and examines what claims, hopes, and visions the informants have in mind when educating a new generation of clergy in a rapidly changing society.

Keywords: Theological education, Ministerial formation, Higher education, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania, ELCT, Lutheran, Pastor, Governmentality, Tumaini University Makumira, Tanzania, Sub-Saharan Africa

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Abbreviations

ATIEA	Association of Theological Institutions in Eastern Africa
BD	Bachelor of Divinity
BDF	Bachelor of Divinity Fund
CCT	Christian Council of Tanzania
CoS	Church of Sweden
ELCA	Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
ELCT	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania
FLCT	Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika
IMC	International Missionary Council
KKKT	Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania
LCMS	The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod
LCS	Lutheran Coordination Service
LMC	Lutheran Mission Cooperation
LTCM	Lutheran Theological College Makumira
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MCF	Mission Church Federation
MUCo	Makumira University College
SELVD	South East of Lake Victoria Diocese
SEM	Swedish Evangelical Mission
TALC	The American Lutheran Church
TCU	Tanzania Commission for Universities
TEC	Tanzania Episcopal Conference
TEE	Theological Education by Extension
TEF	Theological Education Fund
TUMA	Tumaini University Makumira
WCC	World Council of Churches

1. Introduction

The Graduation Ceremony at Tumaini University Makumira is an academic performance loaded with various symbolic messages. It is based upon a mixture of traditions and rituals combining elements from public sports events, vibrant church liturgies, and military discipline, and is also a joyful party with family and friends.

The annual ceremony in December 2017 takes place outdoors, right outside some of the classrooms on the campus compound. Long lines of white plastic chairs are placed in front of a stage specially decorated with flowers and colourful garlands. Hundreds of people have been gathering since early morning in order to follow every step of the drama. Many of them have travelled far across the country to attend the prestigious academic ritual that officially marks the end as well as the beginning of an era for those who will graduate. Accompanied by music from an orchestra, the students are walking in an academic procession being systematically directed towards designated seats in the shade. Faculty members, all dressed up in colourful academic vestments, and specifically invited guests are joyfully joining in. The ceremony, which lasts for several hours, includes prayers, songs, heartfelt greetings, and formal speeches. Some of the students from the newly inaugurated Cultural Arts Centre contribute by performing rhythmic dances and playing instrumental music. We all stand when singing the National Anthem. When it is time for the vice-chancellor of the university to address the nearly 800 graduates, he puts emphasis on the role of education:

Remember, this institution will continue to be your home even in the future. You'll be impacting our society and will transform it from poverty to wellbeing. You'll defend what is right and so make a contribution to societal change. To those of you who are receiving your first academic degree today – we strongly encourage you to come back soon for a second. Remember, education has no end!¹

Dressed in black academic gowns and with the characteristic caps in their hands, the students make themselves ready to come forward to receive their academic credentials. The chancellor of the university is the presiding bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT), today sitting in a wooden chair, which is crowned by a cross. Surrounded by faculty and staff,

¹ Field notes, Tumaini University Makumira, December 2, 2017.

including council members of the university, representatives of the university senate, and the Secretary General of the ELCT, the bishop calls the students to come forward. For the guests of honour that are sitting on the stage – representing other educational institutions in the vicinity and some of the global partners of the university – there is no doubt that the students are filled with joy and excitement.

The number of students in theology is strictly limited in comparison with the big crowds coming from the other faculties. Nevertheless, as theologians they represent the oldest faculty of the university which, ever since the very first graduation ceremony took place at the Lutheran Theological College Makumira (LTCM) in 1957, has seen numerous ministerial students pass through.² The primary task of the Faculty of Theology has remained the same throughout the years; to educate, train, and shape students for the ordained ministry. At the same time, the structures and models of theological education have changed over time. Today, the cluster of questions related to theological education is high on the agenda in the ELCT, particularly so when it examines the role and impact of the church in a constantly changing society.

Purpose of Study, and Research Questions

The overarching purpose of this study is to analyse the ambitions, concerns, and expectations related to Lutheran theological education in Tanzania, as well as the structural conditions under which such education is carried out. More specifically, the study analyses how Lutheran theological educators and bishops in Tanzania reflect upon and argue about their perceptions of contemporary ministerial training and how they negotiate and address the role of the church in relation to the other actors involved, including people in Tanzanian society in general, and its many global partners. Furthermore, it focuses on how the informants claim to govern and guide students through formal theological education and on what basis and by what means such governance is played out in the ELCT.

The research questions of the study are:

1. What leading assumptions, and concerns, guide and inform the ELCT in its involvement in theological education and ministerial formation in the beginning of the 21st century?

2. How, by whom, and towards what ends are the theological students governed and formed through their pastoral schooling?

Institutions for ministerial training play a pivotal role when educating, fostering, and equipping people for the ordained ministry. At the same time, what theological education entails or how it is adequately put into practice are hotly

² *Mwongozo wa Mahafali*, Chuo Kikuu cha Tumaini Makumira, 2017. Agenda from the Graduation Ceremony, December 2, 2017; *Prospectus 2012-2015*, Tumaini University Makumira, 3-5.

debated questions. The wide field of ministerial training encapsulates multi-layered interests, claims, and needs. Regional, national, and transnational aspects of the conversation on theological education come to the fore. The conditions under which the 26 dioceses in the ELCT presently carry out their work are very uneven when it comes to issues related to theological training. Different interests, needs and concerns in the dioceses impact the understanding of theological education and have to be taken seriously. It is equally important however, to deal with the greater picture of the ELCT and its ambition to reach a common agreement concerning its strategies and priorities for the future. Moreover, Lutheran ministerial training in Tanzania is inherently embedded in many of the existing bilateral and multilateral relations with churches and missionary organisations in the global North. The establishment of research networks and the dependency on external support, primarily in terms of financial and human resources, can therefore not be ignored.

The study, carried out from March 2015 to March 2018, is to a great extent based on semi-structured interviews with bishops in the ELCT and Lutheran theological educators in Tanzania. What the informants identified as key obstacles and challenges will be further discussed in critical dialogue with other sorts of material. With its diverse and longstanding engagements in theological education, the ELCT shows the necessity of continuous reflection on how to govern, direct, and train the theological students. This study intends to make a contribution to this ongoing conversation.

Setting the Scene

The current interest in theological education among Protestant churches in sub-Saharan Africa draws upon a long history that by far goes beyond denominational and geographical borders in time and space. There is no doubt that ministerial formation - its nature, character, and function in the life of the churches across the continent - has dramatically changed over time. That might also be said about the links and relationships between churches in Africa and the churches and missionary organisations in the global North, which for decades have been, and still are, crucial as regards the different educational initiatives.

For more than a century or so, the diverse forms and practices of theological education have been among the most important areas for the churches in sub-Saharan Africa to discuss, develop, and strengthen. The role and impact of institutions for theological education are high still on the agenda, not least as the various educational institutions for ministerial training are often seen as important means in the churches' processes of theologising and strategising for the future. In fact, the field of education more broadly is important for the very establishment of local Christian communities and the way they organise themselves in society.

For Lutherans specifically, formal theological training of pastors is considered key for the establishment and diffusion of Lutheran churches and congregations. Individual church leaders are trained to serve and teach in a local congregation. In turn, they will enable others to shoulder various educational responsibilities in the localities. Additionally, in relation to the wider society, the field of education is crucial as the churches are often involved in managing and teaching at primary and secondary schools, study centres, vocational training institutes, colleges, and universities.

The fact that theological education is of great importance when strategising for future missionary endeavours was noticeable in Protestant circles in Europe and North America as early as the beginning of the 20th century. When representatives from churches and missionary organisations met at the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh 1910, theological education was identified as a key issue in their missionary enterprise. Ministerial training was thus an important tool in the expansion of the church and its missionary ambitions. Even though the representation of African interests and perspectives was very limited, the debates and outcomes of the conference signalled that there were clear links between issues related to education on the one hand and the zeal and fervour for Christian mission on the other.³

In his seminal work on the history of the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh 1910, Brian Stanley draws attention to how issues related to education were dealt with in the different study commissions prior to and during the conference.⁴ Education was seen as yeast that effectively would nourish and strengthen the churches in their missionary endeavours in the world. Specifically, two of the study commissions focused on different aspects of the educational task of the Christian churches and their implications for mission, ecclesiology and spirituality, to mention but a few.

In his analysis of the topics that were brought to the table, Stanley situates the conversation on theological education in relation to the idea of ‘the three selves’ originating from the works of the western missionaries Rufus Anderson (1796-1880) and Henry Venn (1796-1873) in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵ The theory of the three selves, namely self-government, self-support and self-propagating, was widely debated and spread among Protestant missions and was certainly not unknown to the conference in Edinburgh in 1910.⁶ In fact, Venn and others had already elaborated the idea of the three selves in the mid-1860s onwards and the issue had been the subject of discussion at several missionary conventions ever since.⁷ However, as Stanley

³ Stanley, “Africa,” 2005.

⁴ Stanley, “The Church,” 435-451; Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 132-166, 167-201.

⁵ Stanley, “The Church,” 435-451; Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 132-166, 167-201; World Missionary Conference 1910, *Report of Commission II*; World Missionary Conference 1910, *Report of Commission III*.

⁶ Stanley, “The Church,”

⁷ Stanley, “The Church,” 435-436.

points out, the fact that issues on education were neatly tied to the theory of the three selves indicated how crucial education was for the missionary movement in general as well as for the local churches in their endeavours to expand in territory and to mature spiritually.

In the concluding remarks of the *Report of Commission III*, with the telling title 'Education in relation to the Christianisation of National Life', three aims of mission education were particularly mentioned: evangelistic, edificatory, and leavening.⁸ In other words, education was seen as an important means for the promotion of the evangelistic zeal of the church, the realisation of a three-self church, and for the diffusion of Christian influence. It was through education that individuals would be converted to the Christian faith, the Christian communities strengthened and built up, and the non-Christian neighbouring society affected by the churches' ideals and ideas.

In a similar vein, education as means for change was also crucial for many of the colonial administrations in sub-Saharan Africa. Their diverse strategies and policies varied from one country to another and yet, education was an instrument with which one was able to direct and control the development in society in general. The educational system in East African countries such as Uganda, Kenya, or Tanzania, was clearly inherited from the colonisers and therefore reflected European ideals and practices. In the wake of independence in the 1960s onwards, one country after another founded national universities either by transforming existing structures or by creating brand new institutions.⁹ Together with other symbols of sovereignty such as "the flag, the national anthem, the international airport, the national bank, the national currency, and so on," the founding of a national university marked a new phase in the history of higher education.¹⁰

African governments thus sought to expand university education and nationalise faculties and curricula. But the process of transforming the technical and vocational training institutions from schools to colleges and later even to universities, did not happen overnight.¹¹ The tracks of higher education in the East African context might be traced to the opening of a technical school in 1921 at Makerere Hill in Kampala, Uganda. One year later the school was renamed to Makerere College and later, in 1949, it was transformed into the University College of East Africa. In 1963, one year after Uganda gained independence, the University of East Africa was founded. In 1970, as offshoots of the University of East Africa, three independent public universities were inaugurated; Makerere University in Uganda, the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and the University of Nairobi in Kenya. These institutions are still related to one another, though in new ways. Together with a wide number of

⁸ World Missionary Conference 1910, *Report of Commission III*, 369-370; Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 176-177. See also: Jensz, "The 1910 Edinburgh," 399-414.

⁹ Lulat, *A History*, 228.

¹⁰ Lulat, *A History*, 228.

¹¹ Lulat, *A History*, 238.

other institutions for higher education in the region these universities collaborate within the Inter-University Council for East Africa.¹²

From the end of the 1950s onwards, the processes of decolonisation gave further impetus for the churches to structurally organise themselves in new ways within the educational sector, not least in relation to churches and missionary agencies abroad. Lutheran churches across the continent joined newly established networks and organisations through which they started to relate and cooperate with other churches. These radical changes in the life of the African churches have in current missiological theory been described as ‘the fourth self’ or as ‘self-theologising’, indicating the emergence of a new era.¹³ The increasing degree of structural independence in the local churches created a seedbed for a new self-understanding on the African continent. The churches started to seek forms of a contextual approach to theology and to carve out a pastoral practice adapted to the particular contexts at hand. In contrast to the situation during the colonial period, they wanted to better address and respond to the emerging challenges. Broadly speaking, the field of education became crucial means of decolonisation, nation building and pan-Africanism. Institutions for higher education thus became crucial forces and instruments determining how the churches would evolve and expand in the future.

Despite the fact that the newly established universities became important identity markers for national independence in the post-colonial era, many of the structures and ideals continued to reflect old colonial paradigms.¹⁴ The place of theology as an academic discipline in relation to these new structures could not be taken for granted. Public universities, in most cases, either eliminated the study of religion completely, or established religious studies as an explicitly non-theological discipline.¹⁵ So, from the mid-twentieth century onwards, Protestant and Catholic churches established “separate non-accredited but autonomous denominational as well as interdenominational ministerial formation institutions” of which the Lutheran Theological College Makumira was one prominent example in East Africa.¹⁶ Theological education was thus synonymous with ministerial training and pastoral formation to serve a particular church and its various communities.

However, the decision to privatise the education sector in East Africa challenged the churches and other private actors to join and engage in new ways. From the mid-1990s onwards, many of the theological colleges were transformed into multi-faculty universities. As stakeholders of private Christian

¹² Inter-University Council for East Africa: https://www.iucea.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1:overview-of-the-iucea&catid=81&Itemid=529 (accessed October 15, 2018).

¹³ Kagema, “Leadership Training,”; Hendriks, “Reliable Leadership,” 1001-1017; Hiebert, *Anthropological Insights*; Stanley, “The Church,” 448; Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 165-166; Trull, *The Fourth Self*.

¹⁴ Jensen et al., “Do ‘African’ Universities Exist?”, 15-16.

¹⁵ Amanze, *Biblical Studies*; Kombo, “The Past and Presence,” 100-107; Wijsen, *Seeds of Conflict*, 101-119.

¹⁶ Kombo, “The Past and Presence,” 101.

universities many of the churches became highly involved in the sector for higher education. The latter part of the twentieth century and the beginning of the new millennium thus marked a new era in the life of many African churches in regard to the field of higher education. Churches, of shifting denominational affiliations, established universities and other types of institutions for learning and education. The dominating neoliberal paradigm implied marketisation as well as internationalisation of the educational market, a fact that further challenged and pushed many of the churches and governmental institutions.

The number of institutions that are involved in higher education, public and private institutions alike, has rapidly grown in the last 20 years. In sub-Saharan Africa, the largest growth of private higher education has been identified among institutions with religious affiliations. Evangelicals, Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Lutherans and others are all highly involved in the establishment of institutions for higher education. Their various types of academic institutions form global or regional networks with an ongoing exchange of knowledge, ideas, technology, money, students and staff. Drawn into this expanding, expensive and competitive educational market, the churches, regardless of denominational affiliation, have questioned, problematised, and challenged many of the old concepts and practices. Hence, the growing demand for higher education in Africa has called for reforms of both the African providers of education as well as those international actors that financially support these institutions. With its intention to contribute to societal change, the educational sector has been subject to further scholarly interest and research. As recently shown in a study on higher education and capacity building in Africa, Africanisation could also be seen “as a counter discourse to the widespread call for internationalisation of African universities.”¹⁷

It goes without saying that institutions for theological education, regardless of their size, geographical location, and academic level or standard, are drawn into similar processes and paradigms as sketched out above. Growing churches all over the continent, in great need of an educated leadership, create an increasing demand for ministerial training. Local pastors need further training, so the argument goes, in order to adequately address and to handle the societal and spiritual challenges at hand. Evidently, the debates on theological education cross national and denominational borders and are clearly interwoven with an even wider and more complex African and global history.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania

What has been sketched out above in terms of historical, societal and educational developments may to a large extent also be applicable to the situation in Tanzania. It is estimated that the Tanzanian population will soon reach 60

¹⁷ Adriansen et al., *Higher Education*, 2.

million people, of which around two thirds will be under the age of 25.¹⁸ One third of the population lives in urban environments. Hence, the present situation has created a seedbed for an increasing demand for higher education. The number of universities, public as well as private, has multiplied in Tanzania in the last 20 years. The total number of students enrolled for higher education at the accredited universities in the country for the academic year 2013/2014 nearly reached 220 000 which, compared to the figures from 2006/2007, was more than four times higher.¹⁹

In addition to the public institutions, which still dominate the field of higher education, the religious actors play a significant role in terms of managing universities, colleges and other learning institutions in the country. In the education sector in general in Tanzania, the ELCT is today the largest private provider of education followed by the Roman Catholic Church.²⁰ As already noted above, the liberalisation of the education sector in the mid-1990s opened up possibilities for private actors to enter the market of higher education.²¹ As one of the very first private actors in the country, the ELCT decided to start the process of transforming one of its existing institutions for higher education into a university. The historical legacy of the institution, today known as Tumaini University Makumira (TUMA), goes back to 1947 and the establishment of a theological seminary, located in the Usambara Mountains.²²

From 1954 onwards, when the institution moved to its present location in Usa River, outside Arusha, northern Tanzania, it operated under the name the Lutheran Theological College Makumira. In 1997, as a direct result of how the ELCT responded to the by then newly introduced policy for the education sector in Tanzania, the college was certified as the Makumira University College (MUCo) by the Higher Education Accreditation Council. In addition to theological courses, which until then had been the only academic discipline of the institution, MUCo introduced other disciplines in humanities, law, and education. In 2011 the institution was accredited by the Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU) with fully-fledged status as a university and, in the following year, chartered as Tumaini University Makumira. Currently the university has five constituent colleges located across the country.²³ The way

¹⁸ Abbink et al., *Africa Yearbook*, xvii; Hirschler and Hofmeier, "Tanzania", 379-391; World Bank: <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=TZA> (accessed October 15, 2018); Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics: <http://www.nbs.go.tz/> (accessed October 15, 2018).

¹⁹ Tanzania Commission for Universities: http://www.tcu.go.tz/images/documents/Enrollment_by_category.pdf (accessed October 15, 2018).

²⁰ Ishengoma, "Funding Higher Education," 214-246.

²¹ Mkude and Cooksey, "Tanzania," 585-594.

²² *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira.

²³ In addition to the main campus, Tumaini University Makumira has five constituent colleges: Kilimanjaro Christian Medical University College, Tumaini University Dar es Salaam University College, Stefano Mushi Memorial University College, Josiah Kibira University College, and the Southern Highlands University College. The premises of Karagwe University College was inaugurated on October 29, 2017. The institution will be the sixth constituent college of Tumaini University Makumira and is scheduled to start operating in October 2018.

TUMA has evolved institutionally, and expanded over time is similar to several other institutions for higher education in East Africa.²⁴ In fact, some of the former constituent colleges of TUMA have gone through the same process and are today recognised as fully-fledged universities.²⁵ Given the present situation in the country, some of the existing university colleges are probably heading towards similar institutional development in the future.

One has to bear in mind that the overwhelming majority of the students at the above mentioned institutions are engaged in studies in other disciplines than theology. Nevertheless, institutions for higher education become important identity markers, both among the churches that are in charge of them as well as in society more broadly. Their very existence signals not only the active role of the churches as agents of learning and further education in general, but also how the institutions connect and use their many networks and transnational contacts in various initiatives for collaboration and exchange.

With its estimated 6.5 million members, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania faces today a number of challenges with clear implications for the field of theological education. Its geographical expansion has resulted in the establishment of new dioceses. The rapid growth of the ELCT points to the fact that the church is in constant need of more Lutheran pastors with formal theological schooling. In relation to its many international partners, the field of theological education is often mentioned as crucial and of importance for the ELCT to further engage with.²⁶ In line with Lutheran tradition in sub-Saharan Africa, theological education is thus highly valued and prioritised in the ELCT, which is a church that has put much effort into establishing various institutions and developing different forms of pastoral training. Not surprisingly however, such institutions are often costly to run. The requirements for academic recognition, standards, and accreditation – not least when it comes to the formal competence of faculty and how to best use the human resources available in the church – are under constant scrutiny and debate. Moreover,

²⁴ The wide range of Tanzanian institutions related to the aforementioned Inter-University Council for East Africa show the tremendous expansion and spread of institutions for higher education in the country at the beginning of the 21st century onwards. In addition to TUMA, there are several other institutions, founded by Protestant churches, that offer courses in theology and religious studies in Tanzania; Saint John's University of Tanzania (Anglican), Mount Meru University (Baptist), Teofilo Kisanji University (Moravian), and University of Arusha (Seventh-day Adventist). See also: "Tanzania" in *Guide to Higher Education in Africa*, 640-662.

²⁵ Since 2012, the former Sebastian Kolowa University College has operated under the name the Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University. In a similar vein, since 2013 the former Iringa University College has operated under the name the University of Iringa. <http://www.elct.org/tumaini.html> (accessed September 22, 2017).

²⁶ *LMC Manual 2015; LMC Manual 2016; LMC Manual 2017; LMC Manual 2018*. See also: *The Participation of Women in the Ordained Ministry and Leadership in LWF Member Churches*, edited by the Office for Women in Church and Society, Department for Theology and Public Witness. Geneva: Lutheran World Federation, 2016. <https://www.lutheran-world.org/content/resource-participation-women-ordained-ministry-and-leadership-lwf-member-churches> (accessed October 21, 2018).

some of the dioceses are facing difficulties, at least when it comes to higher theological training, in finding students that are qualified enough to embark on higher theological studies. The fact that differing models of theological training exist side by side has served the ELCT well in terms of equipping the church with evangelists and ordained pastors. At the same time, as the various levels of training qualify the ordained pastors for different ministerial duties and positions within the church leadership structures, the present system may also cause tensions in the collegium of pastors in the church. In other words, the various levels of the theological training are valued differently which, in turn, also gives the pastors access to different levels of the church hierarchy. As indicated above, the fact that the number of institutions of higher education in general has grown substantially reflects demographical changes in society more broadly. As the Tanzanian population has continued to grow, so the number of students in need of further studies has increased over the years. In turn, that has changed the general level of knowledge among many of the members of the local Christian congregations, and the kind of qualifications the local pastor might be expected to have in order to respond to their particular needs. Moreover, the growth and diversification of religious communities, Christian and Muslim alike, have given rise to contested claims and have put further pressure on the ELCT to move on with its missionary task in the country. The expectations of the church leadership and its ability to adequately respond to the broad range of needs sketched out above are therefore vast, which in turn, raises question about the nature and purpose of theological education and ministerial formation today and in the future. This empirical study on perceptions of theological education and ministerial formation in one of the largest Lutheran churches in the world contributes to such a conversation.

Previous Research, and Relevance of the Study

I now turn to some of the major studies previously undertaken in relation to theological education and ministerial training in sub-Saharan Africa with special bearing on Lutheran theological education in Tanzania. The aim of the following section is to further position this particular study and to argue for its relevance. The outline below starts with a broad scholarly outlook and then goes on to consider the particular disciplines of theology and religious studies.

A Bourgeoning Field

As already noted, the field of theological education relates and intersects with a broad range of issues in the life of the churches in sub-Saharan Africa. The quest for theological education is embedded in the history of the churches and is inherently linked to how the churches continue to evolve and shift in character over time. Moreover, the issue of ministerial training relates to the self-

understanding of the churches, including their academic and pastoral obligation to act adequately in the localities. One fundamental driving force for the churches to engage in theological education is linked to the overall purpose of ministerial studies, namely to educate and train pastors for church ministry. The institutional aspects of their involvement in education highlight the circumstances under which the churches interact with the neighbouring society in general as well as with their global partners. In other words, as theological education is situated and played out in diverse educational, religious, and socio-political contexts it makes possible a wide scholarly interest and engagement, which is highly interdisciplinary in character.

The churches' involvement in theological education and ministerial training does not take place in a vacuum but relates to the discipline of education in general. There is a growing body of research dealing with the significant role of the churches as agents of societal change in relation to their involvement in higher education. *Christian Higher Education. A Global Reconnaissance*, published in 2014, maps out the contemporary educational landscape in sub-Saharan Africa and beyond.²⁷ Other empirical studies, among them Glanzer et al., further explore the field of 'Christian' higher education.²⁸ Additionally, the global survey on theological education, based on data from more than 1600 theological educators and church leaders across the globe, provides new and robust data, not least in relation to the situation on the African continent.²⁹ These studies are based upon a large amount of collected data about theological institutions worldwide concerning how an explicitly Christian or confessional identity is expressed on websites, in courses and teaching or as moral requirements among students of the institutions and people on governing bodies.

The churches' involvement in higher education has, more recently, been addressed and discussed within the field of development studies when examining the complex relationship between religion and development from a post-colonial perspective.³⁰ Similarly, international organisations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, or Human Rights Watch have in various re-

²⁷ Carpenter et al., *Christian Higher Education*.

²⁸ Glanzer et al., "Looking for God," 721-755; Starcher, "A Non-Western," 295-311.

²⁹ *Global Survey on Theological Education 2011-2013*. The joint research project involved the following institutions: the Institute of Cross-Cultural Theological Education, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago; the Ecumenical Theological Education Programme (ETE), World Council of Churches, Geneva; and the Center for the Study of Global Christianity (GSGC), Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, Boston. https://paoc.org/docs/default-source/international-missions/globaled/articles/global-survey-on-theological-education-2013.pdf?sfvrsn=8fff186a_4 (accessed August 10, 2018).

³⁰ Bendera, "A Historical-Theological Study,"; Deacon and Tomalin, "A History of Faith-based," 68-79; Harrison, *Neoliberal Africa*; Hearn, "The 'Invisible' NGO," 32-60; Hearn, "The 'NGO-isation'," 89-100; Maanga, "The Role," 98-132; Nyblade, "Religious Influence," 977-995; Simon, *Society and Church*; Stambach, *Faith in Schools*; Tomalin, "Introduction," 1-13.

ports focused on sustainable development in relation to the growing recognition of faith-based actors on the field.³¹ In particular, issues concerning policymaking and strategies as regards funding and capacity building have come to the fore.

Higher education in sub-Saharan Africa is today conducted in multiple forms and the field is suggested to be “one of the most striking contemporary forms of globalisation”.³² The academic institutions have become national and highly competitive actors. Their many links with global partners and their impact on the wider contemporary society have been the subject of scholarly enquiry on a broad interdisciplinary basis.³³ A recent study within the field of social sciences, applying a geographical view on knowledge, draws attention to the role of universities as key drivers for societal growth in the global South.³⁴ It focuses on the spatial aspects of how higher education is carried out in various contexts and shows that higher education is inevitably linked to capacity building and knowledge production, and thereby always “embedded in global power relations”.³⁵

However, issues related to theological education in sub-Saharan Africa have been problematised primarily within the field of theology and religious studies. A large body of research has been carried out in the context of ecumenical networking and cooperation in which scholars from various academic institutions and churches across the globe have participated. Stephen Neill’s pioneering empirical study *Survey of the Training of the Ministry in Africa* from 1950, which was mandated by the International Missionary Council (IMC), was crucial for Protestant churches in Africa when mapping out their priorities in the aftermath of the Second World War.³⁶ Neill’s study was soon followed by two additional studies on theological education and ministerial training on the African continent.³⁷ The rich empirical material, such as extensive field notes, questionnaires, surveys, and a massive correspondence with institutions and individuals across Africa, generated a large amount of data for further analysis. The 1958 Assembly of the IMC in Accra, Ghana, paved the way for lively ecumenical conversations and prompted further studies related to theological education. Among those was, Bengt Sundkler’s *The Christian Ministry in Africa* from 1960, which draws upon extensive field studies and personal interviews with ordained clergy across the African continent.³⁸ The decision in 1958 to establish the Theological Education Fund (TEF) marked a new era for the member churches in the World Council of Churches (WCC) and their support to the field of ministerial training at a time of decolonisation

³¹ Bjarnason et al., *A New Dynamic*.

³² Carpenter, “New Evangelical Universities,” 151.

³³ Ishengoma, “The Debate,” 85-109; Teferra, “Funding Higher Education,” 19-51; Teferra and Altbach, “African Higher,” 21-50; Adriansen et al., *Higher Education*, 1-11.

³⁴ Adriansen et al., *Higher Education*.

³⁵ Adriansen et al., *Higher Education*, 239.

³⁶ Daugherty, “Bishop Stephen,” 41-62; Neill, *Survey*.

³⁷ Bates et al., *Survey*; Goodall and Nielsen, *Survey*.

³⁸ Sundkler, *The Christian Ministry*.

and societal change generating new avenues of studies and research.³⁹ After 1977, the TEF continued in the WCC Programme on Theological Education and from 1992 onwards in the Programme on Ecumenical Theological Education. It is worth noting that several African scholars from diverse denominational backgrounds have published extensively on the issue of theological education over the years within the ecumenical circles.⁴⁰

One of the most comprehensive volumes on theological education on the African continent in recent times is the *Handbook of Theological Education in Africa*, published by the WCC in 2013, in which the role of the churches, and their educational institutions and networks in relation to theological education is thoroughly discussed.⁴¹ A large number of studies, often with denominational and regional outlooks, focus on the emergence and development of particular institutions and networks for ministerial training. Issues on institutional legitimacy, academic recognition, quality assurance, or curriculum development are some of the issues that have given rise to a broad international debate. Similar structures for global cooperation as mentioned above in relation to the WCC could be said to exist in the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) which for decades has been gathering its member churches on the African continent and beyond for study processes and consultations on issues related to theological education.⁴²

Additionally, the nature and character of theological education is further discussed in several regionally based studies, often in relation to the history and development of particular institutions and churches.⁴³ Furthermore, studies focusing on the emergence and development of particular sub-disciplines within the field of theology and religious studies, such as Old Testament Studies or Mission Studies, mirror and impact the understanding of ministerial studies in general.⁴⁴ Even the establishment and impact of particular institutions for higher education draws attention to issues related to the character,

³⁹ Lienemann-Perrin, *Training for a Relevant*; Miller, *Equipping for Ministry*; Welch, *Training for the Ministry*.

⁴⁰ Amanze, "Mission and African Ecumenism," 87-99; Amanze, "Paradigm Shift," 120-131; Gatwa, "Theological Education," 193-213; Kalu, "Elijah's Mantle," 263-277; Kaunda, "'Imagining'," Mabuluki, "The Relevance of TEE," 79-89; Mombo, "Mentoring Younger Scholars," 858-868; Mugambi, "The Future," 117-125; Naidoo, "Ministerial Formation," 1-8; Njoroge, "An Ecumenical Commitment," 248-263; Njoroge, "Ecumenical Theological Education," 64-69; Phiri, "Major Challenges," 105-119; Schafroth, "The Context and Shape," 240-260; Walls, "Christian Scholarship," 166-183.

⁴¹ Phiri and Werner, *Handbook*. See also: Werner and Ortega, *Handbook*.

⁴² Bloomquist and Sinaga, "Theological," 657-660; Lechnitz, *Revisioning Theological Education*; Olotu, "Editorial," v-vi.

⁴³ Adriansen et al., *Higher Education*; Church, *Theological Education*; Gaiya, "Revolution," 24-42; Joshua, *Contextualizing*; Karraam, "The International," 487-499; Manyango, *Christian Theological*; Matamba, "Perspectives," 329-347; Mombo and Joziassie, *If You Have*; Nguru, "Development," 43-67; Ott, *Understanding and Developing*; Ross, *Church*; Shah and Sid Nair, *A Global Perspective*; Walls, "World Christianity," 235-240.

⁴⁴ Bellon, *Leading Financial Sustainability*; Holter, *Contextualized*; Holter, "Geographical and Institutional," 3-14; Holter, *Old Testament Research*; Holter, "The Role," 377-389; Newing, "A Study of Old Testament," 80-98.

purpose, and future prospects of the field of theological education. Frieder Ludwig's study on the relationship between church and state in Tanzania addresses such issues, and includes a special section on the discussion of the establishment of a Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy at the University of Dar es Salaam.⁴⁵

Moreover, issues related to theological education and ministerial formation have also been discussed in wider African and academic circles. African academic periodicals, such as *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*; *Misionalia*, *Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, or the *Africa Theological Journal* and others serve as platforms for theological reflection across regional and denominational borders.⁴⁶ A sizeable number of doctoral dissertations within the discipline of theology deal explicitly with issues related to theological education and ministerial training on the African continent.⁴⁷

Significance of the Study

What motivates a study on theological education in a Lutheran context in Tanzania? And how does such a study fit into the larger pattern of research already existing within the field?

Lutheran engagements in higher theological education across Africa have primarily been researched from a historical perspective and often in relation to diverse ecumenical initiatives and processes, not least the establishment of particular intuitions for learning and teaching, how they have developed over time, how they have served specific needs of the churches, and on what grounds they have built bridges and cultivated links with society in general.⁴⁸ But, as recently pointed out elsewhere, despite the fact that churches and church-related agencies have been heavily involved in higher education, limited scholarly attention has been given to the actual contemporary players in the field.⁴⁹ In this regard, Tanzania is no exception. There are very few studies that systematically address issues related to theological education in the ELCT and how ministerial training is thought to direct and transform not only individual students but also the Lutheran community more broadly. In focusing on the contemporary discourse of Lutheran theological education, i.e. how ministerial training in the ELCT is viewed and argued about by a theological

⁴⁵ Ludwig, *Church and State*, 237-246.

⁴⁶ De Beer, "Urban South Africa," 251-277; Hadebe, "Commodification," 1-10; Wahl, "Towards," 266-293.

⁴⁷ See for example: Kaunda, "Imagining"; Wahl, "Theological"; Wilhelm, "Walking".

⁴⁸ Fueter, "Theological Education," 377-395; Isaak, "Studying and Doing," 323-335; Isaak, *The Story*; Iversen, "Mönster för prästtjänsten," 236-252; Lundström, *Mission i omvandling*, 115-118, 152-154, 212-223; Martiny "Theologische Ausbildung," 180-193; Mellinghoff, "Ausbildung," 248-258; Smedjebacka, *Lutheran Church Autonomy*, 55-56, 141-142, 154-155, 303; Smedjebacka, *Tjugofem år i Tanzania*; Sundkler, *The Christian Ministry*; Sundqvist, "Theological Education," 279-304; Vähäkangas, "On the (Ir)Relevance," 172-175; Welch, *Training for the Ministry*; Zeiler, "Transfiguring Lutheran Identities," 469-485.

⁴⁹ Glanzer et al., "Looking for God," 721, 734.

and ecclesiastical elite, this study generates new and unique data for a growing academic research field.

Previous studies on Lutheran initiatives in Tanzania, related to higher education in general and theological education specifically, have primarily been carried out in other disciplines than theology and religious studies. The American scholar Ross Benbow, working in the field of education and international relations, has published a number of works related to Tanzania and the ELCT. Benbow's studies on the University of Iringa and the privatisation of higher education in Tanzania reflect some of the processes the ELCT had to wrestle with in its capacity as provider of higher education.⁵⁰ In his more recent study, written with a broader group of readers in mind, Benbow deals with issues concerning faith, development work, and the transnational partnership links between Tanzania and the United States.⁵¹ Elaine Christian, an American anthropologist, deals with the understanding of ministry and mission in the Northern Diocese of the ELCT. Her doctoral thesis from 2017 is an ethnographic study in which she combines anthropology and theology when examining how Lutheran pastors understand their ministry.⁵² In an earlier study, Christian explores the power dynamics in some of the congregational links and partnerships established between the ELCT and "American partners and short-term missionaries".⁵³ Another study, which to a greater extent than the above mentioned works deals with theological education, is *The Pastor in a Changing Society* from 2014.⁵⁴ Based on field studies in the Southern Diocese of the ELCT, the Tanzanian scholar Zawadi Job Kinyamagoha discusses issues related to pastoral ministry and social change.

Yet another cluster of studies must be mentioned. One has to bear in mind that the ministerial students at Tumaini University Makumira conduct numerous empirically based studies, which are neither published nor known to a wider audience. These written assignments, carried out by students on certificate's, bachelor's, and master's level, deal with issues related to a broad range of interests some of which are related to the field of theological education and ministerial formation.⁵⁵

This study takes seriously the limited number of scholarly works dealing with Lutheran theological education in Tanzania. Regional and denominational aspects and concerns are taken into account, and the intention is to make a scholarly contribution to the field. In contrast to neighbouring countries like Uganda and Kenya, there are very few studies that actually focus on the situ-

⁵⁰ Benbow, "With Hope,"; Benbow, "Steering," 127-160.

⁵¹ Benbow, *You Have the Watches*.

⁵² Christian, "Shepherds, Servants, and Strangers,".

⁵³ Christian, "Partnership," 767-784.

⁵⁴ Kinyamagoha, *The Pastor*.

⁵⁵ The University Library at Tumaini University Makumira holds copies of the students' theses carried out at certificate, bachelor's, and master's level. See for example: Peter, "The Calling of Pastors,"; Rubindamayugi, "The Behaviour of Pastors,"; Selestine, "The Impact,".

ation in Tanzania and even fewer that deal with specifically Lutheran initiatives on theological education. This study addresses both of these aspects. In analysing current perceptions and ideas of theological education, this study generates new insights and knowledge in relation to one of the largest and fastest growing Lutheran churches in the world. Also, the methodological departure point is somewhat different compared with the works mentioned above. While Kinyamagoha and Christian conducted interviews with ordained pastors in the localities across Tanzania, this study has bishops and theological educators in the ELCT as its key informants. This study, focusing on elite voices, therefore strives to show how and on what grounds those in charge of theological education in the ELCT constantly negotiate their perceptions and viewpoints in relation to those challenges and concerns in church and society they identify as crucial to address.

Clarification of Terminology

This study, carried out from 2015 to 2018, focuses on contemporary perceptions of theological education and ministerial formation in the ELCT. Some fundamental terms, referred to throughout the thesis, require clarification.

It should be noted that theological education in the ELCT is synonymous with the formal education of pastors. The informants refer to a broad range of terms when clarifying the meaning and implication of the discourse of theological education. Notions such as ‘ministerial formation’, ‘theological education’, ‘ministerial studies’, ‘theological schooling’, or ‘training of pastors’ are used interchangeably. Though closely related, they are not completely identical but reflect different aspects of the educational and theological enterprise. As this study will demonstrate, the great variety of terms with which the interviewees elaborate overlap, complement, and even contest one another.

Given the design of this study and the character of the empirical data, special attention is drawn to ‘higher theological education’, particularly to the Bachelor of Divinity Program at Tumaini University Makumira. One has to bear in mind that ‘higher theological education’ in the Lutheran and Tanzanian context presupposes completion of upper secondary school and implies university studies at bachelor’s, master’s, or PhD level. Importantly, however, the discourse of theological education in the ELCT is far from limited to one particular institution or one given academic program. Instead, it intersects with a broad range of actors, interests, and different models of theological education across Tanzania and beyond. The study takes this broader outlook seriously when analysing the discourse of theological education and the different pathways towards ordained ministry in the ELCT. Though briefly touched upon, issues related to Theological Education by Extension or theological studies at master’s and PhD level are strictly limited in scope.

The informants refer to the term ‘pastor’ when talking about the pastoral ministry or ordained ministry in a local parish or congregation. The Swahili

term *mchungaji*, meaning ‘shepherd’, is in English translated by ‘pastor’ (from the Latin meaning of ‘shepherd’) which is the most common term when referring to the clergy in the ELCT. Occasionally, however, some of the informants use the term ‘priest’ or ‘minister’. It should be noted that the term ‘pastor’ is distinguished from other pastoral duties in parishes and congregations, such as ‘evangelist’ or ‘parish worker’. This study uses exclusively the term ‘pastor’.

Chapter Outline

In chapter one, ‘Introduction’, I situate the study in its wider societal and scholarly context. Education as a means for personal and societal change, including the close links between education and Christian mission, have for more than a century been impacting the churches and missionary agencies in sub-Saharan Africa. With its diverse commitments in the field of education, the ELCT is a prominent example of a church in Africa being involved in such developments and processes of change. I outline the overarching purpose of the study and clarify the research questions. The latter part of the chapter sketches the rapidly expanding and highly interdisciplinary research field as regards theological education. From a more general outlook I proceed to the growing body of research linked to African theological education, thus furthering the discussion on my own scholarly contribution to the conversations on Lutheran theological education.

In chapter two, ‘Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives’, I map out a governmentality perspective on theological education, focusing particularly on Mitchell Dean’s four dimensions of an analytics of government. The chapter draws attention to the broad range of data dealt with in the study including methodological choices, such as how the interviews were conducted, transcribed, coded, and clustered into appropriate themes.

Chapter three, ‘Time of Transition – Institutions and Educational Initiatives in the Making’, situates the discourse of theological education in Tanzania in its broader African, Lutheran, and ecumenical contexts. Particularly, it focuses on institutional and denominational aspects and perspectives. It examines the context in which the ELCT establishes, shapes, and develops institutions for theological education as a response to impulses deriving from its engagement and participation in transnational and global networks. Furthermore, it argues that those who are involved in the debates on African Lutheran theological education are constantly navigating between old and new paradigms and positions, while scrutinising the discourse on higher theological education.

In chapter four, ‘Models of Theological Education and Ministerial Formation’, I map out the contours of ministerial training on various academic levels in the ELCT. Moreover, I show how the interviewees describe and view their educational and theological responsibilities. The chapter introduces some of the procedures and requirements concerning the recruitment and selection

of ministerial students. It briefly examines the idea of the ordained ministry in the ELCT and draws attention to what norms or ideals the informants consider desirable to uphold.

In chapter five, 'Resources, Interests, and Priorities', I draw attention to organisational, structural, and financial aspects related to the fact that the ELCT, in close cooperation with its global partners, is highly involved in developing the field of Lutheran theological education. Government takes place not in a vacuum but in and through particular practices and techniques; in this case institutions specifically designed for ministerial training. The chapter demonstrates how and on what grounds the ELCT utilises these institutions as means of government in order to achieve its goals. The chapter seeks answers to how the disciplinary power is operationalised when establishing and developing institutions for theological education in Tanzania.

In chapter six, 'Chapel as Space for Lutheran Formation', I focus on the role of the chapel in the academic activities related to theological training at Makumira. The chapter argues that the chapel is an important identity marker for many of the informants when they reflect on theological education and how they understand ministerial formation in the ELCT. The very existence of a chapel on the university compound, and the activities that take place therein symbolise, express, and underline crucial aspects of its function and impact on Christian formation at and around the university. At the same time, the university chapel clearly points beyond these spatial, social, and pastoral boundaries. The chapter thus shows how, why and by what means theological training is played out and practised in relation to theological students and their future ministry in the ELCT.

In chapter seven, 'Encountering Charismatic Christianity', I take a closer look at how the informants describe, view, and situate their encounters with Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity in Tanzania with regard to their engagements in theological education. They found the tremendously rich flora of revivalist movements and campaigns, non-denominational preachers, healers, apostles and self-appointed prophets to be a multifaceted challenge. Therefore, it was crucial for the ministerial students to familiarise themselves with as well as to critically reflect on the current religious landscape as part of their academic studies. At the very centre of this chapter stand informants, who are constantly reflecting on their self-understanding as Christians in Tanzania and negotiating their perceptions on their Lutheran identity.

In chapter eight, 'Mission and Ministry in Context', I elaborate upon the field of theological education in relation to the informants' understanding of the ELCT and its contemporary challenges. Ideally speaking, what is taught and practised in the classroom should correspond to the diverse local contexts in which the pastoral ministry is to be played out. The chapter argues that the way ministerial training is 'thought', talked about, problematised, and envisioned is clearly linked to an overall idea and vision of the ELCT; that is a church not only serving its own members but also interacting with and impacting the wider society. More specifically, it demonstrates the diverse and

complex expectations on the Lutheran pastor being educated with a purpose; namely to foster, direct, and engage with the local Christian community and beyond.

In chapter nine, ‘Theological Education and Ministerial Formation as an Art of Government’, I return to the research questions posed in the introductory part of the thesis. Guided and informed by the governmentality lens through which I have analysed my data, I further discuss my findings in three ways; governing ministerial students, governing institutions, and finally, governing the future.

In chapter ten, ‘Jumlisho katika Kiswahili’, I provide the Swahili-speaking readers with a summary of the study in their own language.

2. Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives

This chapter clarifies the theoretical departure points of the study and outlines the analytical tools utilised while scrutinising the material and answering the research questions. Moreover, it draws attention to the different types of material referred to in this study and discusses how I, as a researcher, encountered the research field more broadly. The latter part of the chapter deals specifically with methodological issues, such as how the interviews were conducted, transcribed, and coded, including one section on how the thematic analysis was carried out.

A Governmentality Perspective

The discourse of theological education implies a mixture of theoretical and practical aspects of teaching and learning. As will be argued, academic studies at the university campus, based on lectures, seminars, and written assignments, go hand in hand with study visits and hands-on training for pastoral ministry in different congregational contexts. Regardless of the form, level, and model, theological training always comes with certain claims and expectations. Simply put, the very idea of ministerial studies is built upon the conviction that it enhances personal and societal transformation. The term ‘ministerial formation’ signals that theological education implicitly presupposes a learning process through which the students are drawn into formative and regulating practices with collective as well as individual implications. Through formal education, the students are expected not merely to acquire a particular academic degree but to effectively integrate and internalise what they learn and study in order to be well equipped to serve as Lutheran pastors. Formal education is thus a way of controlling and forming subjects. The actual institutions where these processes and ideas are played out and put into practice have a crucial role to play when bringing the different components together into one educational system. The underlying idea is that those who undertake theological studies are guided and taught in accordance with certain ideals and practices that are held crucial and desirable. What is encouraged, advocated, and bolstered at the educational institutions is expected to correspond to and be in line with the official teaching and diverse practices and traditions of the church that runs them.

As already indicated, this study focuses on elite voices showing how theological education is negotiated and envisioned rather than the practical implementation of certain educational models or theological ideas. More specifically, it aims to analyse the ambitions, explicit concerns and expectations related to Lutheran theological education, as well as the structural conditions under which such education is carried out.

This study draws inspiration from the flourishing field of governmentality studies. It employs a governmentality lens when analysing the empirical material, which enables me to answer the stated research questions and to further discuss the discourse of Lutheran theological education in Tanzania. The notion of ‘governmentality’, a term that combines ‘government’ and ‘rationality’, is closely associated with some of the later works of the French philosopher Michel Foucault.⁵⁶ Governmentality studies, not least in relation to the discipline of education, today represent a rapidly expanding research field. These studies are highly interdisciplinary in character and engage scholars from a broad range of academic affiliations.⁵⁷

The Australian sociologist Mitchell Dean, widely referred to within the field on education, defines government as ‘conduct of conduct’ and argues:

Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes.⁵⁸

Dean explains that government implies ordering people and directing human conduct, which may be “regulated, controlled, shaped and turned to specific ends”.⁵⁹ Governmentality studies, therefore, deal with how we think about government and aim to seek answers to how we govern others and ourselves.

As already noted, government does not take place in a vacuum but is played out in a certain context, time, and space. It is based on a particular understanding of knowledge, certain ideals, and techniques. It aims to order and form people or institutions in accordance with certain norms, attitudes, or values. Analysing government implies, therefore, a thorough and systematic focus on how and in what ways government works. Such an analysis intends to go beyond a descriptive approach to how authority might operate and to solely engage with issues on who actually rules in a particular organisation.

⁵⁶ Foucault, “‘Governmentality’,” 87-104.

⁵⁷ Andersson and Fejes, “Recognition,” 595-613; Axelsson et al., *Styrningskonst*, 11-20, 41-58; Axelsson and Qvarsebo, *Maktens skepnader*; Ball, *Foucault, Power and Education*; Ball, *Foucault as Educator*; Dean, *Governmentality*; Chambon, “Foucault’s Approach,” 51-81; Miller and Rose, *Governing the Present*; Popkewitz and Brennan, *Foucault’s Challenge*.

⁵⁸ Dean, *Governmentality*, 18.

⁵⁹ Dean, *Governmentality*, 18.

At the centre of the analysis of government stand ‘how’ questions, such as ‘How do we govern?’ or ‘How are we governed?’ Dean points to the fact that the task that lies ahead is to analyse the varying practices of government or regimes of government. In particular, that is necessary to draw attention to the broad range of conditions under which such regimes of practices “come into being, are maintained and are transformed.”⁶⁰ The multiple ways in which we govern others and ourselves are based on a plurality of structures, means, and ideals. Claiming that the regimes of government are heterogeneous and multi-layered in both number and nature, Dean points out that it is a question of “an art of government”, embedded in practices and ideals coloured and informed by local contexts.⁶¹ An analytics of government, therefore, starts first and foremost from issues on conduct raised and discussed in particular contexts rather than from a general theory with universal claims. As indicated in the above stated definition of government, it is the organised practices that thus come to the fore. Dean claims that an analytics of government is a way of reflecting on how we conduct others and ourselves, and how “we think about ourselves and others when we are doing this”.⁶²

In other words, if one wants to understand the organised practices through which the theological students govern and are governed, it is essential to analyse the forms of thought that underlie the educational enterprise as such and how they operate within the regimes of practices. Such a cluster of thoughts is, as this particular study demonstrates, articulated by those responsible for teaching and research or by those in authority to direct or influence the institutions for theological education. Overall, such forms of thought “seek to unify and rationalize [the] techniques and practices in relation to particular sets of objectives”.⁶³

As already indicated, government aims to regulate, order, and reform human conduct in order to attain certain goals. Seen from a Foucauldian perspective, the notion of governmentality is based on a particular understanding of power with clear implications for both individuals and institutions. Power is always closely tied to knowledge, and knowledge to power, of which key aspects are embedded in the discourses of education. As argued elsewhere in a study on student subjectivity and higher education:

A key proposition in this *power/knowledge* view is that discourses regulate human relationships and power does not belong to certain agents or institutions. More specifically, discourses or regimes of power/knowledge prescribe *subject positions* to individuals, ordering their constitution of identity as students, managers, physicians, or academics.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Dean, *Governmentality*, 31.

⁶¹ Dean, *Governmentality*, 28.

⁶² Dean, *Governmentality*, 48.

⁶³ Dean, *Governmentality*, 39.

⁶⁴ Varman et al., “Market Subjectivity,” 1166.

Foucault criticised the traditional notion of power for being centralised to and exclusively executed by the sovereignty. Instead, Foucault elaborated an alternative or complementing model of government. Hence, governing is not merely a feature of the state but of other actors and institutions in society, such as the church, prisons, hospitals, or different sorts of educational institutions. Power is considered productive in character, a resource to exploit, and not something to be seen as negative or restrictive. It is a force that cannot be limited to hierarchical structures but that operates in and through all human relations. As Marianne Winther Jørgensen and Louise Phillips put it, power is “spread across different social practices”, constituting discourses, “knowledge, bodies and subjectivities”.⁶⁵ A discourse may be defined as “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world).”⁶⁶ Discourses thus establish subjects and objects, clearly marking the borders of accepted human behaviour and categorising people’s way of acting as normal, abnormal, desirable or, not wanted.

Analytical Tools

As recently argued elsewhere, when analysing regimes of government, the Foucauldian toolbox could be used in multiple ways, depending on the scope and form of the study.⁶⁷ Given the research questions of this particular study and the character of the empirical material, I have chosen to draw inspiration from Mitchell Dean’s four dimensions of an analytics of government, outlined below. That is not to say that the disposition of the subsequent chapters will be strictly built around the four dimensions of government. Rather, Dean’s four-folded model offers a perspective, a lens, through which the empirical material will be read, analysed, and discussed throughout the thesis.

Conducting an analytics of government is to practice a form of criticism that aims to uncover or to make explicit in what ways someone governs or is governed. It seeks to reveal perceptions, assumptions, and mechanisms of government that are taken for granted, even neglected.⁶⁸ In his outline of an analytics of governmentality, Dean clarifies what is at stake:

To examine regimes of government is to conduct analysis in the plural: there is already a plurality of regimes of practices in a given territory, each composed from a multiplicity of, in principle, unlimited and heterogeneous elements bound together by a variety of relations and capable of polymorphous connections with one another.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis*, 18-19.

⁶⁶ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis*, 1.

⁶⁷ Axelsson and Qvarsebo, *Maktens skepnader* 145-146.

⁶⁸ Chambon, “Foucault’s Approach,” 52-56.

⁶⁹ Dean, *Governmentality*, 37.

As already noted, at the core of this study stands how Lutheran theological education in Tanzania is envisioned, viewed, argued, and negotiated. The different regimes of practices are localised to certain institutions and particular places where, in different ways and at certain times, they are both routinised and ritualised. This study unpacks and discusses these complex assemblages of government.

According to Dean, an analytics of government focuses on “*how* we govern and are governed within different regimes, and the conditions under which regimes emerge, continue to operate, and are transformed.”⁷⁰ Though interdependent, he distinguishes the following four dimensions:

1. characteristic forms of visibility, ways of seeing and perceiving
2. distinctive ways of thinking and questioning, relying on definite vocabularies and procedures for the production of truth (e.g. those derived from the social, human and behavioural sciences)
3. specific ways of acting, intervening and directing, made up of particular types of practical rationality (‘expertise’ and ‘know-how’), and relying upon definite mechanisms, techniques and technologies
4. characteristic ways of forming subjects, selves, persons, actors or agents.⁷¹

The first dimension, that of visibility, identifies and problematises issues in need of government. It defines the problem and carves out the arguments for why and on what grounds government is needed. The first dimension focuses on the informants’ outlook— their way of ‘seeing’, describing, and arguing about theological education – which is crucial to take into account when analysing their way of reasoning on how to teach, direct, and guide a new generation of Lutheran pastors in Tanzania.

The second dimension deals with knowledge or with the ‘production of truth’, which both arises from and informs the government of human conduct. Dean calls this kind of knowledge the *episteme* of government.⁷² It raises questions concerning strategies, forms of thought, or knowledge that are noticeable or employed in government. For instance, it generates questions on how to guide and correct those ministerial students that are considered to have gone astray or are deviating from the expected ‘route’. Furthermore, the current conversations on denominational identity in the ELCT, the negotiation of Lutheran tradition in Tanzania, or the historical legacy of the educational institutions exemplify how different forms of thought shape and inform the discourse of theological education. In other words, the second dimension draws

⁷⁰ Dean, *Governmentality*, 33.

⁷¹ Dean, *Governmentality*, 33.

⁷² Dean, *Governmentality*, 42; Dean, “Governing the Unemployed,” 559-583.

attention to ideals, values, and forms of thought - in past and present time - that impact and direct the ELCT and its educational institutions as regards self-understanding, teaching and practices.

The third dimension focuses on the technical aspects of government, elsewhere called the *techne* of government.⁷³ It concerns by what means, mechanisms, techniques, vocabularies, procedures, and instruments human conduct are governed. The technical dimension thus casts light upon how and by what means the theological students are governed or directed in relation to what the institution expects them to achieve through the pastoral and theological schooling.

The fourth and final dimension concerns identity formation and the desired subjects produced in and through the discourses of government. The fact that the ministerial students are thought of as being educated, shaped, and trained towards specific ends raises questions about the fabrication of the self. What kind of criteria and qualifications guide those in charge of the processes of recruitment and selection of ministerial students? What kinds of ideals become desirable or crucial to incorporate and defend when governing oneself and others through theological education in the ELCT today?

Methodological Considerations

This is a qualitative study, primarily based on interviews conducted with a selected number of key informants. These interviews will be critically analysed along with other types of data. Guided by the research questions and with the help of the analytical tools outlined above, I will refer to published articles, books, and conference volumes dealing with the discourse on theological education. I will retrieve supplementary data from unpublished texts such as reports and records from diverse consultations and meetings, statistics, protocols, lectures held at gatherings for pastors, or academic essays and assignments written by theological students in Tanzania. Additionally, I will consult archival material in terms of personal notes and accounts from private collections, missionary agencies, and church-related educational institutions.

Regardless of the character and origin of the different types of material, whether it consists of transcribed interviews, published and unpublished documents, or archival records, the materials are critically analysed as texts. At the centre of this study are texts that articulate perceptions and ideals of ministerial studies, elaborate motives, and express strategies for governing theological students through formal education. Crucial for the analysis, therefore, is a consistent and maintained focus on what the materials express and discuss as texts.

⁷³ Dean, *Governmentality*, 42; Dean, "Governing the Unemployed," 559-583.

Encountering the Field

From 2015 to 2018, I visited Tanzania on five separate occasions, each time for about seven to 10 days. I met with a broad range of people involved in the field of theological education in the ELCT. In addition to my key informants - Lutheran bishops and theological educators in the ELCT - with whom I conducted formal interviews, I interacted with representatives from the ELCT Head office in Arusha, some of the local dioceses in the ELCT, and some of the funding partners of the ELCT involved with the field of Lutheran ministerial training in the country. Additionally, I gathered information by visiting various institutions for education and learning, and by collecting brochures, pamphlets and statistical data, including using libraries and archives. I had numerous informal conversations with people across the country who were involved in the field of theological education. Over the years, I maintained contact with several of those I met in Tanzania, via email or on social media such as WhatsApp and Facebook. Moreover, through some of my informants I also established new connections with a number of other people representing institutions for theological education and churches of other affiliations than Lutheran. I communicated with these people either over Skype or via email in search of relevant material.

One has to bear in mind however, that I had visited Tanzania on several occasions and for various purposes long before embarking on my doctoral studies. I had travelled both as a tourist and in the capacity of an ordained Lutheran pastor in the Church of Sweden (CoS). On those occasions, local Christian communities, predominately Lutheran, often hosted me in urban as well as in rural areas. I had briefly met some of the bishops in the ELCT in various meetings and consultations in Tanzania or Sweden, and two of them later became informants in this project. The fact that I, as part of the research project, partly drew upon previous contacts and was connected to milieus in Tanzania that had been established under other circumstances made it necessary for me to clarify the purpose of the study to those I encountered.

So, based upon my previous knowledge about the ELCT and my personal encounters with Tanzania and the ELCT I tried to establish relationships with potential informants who would be willing to participate in the study. As already noted, my key informants were bishops and theological educators in the ELCT. In my correspondence with the Faculty of Theology at Tumaini University Makumira or with individual bishops in the ELCT, I introduced myself as a doctoral student and described the intention of my academic research at Uppsala University, Sweden. By the time of the interviews they knew my research interests and that the primary reason for my visit was for my research project. Based on the information I provided them with, they knew that I was a doctoral student and, at the same time, an ordained Lutheran pastor in the Church of Sweden. They noted that I fully participated in various worship services, be it in the university chapel or in local churches elsewhere in the

country, and that I positively accepted their invitation to liturgically participate in the Sunday service. I was never confronted with any comments or questions on the connections between the academic settings in relation to my involvement in the church. Moreover, during the interviews and conversations with the informants I was informally dressed, while for Christian worship I was dressed in a clergy shirt in accordance with their own implicit dress code for ordained Lutheran pastors in Tanzania.

The fact that I was interested in issues related to ministerial training in the ELCT was met with great appreciation by my informants, who generously participated in the study. At the same time, navigating in highly hierarchical and non-transparent institutions in order to get access to my key informants was sometimes a tricky task. As will be shown below, I accepted help from some people in Tanzania and Sweden who acted as important gatekeepers. It must be noted that my own academic and denominational background should not be ignored in this regard. The fact that for years, prior to my doctoral studies, I had worked with issues related to the recruitment, education, and ordination of pastors in the Church of Sweden served as a constructive departure point when encountering the informants. Being a male doctoral student from Sweden, and a theologically trained and ordained Lutheran pastor, impacted the conversations on theological education in Tanzania, not least in terms of accessibility to my informants and in establishing a common interest in the issues discussed.

Having said that, sometimes my connections to Sweden generated questions, assumptions, and even suggestions among my informants that I had to handle and actively address during the interview. Their motives, reasons, or personal agendas for participating in the study were factors that had to be taken into consideration when encountering the informants. Some of them explicitly referred to bilateral and multilateral church relations and agreements between the ELCT and the Church of Sweden and other global partners. Some of the interviewees, it seemed, thereby presupposed that I had insights and knowledge about the routines and priorities concerning different projects on theological education from the Church of Sweden vis-à-vis the ELCT. For instance, that was the case when one of the informants particularly mentioned the financial support from the Church of Sweden in relation to some of the courses and programmes offered at Makumira. Furthermore, I was approached with critical questions on why churches and missionary organisations in Europe and the United States sent considerably fewer missionaries to the ELCT today than in the past, or why some of the partners had recently decided to decrease their financial support to the ELCT. On several occasions, either through email or through informal conversations with people I met, I received invitations and requests to come to teach or to financially support individual students for theological studies in Tanzania. To avoid misunderstandings and to clarify my own role in relation to my informants, I kindly declined these suggestions and again clarified my primary role as a doctoral student who was there for research purposes only. In a similar vein, some of the informants

referred to people, places and particular dioceses or congregations in the Church of Sweden or the Swedish Evangelical Mission (SEM) with which they had established links and connections. Additionally, from a more historical perspective, former missionaries from Sweden such as Herbert Uhlin, Bengt Sundkler, Per Frostin and others, were explicitly mentioned and referred to as crucial links between Sweden and Tanzania who had impacted the field of theological education in the past and present.

To Conduct Interviews

The main purpose of visiting Tanzania was to conduct formal interviews with key informants, specially selected on the basis of their formal engagement, expertise, and knowledge of the field of theological education in the ELCT. In total, I conducted 18 formal interviews that lasted for about 1-2 hours each.⁷⁴ Several of them were significantly longer and lasted for several hours. On those occasions, the actual interview was divided into separate parts, and I was invited to stay for a meal, go for a walk or even to go on some excursions with the interviewees in the neighbourhood. As regards the number of informants, an important criterion was to reach saturation. My decision to conduct 18 interviews is in line with Svend Brinkmann and Steinar Kvale, who comment on saturation by indicating that after a certain point adding more interviewees renders less knowledge.⁷⁵

This research project follows the ethical guidelines of humanistic research concerning matters such as anonymity, confidentiality, and discretion.⁷⁶ The interviews were all audio-recorded and all the informants willingly gave their oral consent to participating in the study. I began each interview by reminding my interviewees about the purpose of the interview, that they would get a copy of the transcribed interview afterwards, and would have the possibility to offer me their feedback on the content. All interviews were conducted in English, which in the context of teaching and learning at Tumaini University Makumira, was the common language practised by its lecturers. Most of my informants, whether they were bishops or lecturers, were used to reading, writing, and speaking English. Sometimes they referred to specific terms in Swahili, which they sought to explain further in English.

The informants came from different regions of Tanzania, were ordained in various dioceses and had, over the years, established contact with a wide range of churches and missionary agencies abroad. The fact that they were of different ages, had served as bishops and/or lecturers for varying lengths of time, and all came from dioceses with diverse theological and structural traditions and practices enabled them to elaborate on the issues raised in the interviews

⁷⁴ In total, 14 informants participated in the study. As the interviews were conducted over a number of years, I was able to meet some of the informants for another interview and/or for informal conversations.

⁷⁵ Brinkmann and Kvale, *InterViews*, 140.

⁷⁶ Vetenskapsrådet, *God forskningsset*.

from a broad range of perspectives and viewpoints. As this study is qualitative in nature, it does not claim to be a full-scale study in terms of geographical, social, or religious perspectives in the ELCT. My choice of informants was exclusively based on their active involvement in theological education and ministerial training in the ELCT, either as theological educators at Tumaini University Makumira or as bishops in the ELCT. The fact that the number of women involved in theological education in the ELCT is very limited raised issues on how to present the material so that the confidentiality of the informants can be kept intact. I decided therefore not to reveal any information about my informants regarding their sex (whether they were male or female), profession (whether they were bishops and/or lecturers), level of education (whether they were bachelor's, master's or/and PhD holders), geographical location (whether they were based in an urban or rural area), or their age. In order to guarantee the informants full anonymity, each interview is referred to with two different labels for one and the same person (capital letter followed by year of the interview and page of the transcription), which eliminates the risk of associating the different quotations with specific informants.⁷⁷

During the interviews I followed an interview guide that I had devised well in advance which was slightly revised over time. The questions that I wanted to raise during the interview were intended to generate relevant data that in turn would enable me to undertake an adequate analysis in order to answer the research questions. Dependent on the character of the conversations, some questions turned out to be more important than others. Whenever relevant, I was able to ask the informants for further clarification or encourage them to expand their thoughts on certain issues. Thus the interview guide was used as an important tool to structure the interviews, bringing clarity in the questions and safeguarding my intention of confronting all my informants with similar questions on equal terms. The questions in the interview guide aimed to focus on the informants' own descriptions and motivations for being involved in theological education, how the educational system had changed over time, and how it had been structured and diversified over time. I tried to narrow my questions around how they would describe the challenges concerning the issues that are crucial today, including what a Lutheran contribution to the field might be like today.

Every now and then it was important for me to ask follow-up questions in order to ensure that I had correctly understood the informant. It was important to let the informants elaborate and tell their stories without too many comments from me. However, whenever I found it relevant to ask them to expand, define, or clarify their descriptions I asked them to do so. Particularly, I encouraged the informants to give concrete examples of what they were actually talking about. On some occasions it was relevant for me to explicitly ask questions that I considered were in line with central themes in the broader discourses of the field. Often they responded to such questions, arguments, or

⁷⁷ For example, "Informant Ö, 2017, 15".

assumptions with a number of examples from their local contexts that would support their standpoints and views on a certain issue. Sometimes I confronted them with specific questions of a critical or sensitive nature. On those occasions, my questions tended to be more hypothetical in character, seeking solutions to particular problems in the ELCT in general or in the dioceses specifically. However, I deliberately strived to formulate open-ended questions that the informants would be able to answer or respond to on the basis of their personal experience, knowledge, and institutional positions and responsibilities. As the interviews were conducted over a number of years, I was able to meet some of the informants for another interview and/or for informal conversations. That enabled me to follow up and to further problematise some of the issues raised in earlier interviews but also to confront them with brand new questions to reflect upon in relation to the first round of questions.

Given my research questions and the general focus of my study it was natural to first establish links to the Faculty of Theology at Tumaini University Makumira. Before my first visit, I contacted the Vice-Chancellor of the university and the Dean of the Faculty of Theology by sending them a personal letter in which the overarching purpose of the research project and my intended stay at Makumira was described. On behalf of the Faculty of Theology, the Dean responded positively to my request and welcomed me to Makumira in order to meet faculty members and students. I was able to move around freely in the campus area, use the resources in the University Library and Archives, and participate in the gatherings in the chapel. On several occasions I was invited for morning tea with lecturers and staff for informal conversations. I was hosted by one of the lecturers at the Faculty of Theology who, at the time of my first visit to Makumira, offered me accommodation in his home. As he came from Sweden himself and was well acquainted with my research project, he became an important gatekeeper to the academic milieu in general and to several of my informants specifically. It should be noted however that my local host did not participate in my study as a formal informant. On other occasions, I stayed outside the university campus area, still though with full access to the facilities on site.

Despite the fact that my visit was officially sanctioned by the Dean of the Faculty of Theology, there were still some difficulties agreeing with the informants when and where to meet for the interviews. I was visiting Makumira during term-time and many of my informants were heavily involved in teaching, tutorials and various academic meetings. Additionally, I was there for a limited time and was interested in having a meeting with as many of the lecturers as possible. Normally, I set up a day and a time from one day to another and met the informants wherever it was convenient for them. Usually, the interviews were conducted in their personal offices at the university campus or in a separate room nearby. Sometimes, ringing mobiles, incoming text messages, or people knocking on the door interrupted the interviews for a short while.

Approaching some of the bishops in the ELCT as key informants was, compared to the situation at Makumira, primarily done on an individual basis. I tried to plan my visits to Tanzania so that they coincided with some of the larger events taking place in the ELCT, such as particular services and celebrations, conferences and meetings at which several bishops participated. As already noted, in my initial contacts with some of the bishops I partly drew upon their links and contacts with the Church of Sweden and the Swedish Evangelical Mission. My stay at Makumira and my conversations with people I met in that environment paved the way for further encounters with some of the bishops with whom I stayed in contact through Whats App, Facebook, Messenger, and email. Those interviews that were conducted outside the university area took place in hotel lobbies, at restaurants and cafes, in offices, or near where the informants stayed.

As indicated above, I followed the main structure of my interview guide that was attached to my notebook that I brought to the interview situation. During the interview I occasionally took notes on issues that I intended to follow up either during the interview straight away or later on in relation to the literature research. Straight after each interview I listened to the recordings, took further notes, and went through my personal notes in order to assess whether a complimentary follow-up interview was necessary. That was done once. Furthermore, one of the interviews conducted in Tanzania was significantly shorter than the other interviews. Four months later, this time in Sweden, I was able to conduct another interview with the same informant. A couple of the actual interviews were conducted in Sweden and Finland at times when my informants were visiting these countries for other purposes.

The overwhelming majority of the informants had a PhD, either from a European or a North American academic context and participated on the basis of their given roles and positions in the ELCT, either as bishops or as lecturers at the Faculty of Theology at Makumira. As such, they took part in the study as experts, professionals, academics and a theological elite. On the one hand they reflected on a number of issues from a more personal perspective and illustrated their standpoints and views with personal stories or concrete examples from their dioceses. On the other hand, many of them anchored their views in either official documents related to doctrinal and constitutional issues or in certain religious practices of the church. One of the informants made explicit distinctions between the role of representing the church and the role of a theologian, pointing out that he belonged to the latter category, which gave him the opportunity and the duty of academic freedom and a space to speak more freely compared to being a church official.

My informants situated themselves, and what they actually said and thought about theological education in relation to past and present personal or institutional links. As all informants but one had studied at Makumira themselves it was rather natural for them to make comparisons over time with regard to institutional developments or issues that had challenged their under-

standing of theological education. When asked to reflect or comment on contemporary challenges related to ministerial training, some of the interviewees gave examples from their own educational background and personal experience. Some of them explicitly referred to previous students and their experiences of being theologically trained at Makumira, or to specific church leaders in the ELCT and their impact on the theological training from the late 1950s onwards. Yet other informants referred to their own fathers' experiences of being theological students at Makumira, whereas others referred to a broader set of collective stories or memories of past educational systems in relation to the present situation. Additionally, their personal perspectives on the theological education offered at Makumira were supplemented with samples that reflected their present experiences of being in charge of theological education as lecturers and/or bishops, duties which some of them had had for decades.

To Transcribe the Interviews

To transcribe the interviews was a time-consuming process. However, the fact that I was able to do it myself was, as Catherine Kohler Riessman has pointed out, an excellent way of becoming familiar with the data and to becoming better acquainted with the various aspects of the material and with the plurality of voices expressed within it.⁷⁸ In a similar vein, Brinkmann and Kvale argue that the very process of transcribing the material oneself may reawaken "the social and emotional aspects of the interview situation", a fact that enables the individual researcher to become aware of his or her own interviewing style.⁷⁹ Thus the actual analysis of the material starts long before the actual transcription of the interview is completed.

After having transcribed each interview verbatim, without any grammatical or linguistic corrections, I sent a copy of the transcript to each informant. Thus, they were offered the possibility to go through the interview in written form, and, if needed, could give me a response to its content. Very few of the informants suggested any changes in relation to the actual content of the transcribed interviews. One of the informants removed the name of a person that was mentioned during the interview for the sake of that person's integrity and safety. Another informant, while going through the transcription of the interview, grammatically modified parts of the interview even though the actual content more or less remained the same. Yet another informant explicitly requested to be anonymous and wanted to make sure that the information shared in the interview was referred to in a way that guaranteed the informant's anonymity. Furthermore, after having gone through the transcription, one of the interviewees explicitly asked me for a financial donation which I later declined. As part of my own working process with the transcriptions I asked some of the informants questions for clarification, for example about specific

⁷⁸ Riessman, *Narrative Analysis*, 56-60.

⁷⁹ Brinkmann and Kvale, *InterViews*, 207.

terms or expressions in Swahili, or names of specific persons or places that the informants had mentioned during the interview that I had difficulty fully deciphering and geographically situating.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is an established and widely used method across the academic disciplines for identifying and analysing particular patterns or themes within a given set of data. As Richard Boyatzis has argued, a theme is a pattern found in the information that “at the minimum describes and organises possible observations or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon.”⁸⁰ Thematic analysis is a way of interpreting and organising the material at hand. Thus a theme indicates what the data is about and/or what it might mean. However, it is important to bear in mind that the way the material is processed neither takes place in a vacuum nor is done randomly. Instead the whole process of collecting, sorting, and analysing the material implies the researcher’s own active participation and deliberation. Moreover, on the basis of the overall purpose of the study, it is guided by a number of factors or certain coding filters that will direct and affect the researcher’s interpretation of the material.

So, what did I in more practical terms actually do when I coded my material in search of specific themes to be analysed and further discussed?

In their outline of how to use thematic analysis, Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke identified six different phases as follows: a) familiarising oneself with the data, b) generating initial codes, c) searching for themes, d) reviewing themes, e) defining and naming themes, and f) producing the report.⁸¹ I decided to follow a similar structure in relation to my own working process and my analysis of the material.

The process for coding a selective amount of data, or for thematic analysis in general for that matter, is not linear in character but more of a recursive and circular process. Throughout the various phases identified above I was thus moving back and forth in my material, constantly revising and developing my analysis. In line with Johnny Saldaña’s understanding of a code, namely “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data”, I started to code the material looking for broader patterns of meaning.⁸² In a process in which the texts were read and re-read several times I tried to perform the coding as rigorously and inclusive as possible. By taking notes in the margins of each transcript the codes were collated into specific categories or groups. I worked with one transcription at a time and compared the findings of my tentative coding by making mind-maps and by continuously taking notes of my observations and reflections.

⁸⁰ Boyatzis, *Transforming Qualitative Information*, vii.

⁸¹ Braun and Clarke, “Using Thematic Analysis,” 87-93.

⁸² Saldaña, *The Coding Manual*, 3.

However, one might question whether it is possible to make such clear distinctions between the different phases of the working process as mentioned above. How should the process from code, to theme, to presenting the findings actually be described? Saldaña argues for instance that the coding of data implicitly requires a number of overlapping steps in order to reach the expected research results. Coding is thus part of the analysis and not merely a technical preamble to the analysis to come. Instead, the code is the link between the collection of data on the one hand and the explanation of meanings on the other.⁸³ In a similar vein, Riessman points out that analysis is not easily distinguished from transcription.⁸⁴ She argues that “[c]lose and repeated listenings, coupled with methodic transcribing, often leads to insights that in turn shape how we choose to represent an interview narrative in our text.”⁸⁵ As already indicated above, as regards the phase of becoming familiar with the material, I benefitted greatly from the fact that I had transcribed the conducted interviews myself. In other words, one might argue that the initial phases of the coding process had already started when transcribing the interviews as I went through the whole body of material word by word and gradually started to identify larger clusters of themes.

Additionally, Saldaña makes a distinction between codes and themes. A theme, he argues, should be considered as the outcome of the coding process or as a result of a thorough reading of the data, not as something that is, in itself, coded.⁸⁶ So, after having coded the data and guided by my research questions, I identified a number of themes including a number of sub-themes to each theme. The various themes identified in one transcription were compared with the themes of the other transcriptions. In other words, the themes did not randomly emerge or stand out from the texts that I analysed, but were chosen as a result of a systematic reading of the material over time. Again, directed by my research questions, I started to look for clusters of themes and larger patterns in the various texts that would enable me to further discuss my research questions. As such I deliberately participated in the process of coding, actively searching for patterns or themes that were of particular interest for my study. Again, a theme therefore does not merely emerge out of the text but is a result of interpretation and a selective process conducted by the individual researcher.

Moreover, in line with qualitative research more broadly, what makes a theme relevant or considered as key in relation to the material is mainly whether it captures something substantial in relation to the stated research questions. It is because of this that some of the informants in this particular study will be quoted more frequently than others. As much as a thematic anal-

⁸³ Saldaña, *The Coding Manual*, 1-8.

⁸⁴ Riessman, *Narrative Analysis*, 60.

⁸⁵ Riessman, *Narrative Analysis*, 60.

⁸⁶ Saldaña, *The Coding Manual*, 14, 175-176.

ysis is about identifying and analysing a pattern in the data, it is equally important to be aware of the inner dynamics and complexity of each of the recurring themes.

3. Time of Transition - Institutions and Educational Initiatives in the Making

It goes without saying that all kinds of education, regardless of academic discipline and level, come with certain claims and aims to direct and form individuals and groups of people in diverse ways. Educational initiatives are thus, explicitly or implicitly, motivated with specific goals in mind and designed in ways that aim to serve particular needs at a certain time and in a certain context. As each educational enterprise always takes place in and with the help of a particular structure or institution it is crucial to examine how and why institutions come into being, against what background, and with what aims such processes take place.

How the Lutheran educational system for ministerial training is envisioned and played out on the African continent is linked to certain platforms and networks through which the churches in Africa and their international partners abroad met and engaged. In this regard, the situation in Tanzania is no exception. Transnational conferences and academic consultations during the second half of the twentieth century onwards shaped the understanding of how ministerial formation would best be materialised and developed. Those involved dealt, among other things, with issues of denominational identity, ecumenical cooperation, and academic recognition for their newly established institutions. They renegotiated their understanding in various ways over time and their imaginations varied dependent on situation, geographical location, and academic milieu. Evidently, for decades there has been a broad and well-established consensus among the Lutheran churches in Africa that the wide range of educational opportunities offered, for clergy and laity alike, are essential for the life of the churches and their ability to continue to progressively evolve.

This chapter situates and discusses the discourse of theological education in Tanzania in its broader African, Lutheran, and ecumenical contexts. Particularly, it focuses on the institutional aspects and perspectives. The chapter outlines the context in which the ELCT establishes, shapes, and develops institutions for ministerial training as a response to impulses deriving from its engagement and participation in transnational networks. Furthermore, it argues that those who are involved in the debates on African Lutheran theological education are constantly navigating between old and new paradigms and positions, while scrutinising the discourse on higher theological education.

A Decolonised African Lutheran Agenda

The conversations on Lutheran theological studies from the end of the 1950s onwards, were problematised and negotiated in relation to the processes of decolonisation in general and to what later followed in the wake of the churches' responses to the socio-political changes and challenges at hand. A number of parallel events were interlinked; the call for political independence coincided with intense processes among the churches to develop and approve new constitutions and regulations. Retrospectively, it has been suggested that this time of history in sub-Saharan Africa marked "the official birth of conscious self-theologising by Africans within the structures of missionary Christianity."⁸⁷ Such a mobilisation enabled the churches to seek ways to theologically respond to some of the most burning issues.

The first All-Africa Lutheran Conference, held in Marangu, northern Tanganyika in 1955, took place one decade after the end of the Second World War and thereby marked a new era of global Lutheran cooperation.⁸⁸ The LWF, founded in 1947, was highly involved in organising the meeting in Marangu and its sequels within the next decade. As Jens Holger Schjørring has shown, the three All-Africa Lutheran Conferences enabled the Lutheran churches in Africa to participate and interact in new ways far beyond the European borders.⁸⁹ Among the participating countries at the meeting in Marangu in 1955, less than a handful were politically independent, and a clear majority of the official delegates were representatives of the North American and European missionary societies and churches. Several participants, among them Stefano Moshi from northern Tanganyika, underlined that the churches gradually had to move towards a stronger autonomy: administratively with native clergy, financially in order to be less dependent upon external financial support, and spiritually in promoting a genuinely African spiritual identity. In 1961, Moshi became the first President of the Federation of the Lutheran Churches of Tanganyika and was appointed the first leader of the ELCT in 1963. In his new

⁸⁷ Tienou, "Indigenous African Christian Theologies," 74.

⁸⁸ The All-Africa Lutheran Conferences gathered Lutherans from all across sub-Saharan Africa on three separate occasions. The first meeting was held in Marangu, northern Tanzania, in 1955. In the next decade, it was followed by two similar conferences; in Antsirabé in Madagascar in 1960 and in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia in 1965. The proceedings of the three conferences – what was said, discussed and agreed – were published in separate reports after each occasion, and clearly mirrored what was at stake. See: *Marangu*; *Antsirabé*; *Addis Ababa*. The way these conferences were organised not only offered Lutherans a platform for common reflection and action but inspired wider circles of Christian churches to organise themselves in similar settings. In his ecumenical report, presented at the meeting in Antsirabé in 1960, Fridtjov Birkeli, by then the General Secretary of the Norwegian Mission Society, pointed out that the 1958 All-Africa Church Conference in Ibadan, Nigeria, was directly inspired by the 1955 All-Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu, Tanganyika. See: Birkeli, "The All-Africa," 162-163. The meeting in Nigeria later paved the way for the establishment of the All-Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) in Kampala, Uganda, in 1963 that ever since has brought together churches from all across the African continent.

⁸⁹ Schjørring, "The All-Africa Lutheran," 61.

capacity, Moshi came to play a pivotal role in the implementation of what the Lutheran consultations on African soil entailed.

The fact that a majority of the delegates in 1955 came from various missionary societies outside Africa indicated after all that the African participation was limited. It was against that background the Ethiopian participant Emmanuel Abraham took the initiative of arranging a separate meeting for the African delegates in order to create a space for them to speak more freely. Schjørring claims that there was an “emotional anxiety, which was part of the conference atmosphere” indicating something of the ambiguity of the event.⁹⁰ The conversations resulted in a special resolution that specifically emphasised the importance of establishing institutions for theological training and formation on different levels across Africa.⁹¹

The report from the second All-Africa Lutheran Conference five years later in 1960, held in Antsirabé, Madagascar, clearly showed how societal changes including political as well as economic challenges had affected the Lutheran churches in new ways. Since the meeting in Marangu a growing number of countries in Africa had gained their independence. Nearly two hundred delegates, of which a majority were from Africa, represented altogether 24 churches and synods in nine different countries in Africa. As indicated in the conference report, Africa had become a politicised world in which almost every issue raised seemed to be a political issue.⁹² A growing political consciousness had clear implications for the churches, both as individuals and communities: to act, respond and become further committed to the ongoing nation building. Moreover, the conversations on denominational identity became crucial; the contours of Lutheran identity and the relationship between the Lutheran churches and other Christian communities played a pivotal role at the conference.⁹³ In the report from the group discussion on theological education the participants recognised the need for higher standards of theological education and the need to strategically ensure that African scholars were to be trained continuously in order to teach at various African institutions. The LWF Department for World Mission was requested to further investigate the possibilities to improve and develop existing institutions for ministerial training across the continent.⁹⁴

At the third All-Africa Lutheran Conference in 1965, Josiah Kibira (1925-1988), by then Bishop of the North-Western Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanganyika, claimed that the African churches were marginalised and hindered from speaking their mind. In his keynote address he explicitly expressed what was at stake:

⁹⁰ Schjørring, “The All-Africa Lutheran,” 62. See also: *Journeying Together*, 5-10.

⁹¹ The statement from the meeting with the African delegates mentions that “it is very desirable that an institution for advanced theological education be established as soon as possible in Southern Rhodesia, Liberia or Ethiopia.” *Marangu*, 73.

⁹² Sovik, “Introduction,” 3.

⁹³ Sovik, “Introduction,” 4.

⁹⁴ *Antsirabé*, 112-113.

Are we allowed to criticize and think independently without the threat (and consequent fear) of losing our traditional and universal connection, our financial aid, and in some cases, our theological dialogue with other churches; especially those from which we have emerged?⁹⁵

As the first African to be ordained a bishop in the diocese, Kibira entered a new ground-breaking phase in the life of the Lutheran churches on the African continent. His lecture was entitled “A Living Church in a Changing Society” and focused specifically on freedom and unity.⁹⁶ For Kibira, these two themes did not merely reflect the socio-political developments over the last decade but also captured the flavours of the visions and challenges among Lutherans in sub-Saharan Africa at a time of decolonisation and societal change. On the one hand, Kibira argued that “both ecclesiological and theological freedom are lacking in the African churches”, and called for a change towards more indigenous images of the Christian church.⁹⁷ On the other hand, the churches in Africa had to avoid isolation and had to be guarded from what he called a “*confessio Africana*”.⁹⁸ Evidently, for Kibira there were no contradictions between African Lutheranism and the universality of the Christian Church. He claimed the ecclesiological images of the church were foreign and in need of indigenisation. Changes thereof, he argued, would affect “church buildings, liturgy, forms of worship and symbolism.”⁹⁹ Furthermore, also from a theological point of view Kibira identified a lack of freedom. He underlined that the African churches for the most part, were still dependent on “advisors from Europe and America” and that they theologically reflected “American, Swedish or German Lutheran theologies rather than African theologies.”¹⁰⁰

It was in the wake of the three All-Africa Lutheran Conferences that the Lutheran academic periodical *Africa Theological Journal* was founded and launched at Makumira in 1968. In the very first issue, Eliewaha E. Mshana, by then Principal at the Lutheran Theological College Makumira and the Editor of the periodical for many years, situated the founding ideas of the journal in relation to the conversations at the All-Africa Lutheran Conferences where it had been proposed “that an All-Africa Theological Journal be launched” in order to be an important theological discussant in Africa and beyond.¹⁰¹ The very name of the newly launched periodical indicated some of its basic vision: to be a transnational African theological journal all across the continent and to serve as an important platform for theological reflection among churches

⁹⁵ Kibira, “A Living Church,” 20.

⁹⁶ Kibira, “A Living Church,” 18-27.

⁹⁷ Kibira, “A Living Church,” 19.

⁹⁸ Kibira, “A Living Church,” 19.

⁹⁹ Kibira, “A Living Church,” 19.

¹⁰⁰ Kibira, “A Living Church,” 19.

¹⁰¹ Mshana, “Editorial.” 5.

and institutions in sub-Saharan Africa and beyond.¹⁰² Questions related to theological education and ministerial training have been discussed since its very inception and have remained crucial throughout its publication history. The pan-African visions for a prosperous and unified African continent, the call for an authentic African theological perspective, the various imaginations of African nation building, or how African independence were to be implemented in practice were just a few of the issues that were particularly emphasised during its first years of production. Initially the periodical was financially supported by the LWF and throughout the years edited and produced by the Faculty of the Lutheran Theological College Makumira (now Tumaini University Makumira) in Tanzania. The early conversations in the *Africa Theological Journal* were thus fuelled and informed by a number of meetings, consultations, and conferences, including one at which Kibira delivered his keynote address in 1965 that focused on the educational discourse in relation to the theological task of the churches more broadly.

But how should an African approach to theological education be defined and what alternative to the Western ideals, practices and models did the African churches elaborate on? In order to be contextually relevant it was important for the churches to establish and support educational structures and programmes that they considered genuinely African. But the implementation of such visions was filled with ambiguities. In order to strengthen and support an African leadership various initiatives were taken; academic periodicals were launched and new African book series were introduced, all with the intention to increase the African literary production on site. It was important to make the institutions and their libraries better equipped and to offer a growing number of Africans further experience of teaching and research at higher academic levels. On a regular basis, therefore, students and academic teachers were offered scholarships for further study abroad at European or North American universities and colleges. Another factor important to consider in

¹⁰² The production of the *Africa Theological Journal* during the period 1968 - 2015 may be divided into three separate sections marking three different phases in the history of the journal; 1968-1972, 1977-1993, and 2000-2015. During its first phase, 1968-1972, the periodical was published once a year and was managed by the Lutheran Theological College Makumira. In all, these five volumes give voice to the founding ideas of the production of a theological journal in a Lutheran context in the midst of decolonisation and political independence as well as to its visions and challenges for the years to come. The second phase, 1977-1993, marked a new era in the life of the Lutheran churches in sub-Saharan Africa particularly through their emerging participation in the ecumenical movement and in their relationship to churches and missionary agencies both within and outside Africa. During this period, the periodical was published under the auspices of the All-Africa Lutheran Churches Information and Coordination Centre (ALICE) in Arusha. With few exceptions, the journal was published three times a year. During the third phase, 2000-2015, the periodical was published twice a year except for a temporary break from 2011 to 2013. At the beginning of the new millennium, the journal was reintroduced to its readers. By then the publishing responsibility had moved back to the Makumira University College as the former publishing authority, ALICE, no longer existed. The editorial committee chosen worked for nearly a decade together. No further issues of the periodical have been published since 2015.

this regard was language. For churches in the East African context, being exposed to different colonial language policies, the position of the English language as the medium of instruction at schools, colleges, and universities shifted vastly between the countries. While English was the dominating language used in the field of education in Kenya, the opposite could be said about Tanzania with its emphasis on use of Swahili as means of achieving national cohesion.¹⁰³

The Wider Academic Context in East Africa

In his report from the All-Africa Lutheran Conference in 1955, Paul D. Fueter noted that the gathering in Marangu embodied a newly emerging post-colonial era and a feeling among the participants that “It can be done in Africa!”¹⁰⁴ In his capacity as interpreter during the conference he had unique access to the closed session for the African delegates that Emmanuel Abraham from Ethiopia had called for and from which Fueter reported that theological education was unanimously considered to be the most urgent issue. Interestingly though, what the participants had in mind was, in Fueter’s view, not necessarily an exclusively Lutheran institution, as the denominational aspect was considered to be secondary. Instead an ecumenical approach to higher education was to be developed and the Marangu meeting strongly recommended the establishment of a new transnational African centre for higher theological education.¹⁰⁵

Fueter’s article commented that the fact that Lutherans, from diverse places on the African continent, were coming together was promising for the future. There were two factors in particular that, in Fueter’s view, united the Lutherans in Africa, namely: faith in Jesus Christ, and Luther’s Small Catechism. However, the diversities in and between the Lutheran churches were manifest. Fueter states:

One found complete agreement in fundamentals, but extreme diversity in practice, discipline, church rules and constitution. We can say that there is an ecumenical problem within the Lutheran Church which has yet to be tackled.¹⁰⁶

In other words, the participants’ understanding of Lutheran identity was informed and challenged by the broader ecumenical outlook and approach. That was the case for the Lutherans in Tanganyika at the end of the 1950s when debating if and how they were to be involved in higher theological training in conjunction with the University College of East Africa at Makerere in Uganda. The idea of an inter-denominational college in Uganda was for the Lutherans

¹⁰³ Bwenge, “English in Tanzania,” 167-182; Mohr and Ochieng, “Language Usage,” 12-18; Mugambi, “The Future,” 119-121.

¹⁰⁴ Fueter, “The All-Africa Lutheran,” 289.

¹⁰⁵ Fueter, “The All-Africa Lutheran,” 292.

¹⁰⁶ Fueter, “The All-Africa Lutheran,” 293.

in East Africa a complicated and complex issue to tackle. On the one hand, they recognised the advantages of establishing a new institution for higher theological training with other churches in the region. On the other hand, despite the fact that, for the time being, there was no existing institution of equivalent status in Tanganyika, they were hesitant to establish such an institution outside their own country. Instead they hoped for a similar institution to be set up in their own country before too long.

Arne Sovik, by then the Director of the LWF Department of World Mission, indicated in his report from the conversations in the region that the Lutherans were not fully convinced to let their ideas of a distinctive Lutheran institution give way to a joint ecumenical or inter-denominational educational structure.¹⁰⁷ Sovik pointed out that the Lutherans had not forgotten the proposal from the Marangu meeting in 1955 to establish an All-Africa Lutheran institution.¹⁰⁸ If they now joined an agreement with Makerere, Sovik claimed, they feared such an idea would have to be abandoned. Moreover, the actual influence on the denominational aspects of the education offered including the liturgical and pastoral aspects of the training tended to be marginalised if the institution was established in an academic milieu that for decades had been shaped by the Anglicans in Uganda. Also the issue of funding was problematic. The programme would initially, it was argued, be financially supported by a grant from the TEF but the participating churches would be expected to financially support the project in the future. The Lutherans in Tanganyika had difficulty seeing how such a commitment would be possible to materialise. However, instead of launching a joint institution for theological studies, the Association of East African Theological Colleges (ATIEA) facilitated a Diploma in Theology, a three-year programme of theological studies, which Makumira offered on its campus from 1962 onwards.¹⁰⁹

From a broader perspective, the option to establish an institution that was run by a number of churches together challenged the common understanding of how, where, and by whom such an enterprise should be implemented. The universal was compared with the particular; on the one hand, various local, regional, or national perspectives and interests had to be balanced with the trans-denominational or transnational perspectives and interests on the other.

Even other conferences, consultations, and networks fuelled and informed the conversations on Lutheran theological education. The third issue of the

¹⁰⁷ WCC Archives, TEF 31/ Consultation on Theological Education in East Africa, 1959: Report from Arne Sovik to the LWF Department of World Mission, 1959; WCC Archives, TEF 32/ Major Grant, East Africa, Association of East African Theological Colleges, Makumira, Tanzania: Report from H. Daniel Friberg, 1959.

¹⁰⁸ WCC Archives, TEF 31/ Consultation on Theological Education in East Africa, 1959: Report from Arne Sovik to the LWF Department of World Mission, 1959; WCC Archives, TEF 33/ Major Grant, East Africa, Association of East African Theological Colleges, Makerere College, Uganda: Letter from O.R. Rolander to Charles W. Forman, 1959.

¹⁰⁹ The Diploma in Theology was formally granted by the Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy at Makerere University, Uganda. See: TUMA Archives/ East African Diploma in Theology [n.d.]; TUMA Archives/ Historical Background, iv [n.d.].

Africa Theological Journal, published in 1970, discussed the outcome and proceedings of the Theological Faculty Conference for Africa, held at Makumira in July in 1969, which gathered theological educators from the African continent and beyond.¹¹⁰ The regional or national socio-political context, not least in Tanzania in relation to the approval of the Arusha Declaration in 1967, affected the institutions for higher theological education. In the wake of national independence in the mid-1960s and due to the Africanisation of the church leadership in the ELCT, Makumira faced severe difficulties in maintaining the number of Africans as teachers and members of staff. Instead a significant number of external teachers came from the northern hemisphere, which further increased the dependency from abroad. In fact, in 1969 only three persons among the teachers were Africans. As shown by Frieder Ludwig, despite the fact that the Principal at Makumira was African, a large group of the student body claimed that he was merely a ‘Puppet’.¹¹¹ In a strike, the first ever at an African theological college, the students refused to do the washing up after the meals at the college, which they claimed not to be a duty for a man in African society.¹¹² Due to the strike, the students were all sent home and it was even decided to temporarily close the institution.

Makumira was one of six theological institutions in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania that joined the ATIEA founded in 1962.¹¹³ It was in that particular network and context that the early discussions on ministerial training in East Africa, referred to above, took place. In the mid-seventies the number of institutions joining the Association, which by then had been renamed the Association of Theological Institutions in Eastern Africa (ATIEA), increased and there was a growing interest in establishing a degree level course in theology. At the time, a Department of Religious Studies was already in place at Makerere University in Uganda and at the University of Nairobi in Kenya with which some of the member institutions already worked closely.¹¹⁴ However, with its particular focus on theological education and ministerial formation the ATIEA decided to develop an externally examined degree programme. Structurally this was produced along the lines of the diploma programme that the ATIEA had been involved in one decade earlier, but this was at a more advanced academic level. Representatives from the various ATIEA-affiliated institutions, of which Makumira was one, prepared a draft syllabus that, after its

¹¹⁰ The structure of the gathering followed a similar pattern as the All-Africa Lutheran Conferences a decade earlier in gathering representatives from sub-Saharan Africa, but this time with a special focus on higher theological education. Sponsored by the LWF and organised in close cooperation with the TEF, the conference was held in a Lutheran and an ecumenical setting. The pan-African outlook of Lutheran higher education, paired with a broad ecumenical collaboration, shows the early global exchange of knowledge, experience, students, and staff. LWF Archives, TEF/ *Theological Faculty Conference for Africa*, 1969. See also: *Africa Theological Journal*, no. 3 (1970).

¹¹¹ Ludwig, *Church and State*, 100.

¹¹² Ludwig, *Church and State*, 100-101.

¹¹³ Kalengyo, “Association of Theological Institutions,” 1039.

¹¹⁴ Kalengyo, “Association of Theological Institutions,” 1040.

approval, would guide and direct all the participating member colleges in their teaching. But some of the faculty at Makumira were highly critical of some of its context, which later caused them to reject the proposal.

Through its active engagement in the ATIEA, Makumira signalled that it was important for the institution to be related to a broader network of theological educators that was ecumenically minded as well as highly committed to further developing the degree programme. More importantly, the very establishment of such a degree programme was a question of academic and institutional recognition more broadly. In the mid-1970s onwards, Makumira introduced a system of external examinations, with external examiners visiting the institution every year in order to assess the final marking of the students and to critically analyse the quality of the education offered on site.¹¹⁵ However, after an internal discussion, Makumira decided not to join the degree programme but to establish its own Bachelor of Divinity programme in 1974. In his personal notes, the Lutheran missionary from the United States, Orville Nyblade, who worked at Makumira for almost 25 years, indicates that the faculty members had different opinions on the idea of implementing a common externally examined degree program.¹¹⁶ The issue caused intensive discussions and the proposal was later turned down.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ The external examiners came from various academic institutions in sub-Saharan Africa, North America, and Europe. The external examiners coming from Sweden (1976–1982) were formally sent by the Faculty of Theology at Uppsala University. In their reports afterwards they shared their thoughts and critical remarks about the theological education offered at Makumira. See: Zeiler, “Luthersk prästutbildning,” 50. In a letter to the East Africa Area Secretary of the Church of Sweden Mission, the Principal at Makumira outlines the following guidelines for the external examiners: “Read and give their evaluation of the research papers written in the last year. Read some of the comprehensive examination [sic] for each year and evaluate the suitability of the examinations and the adequacy of the level of competence shown by the students at all levels of the degree study. Examine syllabi and course outlines and advise on their suitability, including the required and suggested reading for the course. Examine library holdings, especially in the field of examiners special competence and advise on improving the library holdings. Attend classes and confer with individual tutors concerning the development of their classes.” CoS Mission Archive, Tanzania, A6311/1982:56 Letter from Orville W. Nyblade to Rune Backlund, February 8, 1982. See also: ELCA Archives, Tanzania Records, ELCA 24/13/1/4, Report of Dr. Clarence L. Lee, External Examiner, 1983; ELCA Archives, Tanzania Records, ELCA 24/13/1/4, Report from Hance Mwakabana to LCS Assembly, 1991.

¹¹⁶ ELCA Archives, Missionary Personnel Files, Nyblade, Orville & June: ‘Reminiscences – A Social History of Makumira, 1967-1984’.

¹¹⁷ In his capacity as the Academic Dean at the Faculty of Theology, Nyblade participated in the ATIEA drafting process of the syllabus for the degree programme. In his personal notes he points out that it was particularly the area of Systematic theology that became a stumbling block for the faculty members at Makumira, which in the end led them to turn the proposal down, not least due to the issue of how the field of systematic theology was to be taught. Johnny Bakke, a Norwegian missionary teaching systematic theology at the Mekane Yesus Theological Seminary in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and Per Frostin, a missionary from Sweden and by then lecturer in Systematic theology at Makumira, represented two opposite approaches to the field. Bakke, who was highly involved in the drafting process of the syllabus and present at the actual consultation, took a deductive approach, arguing that “starting with the Bible we move to the confessions of the church, and that in doing so, the students must be knowledgeable in all of the major doctrines of the church”. Frostin did not participate in the consultation but argued for

However, developing the field of higher education in a post-colonial era was, at the time, high on the agenda across the African continent.¹¹⁸ The University of Dar es Salaam was founded in 1970 with clear political ambitions and played a significant role in president Nyerere's vision for Tanzania.¹¹⁹ Higher education in Tanzania, it was argued, would not merely promote economic development but would also enhance the idea of nation building and African socialism. The 1970 University of Dar es Salaam Act indicates the role of the university, namely to:

preserve, transmit and enhance knowledge for the benefit of the people of Tanzania in accordance with the principles of socialism accepted by the people of Tanzania.¹²⁰

The Department of Religious Studies of the East African University, situated in Makerere in Uganda, attracted students from the neighbouring countries in accordance with the overarching idea of sharing resources and avoiding academic duplication in East Africa. Nevertheless, at the end of the 1960s initiatives were taken to examine the possibility of establishing a Department of Religious Studies also in Dar es Salaam in Tanzania.¹²¹ The Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT), which brought together Lutherans, Anglicans and Moravians from across the country, discussed these issues intensely for years. The CCT had regular consultations with the Catholic Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) and, at a later stage, even with the Muslim Council (BAKWATA) in the country concerning their common interest in establishing such an institution.¹²² However, one major obstacle was linked to the political idea of African socialism, the divide between religion and politics in general and the divide between the private and public spheres specifically. The establishment was encouraged by the churches, which at the time, claimed that it was "high

another approach when the faculty met in order make a decision on whether Makumira should join the ATIEA degree programme or not. Taking an inductive approach to the teaching of theology Frostin strongly opposed the proposal. Nyblade writes: "For example, Dr. Frostin used Gutierrez as his textbook in his introductory theology classes. /.../ He adamantly opposed the proposal on the ground that the Systematic theology syllabus was absolutely unteachable." ELCA Archives, Missionary Personnel Files, Nyblade, Orville & June: 'Reminiscences – A Social History of Makumira, 1967-1984'. The decision to run the degree programme independently from ATIEA remained intact even in the 1980s. See: CoS Mission Archive, Tanzania, A6311/1982:56 Letter from Bengt Holmberg to Rune Backlund and Biörn Fjärstedt, April 24, 1982.

¹¹⁸ Yesufu, "Emerging Issues," 37-87.

¹¹⁹ Kimambo, "Establishment," 160-164; Nhonoli, "The University," 174-184.

¹²⁰ Quotation taken from Kimambo, "Establishment," 160-161.

¹²¹ LWF Archives, LCS/ Assembly Minutes Exhibit 5.1, 1986.

¹²² Ludwig, *Church and State*, 238-241.

time that Religious Studies be introduced at the University in order to counterbalance the teachings of Marxism”.¹²³ But eventually, the whole idea of establishing a Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy was dropped, mainly due to the lack of financial resources.¹²⁴

African Contextual Theological Education

The TEF had for decades been one of the most important agencies within the World Council of Churches as regards the field of theological education.¹²⁵ Its overarching goal was to promote a common reflection within the ecumenical movement on what it might mean to conduct theological education in a contextually relevant way. For that reason the TEF administered financial grants for local institutions in Africa, Asia and Latin America as well as scholarships for individual students that enabled them to study abroad. Additionally, the TEF initiated inventories of libraries and textbooks, suggested improvements to curricula and challenged the methodological tools and paradigms used in the classrooms.

The South African Anglican theologian, Desmond Tutu, was heavily engaged in the TEF in the period 1972—1975. In an article from the beginning of the 1970s, Tutu situated the debate on theological education in a time of rapid political, societal and economic changes. Facing the future, he argued, it was important for the churches in Africa to rethink the concepts of how theological education might be understood or performed. He emphasised the importance of taking the African societal and political context into account when the concepts of theological education were modified and remodelled. The period of decolonisation had generated independent states as well as churches that together participated in the nation building and took part “in urban and rural development, in the expansion of educational and health facilities etc.”.¹²⁶ Therefore, it was evident that theological education was not made in a vacuum but was something that had to be shaped and re-shaped in and through these processes of social change.

It was against this background of colonial rule and imported educational systems that Tutu came to the conclusion that the African churches, in their endeavours to create a contextually shaped theological education had so far, “been echoes of the voices of our former masters”.¹²⁷ The educational structures, its values and ideals were all imported from the West. Tutu explained:

¹²³ Quotation taken from Ludwig, *Church and State*, 241. See also: ELCA Archives, Tanzania Records, ELCA 24/13/1/4, Report of a Visit to Tanzania, 1983.

¹²⁴ Ludwig, *Church and State*, 244-246; LWF Archives, LCS/ Assembly Minutes Exhibit 5.1, 1986.

¹²⁵ Gensichen, “Theological Education,” 155-162.

¹²⁶ Tutu, “Whither theological education?,” 268.

¹²⁷ Tutu, “Whither theological education?,” 269.

The overall result is that in theological education our curricula, the subject content, our worship, our life style, our theologising, our expressions of this precious thing—the Gospel—all these have largely been and continue to be in Western terms. We have received and continue to receive in Yaounde, in Ibadan, in Nairobi, in Kinshasa, a whole pattern of training which would be perfectly at home in Princeton, in Cambridge, in Paris, in Hamburg.¹²⁸

In his search for some kind of a unique African selfhood or identity, Tutu argued that theological education must be shaped in dialogue with the African context and not with that of others. In order to be relevant, he argued, the education offered ought to respond to the needs of the local context not merely for the sake of its relevance *per se* but for its liberating or transformative effects for individuals as well as for society as a whole. So, Tutu urged the churches to take a responsive approach to the African context and to seek to address these issues with an adequate terminology. In his visions for the future Tutu therefore claimed:

Africa wants to be Africa and not a pale copy of something else. /.../ We shall develop a theology that is authentically African, we shall be compelled to give expression to the deep things of our faith not in alien terms and thought forms but in ones that are truly African. We shall be compelled to produce structures and institutions which are not out of place in the former so-called dark continent.¹²⁹

In his capacity as the Associate Director of the Theological Education Fund, Tutu argued on a broad ecumenical basis and his analysis reflected a whole range of varying experiences from the field of theological education.

To be Lutheran is to be Ecumenical

As part of the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth, three special issues of the *Africa Theological Journal* were published in 1983 that specifically focused on Lutheran identity in the African context. One aspect of the making of denominational identity may be found in the periodical itself. Its role - to describe, analyse, and understand past and present events in the life of the churches - may be viewed as a means to demonstrate a growing denominational consciousness. As shown in one of the articles that year, an overwhelming majority of the theological students' master theses focused on issues linked to the understanding of Christian identity indicate that theological institutions all across the continent actively took part in a systematic documentation and analysis of a broad range of material from the African localities.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Tutu, "Whither theological education?," 269-270.

¹²⁹ Tutu, "Whither theological education?," 271-272.

¹³⁰ Olson, "Research," 178-184.

In his guest editorial, Josiah Kibira (1925-1988), then Bishop of the North-Western Diocese in the ELCT, elaborated on the overarching theme.¹³¹ Nearly two decades had passed since he had delivered the speech in the mid-1960s at the All-Africa Lutheran Conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, referred to above. However, the issues of Lutheran identity were still high on the agenda and relevant to the discussion of the self-understanding of the ELCT. For Kibira, Lutheran tradition was neither static in character nor to be seen as a closed system. Lutheran identity was thus linked to broader ecumenical endeavours. Particular Lutheran features or positions, such as justification by faith or the distinction between law and gospel, should not be ignored or diminished but to be Lutheran was to be ecumenical. With its ambition to be both theological and African, Kibira claimed that the *Africa Theological Journal* “should certainly be very open and publish ecumenically-oriented articles of general Christian interest and not exclusively “Lutheran” ones.”¹³² Moreover, the Lutheran encounter with other Christian churches made the Lutheran contribution viable. Referring to the General Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Dar es Salaam in 1977, where Kibira himself was elected President of the LWF for the coming years, he thus elaborated on the Lutheran identity in relation to its wider ecumenical context. Specifically, he emphasised the importance for Lutherans to have an holistic view on mission that respected both spiritual and material aspects of the wellbeing of humanity.

In a similar vein, under the heading “Has Luther reached Africa? The Testimony of a Confused Lutheran” Kibira initiated a critical reading on what Lutheran identity on the African continent was about.¹³³ Reflecting upon the history and the way Lutheran identity was shaped in his own diocese Kibira stated: “We can never get out of our heritage”.¹³⁴ Kibira deliberately labelled himself as a ‘confused Lutheran’, pointing out what was at stake; the Lutheran identity in Tanzania had to be negotiated and understood in relation to the influence from the surrounding contexts such as the East African Revival of the 1930s onwards, the various traditions of the mission agencies overseas, and the wide range of local and regional practices and cultures. In other words, to be Lutheran was to take the historical context seriously and to recognise how various traditions – local as well as global – constantly overlapped, challenged, and informed one another. More important however, was to draw conclusions from his state of confusion. As shown above, Kibira claimed that the diverse transnational connections among Lutherans in Tanzania contributed to a growing ecumenical and global consciousness. Such an approach was indeed important as “[w]e stress that any pressure for uniformity, be it theological or non-theological, is not Lutheran, and we refuse to accept that things may be imposed upon us from outside.”¹³⁵ At the same time, the ecumenical

¹³¹ Kibira, “Guest Editorial,” 3-5.

¹³² Kibira, “Guest Editorial,” 3.

¹³³ Kibira, “Has Luther,” 6-15.

¹³⁴ Kibira, “Has Luther,” 10.

¹³⁵ Kibira, “Has Luther,” 15.

commitments and relationships were never to downplay the specific Lutheran lens through which the theological task of the church was to be viewed and understood: faith alone, grace alone, and scripture alone. Thus one might argue that Kibira himself, in his capacity as Bishop in the ELCT and as President for the LWF, was a church leader that embodied the axiom: to be Lutheran is to be ecumenical.

Denominational Consciousness in the Making

From an institutional perspective, there is no doubt about that Makumira, in its capacity as the oldest institution for higher education in the ELCT, has been ascribed by its stakeholders a vital role in the discourse of theological education. Symbolically as well as practically, the institution plays a pivotal role when the ELCT is hosting national as well as international conferences and events.

One example of how Lutheran identity may be understood and tackled in relation to theological education may be picked from the special issue of *Africa Theological Journal* of 2015 focusing on Lutheran identity. The articles were put together and published shortly before the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the very first All-Africa Lutheran Conference in Marangu, northern Tanzania.¹³⁶ In the final *Message* of the Marangu meeting in 2015, the issue of theological training and education was specifically highlighted as a crucial field for Lutherans on the African continent to engage with in the near future. Under the heading ‘Theological Training and Education’, the *Message* states:

We identified the urgent need for the renewal of the spiritual life of the churches, theological education and formation in order to respond to the needs of our churches today.¹³⁷

In other words, theological education was clearly linked to issues of Christian spirituality and formation with the intention to address the contextual realities of the local churches. The special issue of *Africa Theological Journal* in 2015 focused on Lutheran identity in Africa and indicated implicitly that there was a close relationship between denominational identity and higher theological education. In the editorial, Angela Olotu, Editor of the periodical and Dean of the Faculty of Theology at Tumaini University Makumira, pointed out that the

¹³⁶ The 60th anniversary of the All-Africa Lutheran Conference in Marangu was held in northern Tanzania on May 20-24, 2015. The meeting was organised by the LWF and gathered together over 200 participants representing the Lutheran member churches in Africa, including a number of international guests.

¹³⁷ *Message from the Reformation and 60th Anniversary of Marangu Conference*: <https://www.lutheranworld.org/content/resource-message-marangu> (accessed February 11, 2016).

current issue aimed to “sensitize and remind the Lutheran World about our identity, blessings and challenges we are facing as Lutherans in Africa.”¹³⁸ The collection of articles had originally been prepared for a workshop for Lutheran theological educators held at Makumira in 2014 for the purpose of “strengthening the collaboration of African theological institutions” in Ethiopia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Namibia and Tanzania.¹³⁹ Historical, ecclesiological, and doctrinal aspects of Lutheran identity were particularly highlighted, not least in relation to issues of religious and social change.

Thus Olotu situated the special issue of Lutheran identity in the midst of a number of parallel, closely connected processes linking regional, national, continental and global Lutheran perspectives to one another. Questions on Lutheran identity - what it might mean to be Lutheran, what challenges Lutheran churches in Africa today face and what relevance or impact Lutheran identity might have more broadly on church and society - were addressed from various angles. Moreover, as pointed out in the editorial, the 2015 celebrations in northern Tanzania were not merely a commemoration of the All-Africa Lutheran Conference in Marangu in 1955; they were also an important step for the Lutheran community, in Africa and beyond, in preparing for the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in 2017 and the LWF General Assembly in Windhoek in Namibia the same year. In order to address the current challenges adequately their reflections on the historical past were clearly directed towards the future. As such, the special issue was an expression of a self-theologising church and much of its debate concerned problematising the guiding principles of such a theological enterprise.

More than three decades had passed since Kibira had mapped the Lutheran context at the beginning of the 1980s. The conviction of being ecumenical was still manifest but was also counterbalanced by the increasingly diverse and globalised religious terrain. The rapid proliferation of new Christian churches – by nature predominantly Pentecostal and charismatic – has affected the African religious landscape enormously in the last 30 years. These churches have grown quickly, challenging many of the mainline historical churches to adequately address and respond in relation to their own church members.

In his article, published in the special issue of *Africa Theological Journal* in 2015, Joseph Parsalaw, Professor and Vice-Chancellor at Tumaini University Makumira, commented at length upon the current situation and claimed:

Our identity as Lutherans is in grave danger of extinction due to contradictory elements which are being introduced so as to alter our known and accepted ways of worship, and even the style of praying.¹⁴⁰

The ‘contradictory elements’ that Parsalaw identified as an external threat to Lutheran tradition in Tanzania were also accompanied by an internal threat in

¹³⁸ Olotu, “Editorial.” v.

¹³⁹ Olotu, “Editorial.” v.

¹⁴⁰ Parsalaw, “Challenges,” 1.

terms of a new generation of Lutherans that, in his view, seemed to lack denominational consciousness. Parsalaw continued:

Nowadays new and cheap meaningless choruses and chants mock and ridicule our own Lutheran tradition, cultural melody, and hymns which have been universally shared by Lutherans regardless of language, time and place.¹⁴¹

The way Parsalaw addressed the issue of Lutheran identity opens up a wider discussion on how identity and theology is shaped and modelled over time and in what ways a denominational identity is fostered and promoted at institutions for higher theological education. His article is interesting for at least three reasons. First, it mirrors some of the contemporary reflections on Lutheran identity in relation to religious and social change. As such, it exemplifies the way the academic Lutheran elite has chosen to address and respond to these changes. In Parsalaw's view the church is constantly exposed to impulses that might challenge or even threaten its Lutheran identity. Therefore, he argues, it is essential for the leaders of the church:

to see that it is our duty to keep watch over any outside interference and contradictory teachings that creep in to alter the doctrine and the life of the Lutheran Church in Tanzania in all aspects, be it clerical garments, hymns, our orderly worship, preaching, etc.¹⁴²

Thus Parsalaw argues that due to a number of changes related to Lutheran worship it is important to stand firm and defend 'the Lutheran identity' against what are considered as non-Lutheran theologies and practices. Second, the article raises questions on the nature and task of Lutheran theology, Lutheran African tradition, and how the denominational identity of the ELCT is negotiated in relation to the ongoing societal and religious changes. Parsalaw's call for denominational consciousness seems to imply a call for preservation and protection of unchanging Lutheran values that, in his view, risk falling apart. Third, the article implicitly raises questions about the historical past and to what extent it is meaningful, if possible at all, to refer to Lutheran theology as a homogenous tradition, and to what extent it is relevant to describe the Lutheran tradition as something that upholds "unity in norms, values and beliefs."¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Parsalaw, "Challenges," 3.

¹⁴² Parsalaw, "Challenges," 5.

¹⁴³ Parsalaw, "Challenges," 3.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has shown that the ELCT, throughout its entire history, has been highly involved in establishing and developing institutions for theological education and ministerial training on various levels and in diverse places all across Tanzania. A national institution for advanced theological education was in place already at the end of the 1940s which served the seven Lutheran churches in the country. The ELCT drew upon existing structures and traditions and continued to develop the institution which today is called Tumaini University Makumira. Lutheran churches and missionary agencies in North America and Europe, before as well as after the ELCT was founded, were instrumental in several educational initiatives within the field of ministerial training.

In the wake of decolonisation, the ELCT cultivated its links and relations with other Lutheran churches on the African continent and actively took part in broader ecumenical circles across the globe. When establishing institutions for theological education it was important for the ELCT to draw upon these Lutheran networks and ecumenical contacts that, in one way or another, impacted Lutherans in Tanzania on ministerial training. But, as indicated in this chapter, it was important for the ELCT to write its own agenda when it came to how the education offered should be related to the local congregational contexts.

So, what could be said about the developments in the ELCT in relation to some of the dominating features of Lutheran higher education in sub-Saharan Africa more broadly? First, it is important to bear in mind that the African Lutheran churches capture and reflect diverse models and practices of theological education. However, it has been suggested that there are three defining themes of Lutheran identity when it comes to higher education; an emphasis on an educated clergy, the vocation of all Christians, and a high evaluation of human reason.¹⁴⁴ One may argue that these defining themes would be applicable to the Lutheran engagements in higher theological education in Tanzania as well. Dependent on the educational policies, academic ideals and theological traditions of the missionary societies and churches overseas, various educational structures were introduced that not only differed from country to country but within one and the same country as well. With its diverse historical roots and theological traditions, the ELCT is a clear example of a Lutheran church in Africa that throughout its history has negotiated its position and practices, not only in relation to its historical past but also to its ongoing conversations on Lutheran identity in Tanzania today and in the years to come. The initial and regional structures for advanced theological training in different dioceses gave way to a more centralised institution for ministerial training that was about serving the whole church. Yet as the next chapter will show, alongside the theological training offered at university and college level, a

¹⁴⁴ Benne, *Quality*, 88. See also: Christenson, *The Gift and Task*, 36-55.

number of alternative models and forms of theological training have emerged as well.

Second, the Lutheran theologian from Namibia, Paul Isaak, and others have suggested that the Lutheran churches in Africa need to be set free from their “Babylonian captivity”.¹⁴⁵ In other words, the cultural luggage of a European way of being Lutheran that implicitly had urged the churches to replicate themselves in accordance with their international partners still seems to be radically challenged. In order to be contextually relevant and authentically African, it is argued, the African churches need to further develop their own theological contribution to the field of theological education and thereby escape their captivity. But how then should such a theological freedom be achieved? By whom and in what ways may an African Lutheran identity be defined and modelled in order to offer an alternative to the dominating Western hegemony? Isaak and others argue that Lutheran theology and theological education inevitably are European in their “logic, conceptualizations and traditions” and thereby remain “foreign to Lutheran churches in the global South”.¹⁴⁶ Lutheran tradition, Isaak claims, may therefore neither be seen as static nor unchangeable but as something that constantly undergoes a number of changes over time. In order to achieve the transfiguration of Lutheran theology “one needs an ethos and grammar or dynamic that ‘transcends’ the particularity of its founding context” and that goes deeper and beyond its original Western comfort zone.¹⁴⁷ As shown above, Kibira situated the quest for a solid African Lutheran identity in relation to the decolonisation in the 1960s. He joined in the heavy criticism against Western dominance and he actively took part in the process of establishing a Lutheran identity on African soil. Furthermore, he was eager to define Lutheran tradition in the light of a global consciousness and growing ecumenical collaboration in the 1980s. Clearly, for him Lutheran identity had to be discovered in dialogue with as well as in contrast to various challenges in time and space. In a similar vein, one might argue that the proliferation of charismatic and Pentecostal churches has fuelled the conversations on denominational identity for Lutherans in Tanzania and beyond. Seen from that perspective, Isaak’s call for a transfiguration of Lutheran identity in relation to the educational discourse remains to be fully implemented.

Third, the role of Lutheran theology in relation to what the churches actually teach and practice on a grass-roots level is another hotly debated issue in Tanzania and beyond. The field of theological education is here much of a bridge-building enterprise. The Lutheran scholars Karen Bloomquist and Martin Sinaga have argued that theology, in Africa and beyond, in recent years has been increasingly side-lined and that it is tending to lose its fundamental and formative role in the life of the Lutheran churches around the globe. Specifically, they point to the fact that there is a gap between academic theology,

¹⁴⁵ Knutson, “Tradition,” 77-78; Isaak, “Studying,” 326; Isaak, “The Story,” 12.

¹⁴⁶ Isaak, “Studying,” 325; Bloomquist and Sinaga, “Theological,” 652-661.

¹⁴⁷ Isaak, “Studying,” 325.

on the one hand, and theology “as lived out in the actual life of the churches” on the other.¹⁴⁸ To bridge these gaps is utterly important, they claim, not only for specific theological institutions or educational programmes but for the Lutheran churches more broadly in order to adequately address, respond to and critically examine many of the challenges they face in society. That may also be said about the ELCT. Empirical studies, recently conducted in a Lutheran context in Tanzania, have shown that there are gaps, even tensions, between what is taught and practised in the context of formal theological education on the one hand and the expectations and actual needs of a rapidly changing society on a parish level on the other.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, as higher education is a contested field, several learning institutions and teaching centres have to handle the fact that alternative models of theological training that are less expensive, less traditional, and not that theoretical in their approach to theology are growing in number. The call to bridge the gaps between academic and popular theology therefore still remains relevant for the churches and their educational institutions to address further.

¹⁴⁸ Bloomquist and Sinaga, “Theological,” 652.

¹⁴⁹ Kinyamagoha, *The Pastor*.

4. Models of Theological Education and Ministerial Formation

According to the informants, formal theological education is primarily linked to the idea of educating and forming students for the ordained ministry in the ELCT. The educational enterprise is played out in multiple forms and places, though with a special purpose in mind; making Lutheran pastors adequately equipped for the diverse needs and challenges they will face in the local congregations. Theological education is, in this regard, synonymous with ministerial formation.

The fact that theological education, from the informants' perspective, was directed and structured in relation to the life and context of congregations and dioceses opened up multi-layered conversations on the informants' educational commitments. The interviewees elaborated on ideals, approaches, and expectations of formal theological education. They reflected on its relevance, content, and how it impacted and informed the individual pastor when exercising the ordained ministry. Moreover, they problematised the structural aspects such as forms and models for ministerial training.

The purpose of the chapter is to map out the contours of ministerial training on various academic levels in the ELCT and to show how the interviewees describe and view their educational and theological responsibilities. The chapter introduces some of the procedures and requirements concerning the recruitment and selection of ministerial students. Moreover, it briefly examines the idea of the ordained ministry in the ELCT and draws attention to what norms or ideals the informants considered desirable to uphold for the ordained clergy. How did my informants describe the outer framework of the process of education, training, and formation that the students were expected to undergo? What did they expect of their students and theological candidates in terms of academic progression and pastoral formation? What kind of obstacles did they encounter along the way? What kind of weaknesses did they identify as crucial to address for the future development of theological education?

First, the chapter begins with a brief presentation of the diverse engagements in theological education in the ELCT, including both residential and non-residential theological training. Second, it focuses on what takes place before coming to an institution for theological studies, not least the relationship between the individual student and the local congregation or diocese. Particularly the selection process on the diocesan level for those who intend to embark higher theological studies comes to the fore here. Furthermore, as

every theological student – throughout his/her academic studies – is under regular supervision and control, the chapter tries to illustrate what kind of obstacles may occur along the way and how the informants cope with them. This section draws special attention to the procedures and structures linked to Makumira even if many of the arguments and perspectives may be applicable to other institutions and processes linked to ministerial training in the ELCT more broadly. Third, this chapter deals with the idea of the ordained ministry, as it is described and perceived in some of the constitutional and liturgical texts in the ELCT.

Educational Initiatives and Institutions in Context

With its estimated 6.5 million members, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania is one of the largest Lutheran churches in the world and the second largest church in Tanzania after the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁵⁰ Since its formation on June 19, 1963, the ELCT has grown significantly in terms of new church members as well as newly established dioceses all across the country. That has particularly been the case since the beginning of the 21st century. Over the last 10 years, the church has had an annual growth of about four percent.

The ELCT was established as a result of a merger of seven independent Lutheran churches in the country, which since 1952 were “operating under the umbrella of the Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika”.¹⁵¹ These churches were all structurally, administratively, and theologically shaped and formed by a broad range of churches and mission societies from Europe and North America. After having united into one church, the Lutherans in Tanzania approved a new church constitution and gathered around a new leadership. Under the new structure the seven churches were transformed into seven dioceses/synods.¹⁵² The newly established church had approximately 380 000

¹⁵⁰ One has to bear in mind that the reliability concerning the statistical figures of church members in the ELCT is very uncertain. The most recent figures, published on the official website of the ELCT in 2015, show that the church has more than 6.5 million members: <http://www.elct.org/news/2015.07.001.html> (accessed August 14, 2017). Similar figures are presented on the official website of the Lutheran World Federation: <https://www.lutheranworld.org/country/tanzania> (accessed August 14, 2017).

¹⁵¹ Fihavango, *Jesus and Leadership*, 226. The Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika (FLCT) was established in 1952, by then replacing the Mission Church Federation (MCF) founded in 1937. When the MCF came into being it brought together the following Lutheran missionary societies; the Berlin Society, the Leipzig Society, the Bethel Mission, the Augustana Mission, and the Herrnhut Moravians. Issues related to theological training of pastors were a major concern both within the MCF and the FLCT. See also: Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika*, 204-207; Smedjebacka, *Lutheran Church Autonomy*, 55-56, 141-142, 154-155, 303; Uhlin, “Den lutherska prästutbildningen,” 142-145.

¹⁵² As Fihavango has shown, the fact that the seven units in the newly established church drew upon different types of leadership structures affected the choice of terminology used when describing the ecclesial structures of the church; those units with ‘bishops’ became ‘dioceses’

members in 1963.¹⁵³ Twenty years later, in the first half of the 1980s, the ELCT had 14 dioceses/synods with around one million members.¹⁵⁴ At the beginning of the 21st century the number of dioceses had further increased to 20, serving three million church members. At present the ELCT has 26 dioceses, and is preparing for the establishment of one or two new dioceses in the future.¹⁵⁵



Map of the 26 dioceses in the ELCT as of October 2018, including the two mission areas (Kigoma Mission Area and Zanzibar Mission Area).

while those units with ‘presidents’ became ‘synods’. Fihavango, *Jesus and Leadership*, 228-229. See also: Kalugila, “Leadership Roles,” 143-158.

¹⁵³ Fihavango, *Jesus and Leadership*, 229. As shown by Fihavango, at the time of the merger in 1963 the seven Lutheran churches in Tanganyika were as follows; The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika, The Evangelical Lutheran Church of North-Western Tanganyika, The Lutheran Church of Central Tanganyika, The Lutheran Church of Southern Tanganyika, The Lutheran Church of Usambara-Digo, The Lutheran Church Uzaramo-Uluguru, and The Lutheran Church of Iraqw. Fihavango, *Jesus and Leadership*, 228-230. The 26 existing dioceses in the ELCT today have all emerged out of these seven units of the church. Some of these complex processes, and how new dioceses in the ELCT have emerged and developed over time, have recently been studied in Maanga, *Church Growth in Tanzania*.

¹⁵⁴ ELCA Archives, Tanzania Records, ELCA 24/13/1/4: Visit to Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT), September 12-29, 1984.

¹⁵⁵ At present, the ELCT has two Mission Areas (Kigoma Mission Area and Zanzibar Mission Area) of which the former is in an active process of becoming a full diocese. The most recent example of a Mission Area being transformed into a diocese is the West-Central Diocese. The final arrangements in developing the Tabora Mission Area into a permanent diocese of the ELCT took place in 2017. At that time, Rev. Isaac Kissiri Laiser was appointed the bishop elect of the coming diocese. Personal communication with Bishop Isaya J. Mengele, Southern Diocese, ELCT, January 8, 2018; Field notes, December 2, 2017.

The rapid church growth in the ELCT has created a growing demand for theological education and leadership training. In particular it has called for a thorough discussion of what ministerial training is about and how to implement adequate models and structures for pastoral training in the life of the church. The current strategic plan for the ELCT underlines the fields of mission and evangelism as key priorities for the years to come.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, it is argued that it is a necessity for Lutherans in Tanzania to further strengthen and engage in the field of education. In a similar vein, in almost every single diocese initiatives are taken to establish various centres for education or to further develop already existing institutions and programmes for teaching and learning. The multitude of training programmes indicates how the ELCT strategises and mobilises for the future. At the same time, to run these institutions in a sustainable way on a long-term basis is a tricky task for many of the dioceses. In particular, the financial dimension is pressing and difficult for them to handle.

Residential Theological Training

The original seven Lutheran churches that merged in 1963 were, through their respective links with churches and missionary societies abroad, heavily involved in educational and health services. As shown elsewhere, they identified the field of theological education as a common interest and concern, and this became an important impetus for them to unite into one church.¹⁵⁷ In the previous chapter, I indicated the contours of the institutional history of what today is called Tumaini University Makumira. The fact that the institution emerged and developed out of a theological seminary, founded back in 1947, indicates that issues related to ministerial formation were crucial for the Lutheran churches in the country long before the ELCT was formally founded.¹⁵⁸ When

¹⁵⁶ *Strategic Plan for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania 2015-2025*, 6-8.

¹⁵⁷ Mahali, "Becoming the Church," 51; Smedjebacka, *Lutheran Church Autonomy*, 139-143, 154-157.

¹⁵⁸ In his article on Lutheran theological education in Tanganyika at the end of the 1940s and early 1950s, the Swedish missionary Herbert Uhlin (Swedish Evangelical Mission) shows how the different Lutheran churches in the country decided to jointly establish the theological Seminary in Lwandai, in the north-eastern part of the country. The teaching was conducted in Swahili and included courses such as: Old Testament Studies (three hours per week), New Testament Studies (five hours per week), Biblical History (one hour per week), Doctrine (two hours per week), Christian Ethics (one hour per week), Biblical History (one hour per week), Church History (two hours per week), History of Religion (one hour per week), Catechism (one hour per week), Homiletics (two hours per weeks, and Pastoral Counselling. Additionally, the students took language courses in English and Swahili, Music, Liturgy, and Financial Management. The students were also sent to local congregations nearby to preach on a regular basis. In October 1949, 58 ministerial students graduated from the first three-year programme, held at Lwandai 1947—1949. The students came from 12 different ethnic groups across the country. In 1950, there was a new intake of students at the theological seminary in Lwandai. In 1952, 25 students graduated after having completed their theological studies 1950—1952. Uhlin, "Den lutherska prästutbildningen," 139-147. However, it should be noted that even before the theological seminary in Lwandai was in place, a limited number of students were theologically trained and later ordained. In a report, presented at the Inter-Territorial Theological

the institution moved to its present location in Usa River in 1954, it continued to offer a three-year programme for ministerial training that attracted ministerial students from across the country.¹⁵⁹ Its significant expansion in terms of both students and staff over the coming years coincided with broader national and transnational processes of cooperation.¹⁶⁰ It has to be noted that the Constitution for the Lutheran Theological College Makumira stated that the different Lutheran churches in the country jointly should run the theological seminary. From 1960 onwards it offered a Certificate in Theology course, a five-year programme of theological studies, which also included one year of pastoral and practical duties in a local congregation. Moreover, as a result of its ecumenical collaboration with Protestant theological colleges in Kenya and Uganda, Makumira offered a jointly run Diploma in Theology course from 1962 onwards.¹⁶¹ In 1974, the institution expanded its educational programmes further by launching a full-scale Bachelor of Divinity programme. At the beginning of the 1990s the ELCT decided to increase the number of ministerial students at the LTCM to 225 due to the pressing demand for more pastors in the church. By then, the institution offered two different programmes: a General Certificate in Theology and a Bachelor of Divinity.¹⁶² While celebrating its fiftieth anniversary in 1997, the institution launched a master's programme in systematic theology and began the process of accreditation to become a branch of Tumaini University.¹⁶³

Staffs' Conference in 1956, Uhlin recalled the situation by the time of the outbreak of the Second World War: "The courses were short and the students few; f.inst. 10 men were ordained after a short course in the Leipzig mission, and 6 in the Berlin Mission between 1930-40. It is true that they had begun to plan for a union theological school but before the plans could be realised the war came with all its complications." LWF Archives: Minutes and Reports of the Inter-Territorial Theological Staffs' Conference, 1956. Furthermore, a couple of years before the opening of the seminary in Lwandai, 24 ministerial students were enrolled for a two-year course in Machame under the leadership of the missionary Richard Reusch (Leipzig Mission). Smedjebacka, *Lutheran Church Autonomy*, 62; Uhlin, "Den lutherska prästutbildningen," 143. See also: Uhlin, "Prästseminariet i Lwandai," 158-160; Uhlin and Uhlin, "Högtid vid prästseminariet i Lwandai," 626-627; Lundström, *Mission i omvandling*, 115-118.

¹⁵⁹ Uhlin, "Prästseminariet i Makumira inviges," 569-570; Uhlin, "Femton nya hus i Makumira," 288-289; Uhlin, "Läsåret 1956 vid Makumira prästseminarium," 89-90.

¹⁶⁰ Nordfeldt, "Något om de lutherska missionerna," 501; Uhlin, "Makumira," 503-504; Zeiler, "Luthersk prästutbildning," 34-37.

¹⁶¹ Pedersen, "The Lutheran Church," 148-149; LWF Archives, LWF/ Report of the Principal for the Year 1960. The 1968 Annual Report from Makumira, presented at the General Assembly of the ELCT the same year, states that there were three different programmes in theology available; a General Course (88 students), a Diploma Course (10 students), and a Bachelor of Divinity Course (3 students). ELCA Archives, TALC 14/6/7: Report of the Lutheran College Makumira to the General Assembly of the Church, Vuga 1968. See also: Zeiler, "Luthersk prästutbildning," 36.

¹⁶² ELCA Archives, Tanzania Records, ELCA 24/13/1/4: Report from Hance Mwakabana to LCS Assembly, 1991.

¹⁶³ ELCA Archives, Tanzania Records, ELCA 24/13/1/4: Tanzania Trip Report, September 1997; ELCA Archives, Tanzania Records, ELCA 24/13/1/4: Joint Venture – A Companion Synod Journey in Tanzania, February, 1999. The report from 1999 states that the number of ministerial students had decreased compared to earlier years due to the fact that the courses at certificate level were no longer offered at Makumira but had been assigned to the zonal colleges.

At present, the Faculty of Theology offers courses on the levels of diploma, undergraduate and postgraduate.¹⁶⁴ It consists of three departments; the Department of Biblical Studies, the Department of Systematic Theology and Church History, and the Department of Practical Theology and Liberal Arts. According to the Prospectus of Tumaini University Makumira, the different programmes at the Faculty of Theology have the following overarching aims and objectives:

- Training leadership for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania and from other Lutheran related bodies throughout the world.
- To equip students with knowledge of the Christian Faith and its historical development and practical skills for leadership and service.
- To equip the students with skills and tools to meet the present and future challenges in the church and society at large.¹⁶⁵

In the academic year 2016/17, there were 137 students in total registered for the programmes offered at the Faculty of Theology.¹⁶⁶ The overwhelming majority (82%) of these students were studying at bachelor's level.¹⁶⁷ The Bachelor of Divinity is a five-year programme at Makumira including a one-year internship in a local congregation. The courses are divided into a number of subsections, often structured along the lines of the three separate departments, and there is a certain emphasis on courses in Biblical studies and Systematic theology.¹⁶⁸

At the same time, sending students to Makumira for higher theological training is not uncomplicated. The informants noted that it is a costly business and for many of the dioceses it was difficult to find students qualified enough for university studies. Moreover, for the students coming from dioceses far

According to the same report, the total number of students at Makumira in 1999 was 140 (127 BD students and 13 master's students).

¹⁶⁴ *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 37-43.

¹⁶⁵ *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 37.

¹⁶⁶ Tumaini University Makumira, *Students Records as of 4th November, 2016*.

¹⁶⁷ BD students (112 students), master's students (19 students), PhD students (6 students). It should be noted that a majority of the students at the master's level joined the programme 'Master of Theology in Gender and Health' which was specially designed for theologians and religious leaders in the ELCT to "address the problem of gender inequality and health issues". Tumaini University Makumira, *Application for Master of Theology in Health and Gender & Church Leaders' Training on SRHR to ELCT*, n.d. [2016/2017]. See also: Tumaini University Makumira, *Progress Report, Master in Theology, Health and Gender*, 2017.

¹⁶⁸ The academic courses during the first year of the Bachelor of Divinity programme (in total 31 credits) are as follows: Greek I+II (8 credits), Communication Skills and Study Methods I+II (6 credits), Information Technology I+II (4 credits), Current Issues in Development Studies I (2 credits), Introduction to Ministry (4 credits), Introduction to the Bible (4 credits); Methods of Biblical Exegesis (4 credits), Introduction to Theology, Creeds, and Confessions (4 credits), Hymnology and Liturgy (2 credits), and African Religions (3 credits). See also the Appendix for further details concerning the course plan.

away from Makumira – and particularly those bringing their families with them – there were practical challenges in relation to transportation, housing, and schooling for their children. Therefore, it was important to look for adequate additional alternatives for theological education.

In fact, a growing number of the ordained pastors in the ELCT are no longer academically trained at Makumira but educated at other institutions throughout the country offering ministerial training on a lower academic level. Instead of taking a Bachelor of Divinity degree at Makumira, many of the students gain their theological schooling through a combination of different courses, often taken over a longer period of time, that all together would qualify them for the ordained ministry. Many of the students first join Bible schools, courses for evangelists, and later further studies in any of the educational programmes offered at the zonal colleges. Some of the pastors take a Certificate in Theology or a Diploma in Theology while others come into contact with theological training through particular distance-based courses which enable the participants to combine their regular pastoral duties in the local congregation with further pastoral and theological training. Yet another category of theological students join specially designed crash courses on the diocesan level.¹⁶⁹

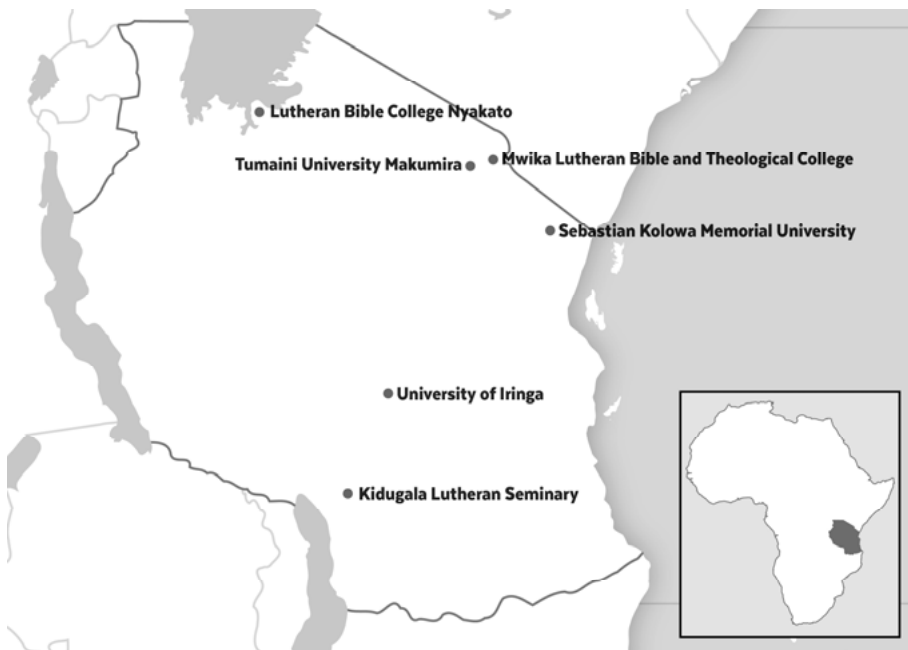
Theological training is primarily carried out on a regional basis at three zonal colleges, which the ELCT commonly has agreed to recognise as institutions of similar educational standard. Theological training acquired from the following colleges enables the ministerial students to qualify for the ordained ministry in the ELCT across the country; Kidugala Lutheran Seminary (Southern Zone i.e. southern Tanzania), Lutheran Bible College Nyakato (Lake Zone i.e. north-western Tanzania), and Mwika Lutheran Bible and Theological College (Northern Zone i.e. northern Tanzania).¹⁷⁰ The system implies, at least in principle, that regardless of where the students successfully finish their theological studies they are equally qualified for ordination in the whole church. The Bible schools in Kidugala and Mwika have, in their respective regions of

¹⁶⁹ In addition to institutions specially designed for theological training, there are a broad range of other educational institutions, training centres, and educational networks that are run by the dioceses and spread all over the country. In his article on the ELCT 1963-2013, Maanga states: “Hand in hand with theological education, the ELCT has established through its dioceses a number of Bible schools which have trained innumerable evangelists, parish workers, and church musicians. Among the leading Bible schools in the ELCT are Mwika in the Northern Diocese, Ruhija in the North-western Diocese, Kidugala in the Southern Diocese, Kiabakari in the Diocese in Mara Region, Maneromango in the Eastern and Coastal Diocese, Kiomboi in the Central Diocese, Waama in the Mbulu Diocese, Oldonyo Sambu in the North-central Diocese, and Usangi in the Pare Diocese.” Maanga, “The Evangelical Lutheran”, 183.

¹⁷⁰ Many of the informants indicated that the three zonal colleges offered theological training of such a standard that it would qualify those who successfully had taken courses from there to be ordained pastors in the ELCT. Moreover, the geographical location of the colleges, strategically spread over the country, should not be underestimated as it further signalled the ability of the church to offer ministerial formation of similar structure and academic standard on a regional level.

the country, for decades been of importance when educating church leaders in different capacities within the ELCT.

The Bible school in Kidugala was founded in 1953, by then offering an eight-month long training course for local schoolteachers engaged in pastoral duties. The institution developed over time and in 1957 it accepted three students training for the ordained ministry.¹⁷¹ The number of courses and programmes increased and diversified, further nurturing the idea that students joining the Bible school later would continue with further theological training. The fact that Kidugala, at the time, was a pivotal ecclesiastical and educational centre in the Southern Highlands was not a coincidence but directly linked to its mission history. The Berlin Mission established one of its mission stations in Kidugala already in 1898 in accordance with the traditional missionary strategy; establishing a church, a school, a medical clinic, and some houses for missionaries and their local co-workers on the compound.¹⁷²



The major institutions for theological education in the ELCT, as of October 2018.

¹⁷¹ Lundström, *Mission i omvandling*, 152. In his recent study, Lundström shows that many of the missionary initiatives in the Southern Highlands were linked to various educational tasks in Kidugala.

¹⁷² Lundström, *Mission i omvandling*, 48-49; Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika*, 70-71, 77-78.

The institution expanded significantly in the early 1980s. Kidugala Lutheran Seminary, owned and run by the Southern Diocese of the ELCT, was formally founded in 1982, offering a broad range of courses within the field of theological education.¹⁷³ In the academic year 2017/2018, the institution offered residential training for 104 ministerial students from various dioceses of the ELCT.¹⁷⁴ At present, it offers a three-year programme for evangelists and an additional two-year programme for those students in training for the ordained ministry. The teaching is exclusively conducted in Swahili even though the students are offered courses in the English language.¹⁷⁵

As already noted, Mwika Lutheran Bible and Theological College is located outside Moshi, is owned and run by the Northern Diocese, and is the largest provider of theological training at a lower academic level in the ELCT. The institution was founded in 1953, then known as Mwika Bible School, and ever since has been of importance in the region and beyond.¹⁷⁶ It is today part of Stefano Moshi Memorial University College, which is one of the constituent colleges of Tumaini University Makumira. The number of students enrolled at the Faculty of Theology in the academic year 2016/2017, was 332, and they were mainly taking courses in the fields of theology, Christian education and evangelism, and music.¹⁷⁷ The records clearly show that the students come from a broad range of dioceses in the ELCT across the country and that some of them even come from abroad.¹⁷⁸ In addition to courses in theology, either at certificate or diploma level, the institution offers a broad number of courses related to other academic fields.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷³ At present, Kidugala Lutheran Seminary consists of three separate sections; the Theological section, the Secondary section, and the Teacher's College section. The Theological section - often known as Kidugala Bible School - offers courses for future evangelists and pastors. In addition to the ministerial courses, the Theological section provides a number of 'Artistic courses' such as a two-year programme for Church Music, Technical training courses in carpentry, tailoring, and cooking; specialised courses in entrepreneurship within the field of agriculture; and courses in 'Green Theology' and 'Ecology'. Personal communication with Rev. Obias Kilagwa, Principal of the Kidugala Lutheran Seminary - Theological section, March 27 and March 29, 2018.

¹⁷⁴ A clear majority of the students (75 students out of 104) participate in the three-year programme for evangelists (59 men and 16 women). The remaining 29 students participate in the two-year programme for the ordained ministry (27 men and two women). Personal communication with Rev. Obias Kilagwa, Principal of the Kidugala Lutheran Seminary - Theological section, March 27 and March 29, 2018.

¹⁷⁵ At present, Kidugala Lutheran Seminary is preparing for a diploma programme that will be taught in English. Personal communication with Rev. Obias Kilagwa, Principal of the Kidugala Lutheran Seminary - Theological section, March 27 and March 29, 2018.

¹⁷⁶ Smedjebacka, *Lutheran Church Autonomy*, 175-176;

¹⁷⁷ The overwhelming majority of the students (62%) during the academic year 2016/2017 took courses related to Christian Education and Evangelism in order to serve as evangelists in local congregations. Personal communication with Rev. Obed M. Akyoo, Principle at Mwika Lutheran Bible and Theological College, June 22, 2017.

¹⁷⁸ Personal communication with Rev. Obed M. Akyoo, Principle at the Mwika Lutheran Bible and Theological College, June 22, 2017.

¹⁷⁹ The Certificate in Theology Course is a three-year programme of residential studies, taught in Swahili, of which one semester is an internship in a local congregation. The Diploma in

The most recent example of a zonal college that is training students for the ordained ministry in the ELCT, is the Lutheran Bible College Nyakato located in Mwanza, in the East of Lake Victoria Diocese (ELVD).¹⁸⁰ The institution is significantly younger than those mentioned above and was founded in 2010.¹⁸¹ With substantial support from abroad, primarily from the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM), the ELVD was able to rebuild and expand its premises, which had previously been used for Theological Education by Extension (TEE).¹⁸² In 2012, a group of 14 students graduated after having completed a two-year programme for evangelists.¹⁸³ The following year the institution even launched a Certificate in Theology Course, a two-year programme that was structured along similar lines of thought as those offered at the other zonal colleges.¹⁸⁴ The number of students and programmes offered has steadily grown over time, and at present 79 students are studying at the Lutheran Bible College Nyakato.¹⁸⁵ As noted in the Principal's Report, the institution is formally linked to the University of Iringa from which the students officially graduate.¹⁸⁶ Even the links to Tumaini University Makumira and to the other

Theology Course is a four-year programme of residential studies, mainly taught in English, of which one year is an internship in a local congregation. During the academic year 2016/17 there were 107 theological students in training for the ordained ministry at the Mwika Lutheran Bible and Theological College. Personal communication with Rev. Obed M. Akyoo, Principle at the Mwika Lutheran Bible and Theological College, June 22, 2017 and July 4, 2017.

¹⁸⁰ Lutheran Bible College Nyakato was officially opened in July 2010 by Bishop Andrew P. Gulle, East of Lake Victoria Diocese, ELCT. At the ceremony, Bishop Samuel Salmi, Oulu Diocese, from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland also participated. Härkönen, *Principal's Report*, 2012.

¹⁸¹ One has to bear in mind that before the Lutheran Bible College Nyakato was founded in 2010, the Ruhija Lutheran Training Centre, located in the North-Western Diocese, was training students for the ordained ministry in the Lake Zone and beyond. However, the theological college was closed in 2004. Currently the institution, now called the Ruhija Evangelical Academy Bible School, is training evangelists and church musicians in the diocese. Personal communication with Bishop Abednego Keshomshahara, North-Western Diocese, ELCT, May 4, 2018.

¹⁸² Härkönen, *Narrative Report*, 2011; Härkönen, *Principal's Report*, 2012.

¹⁸³ Härkönen, *Principal's Report*, 2012.

¹⁸⁴ The Certificate in Theology Course includes two years of residential training plus six months of internship in a local congregation. The programme has an annual intake of new students of which the overwhelming majority come from the East of Lake Victoria Diocese. Personal communication with Rev. Hanna Oja-Nisula, part-time teacher at the Lutheran Bible College Nyakato, June 8, 2017.

¹⁸⁵ According to the figures presented in the *Principal's Report* from 2015, during the academic year 2014/15 there were 80 students at the Lutheran Bible College Nyakato, of which the majority were engaged in the evangelist training. The report states: "That includes 16 students doing the second year of certificate in Theology, 11 students doing the same course but completing now the first year. Second year evangelists are 15 and parish-workers 2. First year evangelists are 31, parish-workers are 5." Härkönen, *Principal's Report*, 2015. The *Narrative Report* from 2017 shows that the number of students remains more or less the same. It states: "The total number of students during the period [July-December 2017] was 79 as follows: Evangelists and parish workers are 37, theologians who take certificate are 24 and diplomas are 8. Also students who are taking certificate in business administration are 4 and diplomas in business administration are 6." Ling'hwa, *Narrative Report*, 2017.

¹⁸⁶ Härkönen, *Principal's Report*, 2013; Härkönen, *Principal's Report*, 2015.

zonal colleges in Kidugala and Mwika contribute significantly to the institutional development of Lutheran Bible College Nyakato, not least in the areas of curriculum development, quality assurance, and external examination.¹⁸⁷

Despite a uniform educational system with institutions on a national as well as a regional level, the 26 dioceses in the ELCT act fairly autonomously in relation to one another. In addition to the zonal colleges, other types of institutions, training centres, or learning institutes, all of various sizes and models, are established across the country. The engagement in the field of theological education in the respective diocese are heavily dependent on its geographical size, its financial and practical resources, including its various global networks and links willing to support the different projects. Nevertheless, to look for further educational alternatives that would enable them to train pastors for the ordained ministry in the future are absolutely crucial.

In addition to Tumaini University Makumira, which is part of the ELCT Common Work, some of the local dioceses have been heavily engaged in establishing private universities.¹⁸⁸ At the beginning of the 1990s, when the ELCT decided to begin regionalisation of the theological education, the Iringa Diocese took the lead. In 1994 the newly founded Iringa Lutheran College and Seminary started to offer theological courses at the diploma level. The number of academic programmes expanded over the years and in 1997 the institution changed its name to Tumaini University, Iringa University College. From 1998 onwards, it offered theological courses even at bachelor's level.¹⁸⁹ Since 2013 the institution has formally no longer been part of the Tumaini University but acts independently under the name University of Iringa.¹⁹⁰ The majority of the students come from the neighbouring dioceses in the Southern Zone, taking courses on any of the three programmes offered. At present, the institution is in a process of expanding the number of courses and programmes offered in theology and religious studies.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Lutheran Bible College Nyakato, *Syllabus for Certificate of Theology Course*, n.d. [2016/2017]; Personal communication with Rev. Hanna Oja-Nisula, part-time teacher at the Lutheran Bible College Nyakato, June 8, 2017.

¹⁸⁸ Benbow, "With Hope for the Future,".

¹⁸⁹ In 2017 the Faculty of Theology at University of Iringa run the following programmes: Certificate in Theology (a two-year program) with 22 students, Diploma in Theology (a four-year programme including one year of internship) with 60 students, Bachelor of Theology (a three-year program) with 11 students. Personal communication with Rev. Aleck Mhanga, Dean at the Faculty of Theology, University of Iringa, May 30, 2017.

¹⁹⁰ The University of Iringa operates as a private university under the ownership of the Iringa Diocese. Within its six faculties the institution offers a broad range of academic courses and programmes. The University of Iringa is a fully-fledged university, accredited by the Tanzania Commission for Universities, currently with over 4000 students: www.uoi.ac.tz (accessed May 15, 2017).

¹⁹¹ The intention is to establish the following programmes in the near future: Bachelor of Religious Studies with Education (a programme especially designed for teachers of secondary schools), Master of Theology, PhD in Theology. Personal communication with Rev. Aleck Mhanga, Dean at the Faculty of Theology, University of Iringa, May 30, 2017 and June 1, 2017.

Similarly, in the North-Eastern Diocese, Sebastian Kolowa University College (SEKUCo) was established in 2007 under the umbrella of Tumaini University. In 2012 the institution was transformed into a fully-fledged university under the name Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University (SEKOMU). The university is located in the Usambara Mountains in Lushoto district, and is fully owned by the diocese. It has three faculties and is currently offering a broad range of programmes, one of which is the Diploma in Theology Programme.¹⁹² In addition to courses in theology on the diploma level the university intends to establish a Faculty of Theology and Diaconic Studies in the near future, which also would enable the university to offer a Bachelor of Theology degree.¹⁹³

Non-residential Theological Training

Yet another form of theological training that has to be mentioned in relation to what has been said above is Theological Education by Extension (TEE). Instead of residential training located at specific institutions, much of the theological schooling is carried out in the localities, though coordinated on a regional level. This distance-based model of education has grown extensively in the ELCT over the last decades, not least in the Southern Zone, with thousands of participants each year.¹⁹⁴ Though different from the models of theological training referred to above - in terms of structure, academic level, and educational background of the students - the TEE concept plays a pivotal role in many of the dioceses today when educating a broad range of church workers in the ELCT.

With its characteristic pedagogy and historical roots in Guatemala in the 1960s, TEE was successfully introduced in the ELCT in the early 1970s. In Arusha, northern Tanzania, TEE has been practised since 1972 onwards and is of importance for the diocese when educating evangelists and others in Christian leadership in the local congregation.¹⁹⁵ The three-year-long course currently has about 120 participants who regularly meet for 10 study weeks each year.¹⁹⁶ From the 1980s several other dioceses in the ELCT introduced similar training programmes, often in collaboration with an ecumenical partner such as the Christian Council of Tanzania.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹² <http://www.sekomu.ac.tz/index.php/faculties> (accessed May 17, 2017). Personal communication with Rev. Dr Anette Munga, by then Vice-Chancellor at Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University, November 28, 2017; The Diploma in Theology is a four-year programme including a one-year internship in a local congregation. See also: *Prospectus 2014/2015-2016/2017*, Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University, 154-177.

¹⁹³ Field notes, Arusha, January 16, 2017; *Prospectus 2014/2015-2016/2017*, Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University, 98.

¹⁹⁴ Klas Lundström presents statistics from the year 2014/15 showing that the TEE courses in the Southern Zone involved nearly 6000 participants. Lundström, *Mission i omvandling*, 217.

¹⁹⁵ Field notes, Arusha, January 22, 2017.

¹⁹⁶ Field notes, Arusha, January 22, 2017.

¹⁹⁷ Mgeyekwa, "The Historical Development," 27; 100-105.

Similarly, the TEE model plays a vital role in the Iringa Diocese, located in the southern part of the country, where it was first introduced in 1985. By then a similar model of theological training was known from the Anglican tradition in Tanzania from which inspiration was drawn. The TEE concept had been practiced by Anglicans in Morogoro already in 1979, and then spread all over the country.¹⁹⁸ The TEE model grew rapidly and within a decade about 3000 people had participated in the courses organised in the Iringa Diocese. The courses are structured in programmes in a three-year-cycle. Every participant is expected to take three separate courses each year that last for 10 weeks each. On an individual basis they study daily with the help of a study guide and meet regularly with the other participants for discussions in smaller groups, often being supervised by an experienced evangelist or a local pastor. The concept has developed and expanded over time even though the basic structure has remained the same. Those participants who pass the three-year-course can join a second round for another three years of distance-based learning. Yet another level is offered, this time in cooperation with the University of Iringa, which also would qualify the students for the ordained ministry after having finished another three years of studies.

The TEE concept is an important educational tool when offering theological training to a broader range of people in the congregations than traditionally has been the case at a Bible school, a college, or a university. The way TEE is carried out in the Iringa Diocese, for instance, clearly shows how choir leaders, evangelists, leaders for women and youth, Sunday school teachers, elders, and preachers come together for a three-year-long study process for lay ministers in the church.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, the structure of the programme offers new pedagogical models for leading and learning in relation to the individual assignments as well as the study groups in which the participants benefit from each other's knowledge and diverse experiences. Theoretical reflection thus goes hand in hand with the practical and pastoral realities of the local congregations. Moreover, compared with the various forms of residential training, the TEE programmes are considerably cheaper to run, which enables the dioceses to educate a large cadre of co-workers actively engaged in parish work across the diocese. As recently shown elsewhere, the flexible structure of the TEE concept enables a great proportion of women to participate.²⁰⁰

The local office in Iringa town has become an important hub for the coordination and the development of the TEE model, not least when it spread to other neighbouring dioceses.²⁰¹ TEE was introduced in the Southern Diocese in 1990 but then only as a complement to the courses offered at Kidugala Bible school.²⁰² However, it was not until the beginning of the 21st century that the

¹⁹⁸ Mgeyekwa, "The Historical Development," 24.

¹⁹⁹ Lundström, *Mission i omvandling*, 213.

²⁰⁰ Lundström, *Mission i omvandling*, 216.

²⁰¹ Personal communication with Rev. Rune Persson, a former missionary from Sweden (Swedish Evangelical Mission) in the Iringa Diocese, May 30, 2017 and June 15, 2017.

²⁰² Lundström, *Mission i omvandling*, 110, 215.

expansion of TEE programmes took place on a broader scale. Ten dioceses in the ELCT, all of which were located in the southern part of the country, were engaged in TEE with nearly 6000 people participating in the various courses offered. The dioceses thus cooperated across the diocesan borders in a decentralised structure for theological training that was not primarily aimed at educating pastors in the ELCT but at offering leadership training and Christian education to a much a broader group of Christians in the local congregations.²⁰³

Conditions for Studying Theology

There were two primary categories of theology students on the Bachelor of Divinity (BD) programme at Makumira. Students in the first category were already ordained Lutheran pastors but in need of further theological training. Before coming to Makumira they had normally spent a number of years in parish ministry serving as evangelists and local pastors. Except for primary and secondary school education they had spent some time at a Bible school run by a local diocese. Moreover, for several years they had participated in theological training at a lower academic level at one of the zonal colleges in the ELCT including a period of parish internship. As they were diploma holders, they qualified for higher theological studies at Makumira at bachelor's level.

The BD students in the second category were not yet ordained when they embarked on their studies at Makumira. They had finished secondary school, but had limited or no working experience at the parish level, and were generally younger than the students in the first category. However, some of them had attended a Bible school or had served as evangelists in a local parish before coming to Makumira. Furthermore, a number of the students in the second category could have an educational background from other professions and academic disciplines than theology. They may have worked for a number of years, for instance as teachers or accountants, before embarking on theological studies as a second career in life.

But to embark on theological studies required each student to undergo a rigorous assessment. Regardless of academic level and at what institution the studies took place the local diocese first had to approve and sanction the individual's intention to become an ordained pastor in the ELCT. So before even applying for theological studies, the individual student had to undergo a certain selection process in the local diocese in which the bishop had to decide if and on what grounds he was willing to accept the individual candidate as a

²⁰³ Persson, *The ELCT Southern Zone TEE Fellowship 2007-2015*; Chavalla and Persson, *Narrative Report TEE Fellowship*; Chavalla and Persson, *Narrative Report, 2011*; Chavalla and Persson, *Narrative Report, 2012*; Chavalla and Persson, *Narrative Report, 2013*; Chavalla and Persson, *Narrative Report 2014*; Chavalla and Persson, *Narrative Report, 2015*; Mdegella and Chavalla, *Project Application 2010-2012*; Mdegella and Chavalla, *Project Application, 2013-2015*; Mdegella and Chavalla, *Project Application, 2016-2018*.

future pastor in the ELCT. For students in the first category, that process had taken place before their preparatory courses for ordination, long before coming to Makumira for further studies. For the second category of students the same process took place before the actual studies at the university had begun. One of the informants explained:

[U]sually the procedure is like this: you go to your parish pastor. The parish pastor after being satisfied that you really want to study higher qualifications, and you have the call, will take you to the district pastor. Your district pastor will do the same, [conduct] a small interview with you, then you'll go to the diocesan level. And from diocesan level they are the one who are sending the name here [to Makumira].²⁰⁴

The student was requested to undergo an assessment that would enable the diocese to make a decision about the individual's ability, willingness, personal vocation, and motivation to serve as a Lutheran pastor in the future. Thus the student had to acquire a number of personal references and documents that confirmed his/her commitments in the local parish. These additional documents were attached to the formal application form that the student sent to the diocesan bishop. The local parish pastor, often with support from the local parish council/committee, wrote a letter in which it was explained why and on what grounds the congregation supported the candidacy of a certain student. The content of the letter could be based upon a number of questions that the bishop expected to be addressed. Sometimes, one of the informants told me, additional information, not explicitly asked for in the first place, could be brought to the bishop's attention such as issues related to lifestyle, social behaviour, and moral conduct.²⁰⁵ It was thus the local diocese, under the leadership of its bishop, that decided which candidates were sent for further studies. Ideally if not always, one of the informants pointed out, the decision was also based upon a personal encounter between the bishop and the applicant. If the bishop, after having met with the student, needed additional information, he or she could be requested to hand in a written assignment on a certain topic that the bishop had decided.²⁰⁶

Moreover, it was also the diocese that administered the funding related to the studies, either from its own financial resources or through external funding in terms of sponsorship from partner churches and organisations abroad. The agreement was regulated through a formal contract that was set up between Makumira and the local diocese. Also, the individual students had to sign a contract with their sending diocese. If they discontinued their studies they were expected to refund the diocese.

So, all students at Makumira had to undergo a similar, though not identical, selection process in their respective diocesan contexts. Their educational

²⁰⁴ Informant A, 2016, 17.

²⁰⁵ Informant O, 2016, 2.

²⁰⁶ Informant E, 2016, 3.

background as well as their previous working experience may have differed. However, the fact that the vocational calling through the selection process in the diocese was officially assessed and approved by the church enabled them to embark on their theological studies as one group. Or as one of the informants pointed out when he was commenting upon the actual process of selecting candidates; “You are not [on] your own. You are sent.”²⁰⁷

As shown, the diocese consulted different actors in the local parish, such as local pastors and key informants in the congregations, in order to make a solid decision. At the same time, throughout their theological studies – in the classroom, in chapel, at campus, and during their internship in a local congregation – the students were under scrutiny and supervision. What had started in the local parish before being accepted as a student of theology continued throughout the years of pastoral ministry in the ELCT. That kind of interconnectedness between the student, the local parish or diocese, and the learning institution implied certain expectations and obligations as “they [the sending body] don’t expect you to be drunk, they don’t expect you to have a extramarital affairs ... they expect you to regularly [go] to church.”²⁰⁸ Other aspects that further reflected the informants’ expectations of the moral conduct of the students were, for instance, criminal acts such as theft, cheating during examination, or respectfully following the rather newly introduced dress code for all the students at the university.²⁰⁹

The Prospectus of Tumaini University Makumira clarifies that the dress code reflects the mission and core values of the university more broadly, stating:

Students should bear responsibility to preserve a conducive learning environment by avoiding behaviour that interferes or threatens the welfare of others or the University community.²¹⁰

As shown, the dress code implies regulations not merely concerning the clothing as such but behaviour and life style as well.²¹¹ It should be noted that these

²⁰⁷ Informant F, 2016, 16.

²⁰⁸ Informant F, 2016, 16.

²⁰⁹ *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 6.

²¹⁰ *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 6.

²¹¹ The Prospectus states: “Such behaviour to be avoided includes but [is] not limited to: Indecent Dressing, such as ripped, torn, excessively wrinkled, loose fitting, excessively short, tight, transparent, and containing offensive language or artwork; Abusive language, etc., [and] Taking drugs and alcohol.” *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 6. In a similar vein, the Prospectus underlines the importance of the students’ behaviour being “moral, ethical, and legal” and that the university reserves the right to withdraw admission “for conduct that is contrary to the objectives of the University.” *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 11. In a formal document from one of the constituent colleges of Tumaini University Makumira, photos are published showing examples of what kinds of clothing the dress code of the university might imply. *Students Rules (by-laws) 2002 Governing General Conduct, Disciplinary Proceeding [sic] and Penalties*, Stefano Moshi Memorial University College, 32-37; *Prospectus 2014-2017*, Stefano Moshi Memorial University College, 9.

kinds of regulations and policies certainly are not unique for a Christian university like Makumira but even apply to non-private institutions for higher learning in the country as well, such as the University of Dar es Salaam.²¹²

The fostering task of the university is thus embedded in the educational enterprise across all the faculties. For the students at the Faculty of Theology however, these aspects of the theological formation are of special importance. One of the informants explained how the institution handled the issue: “if we see them [the students] deviating we say ‘please, please be careful ... this is going to punish your image, this will throw you [in] to danger’.”²¹³

My informants pointed out that the students, through their residential training at Makumira, were theologically and pastorally formed Lutheran pastors. The teachers at the university were of importance in that regard. One of the interviewees explained that the students need to:

... have a theological professor, a lecturer to guide you, to de-form and to form you again, to de-form you and de-construct you and to construct you again, in a way that really fits the history and the heritage of the Lutheran tradition.²¹⁴

Some of my informants talked about their past and present students as ‘products of Makumira’. The idea was that the students, through their theological training, were to be shaped into well-equipped Lutheran pastors. All of the current bishops of the ELCT were former Makumira students themselves which, according to my interviewees, was one of the strongest reasons the bishops valued and defended the role of Makumira in the ELCT as their main centre for higher theological education in the country. In other words, the bishops expected Makumira to theologically educate their candidates in a profound way. If requested, the Dean of the Faculty of Theology or the Chaplain in charge wrote an annual report for each theology student to explain how the studies had proceeded. The report was handed over to the sending diocese.

But the fact that a diocesan bishop had accepted a person as a theological candidate was neither a guarantee of graduation from Makumira nor of ordination in the local diocese. It was both a question of academic achievements and of theological formation as regards the individual student. Some of them faced difficulties in completing their academic studies whereas others encountered problems related to more personal issues. As the individual student throughout his/her theological training was under constant diocesan supervision and control, the formal approval of a certain student could, at least in theory, be withdrawn.

At the end of the fourth year of training, when the BD students had spent a one-year internship in a parish, the local supervisor was requested to report back to Makumira stating whether the pastor believed the student would be

²¹² Similar instructions and guidelines were noticeable at the main campus of the University of Dar es Salaam in March 2015. Field notes, Dar es Salaam, March 18, 2015.

²¹³ Informant W, 2016, 17.

²¹⁴ Informant O, 2016, 1.

suitable or not as a Lutheran pastor in the future. One of the interviewees confirmed that there had been a few cases when the supervisor had advised the student to take an additional year of training or had come to the conclusion that he or she under no circumstances would be fit to serve as a pastor in the future. The final decision to withdraw a student from the training was taken by the local diocese, not by the university. My informant explained:

This student failed on the spiritual ground. He did not fail on the academic ground. He has been terminated by the diocese, not by the college. We receive students from the diocese and if the diocese says 'No, we are not going to send this student to you anymore' then we have no way we can ask why. No. That is part of the process of transformation of the students who are in the university.²¹⁵

Another informant recalled what had happened to one of the students when doing the internship in a local congregation. Issues related to 'life style' and 'ethical matters' became key, he explained, and when the supervisor in the local congregation failed to handle the situation on his own he reported what happened to the diocese for further actions.²¹⁶

One of the informants reflected more generally on what would happen if one of the students departed from the expected norms:

But if one is saying 'I am leaving the church' that is something else. Or [if a student is] seen here starting a church, starting preaching in different churches, that is something that is serious. The person will be called not only by us if we understand what is going on. Of course we will report him to the diocese he is coming from. And the diocese, because the university has a contract with the diocese, and in this point the diocese will be the one to say of course we are Lutheran, you are expected to worship in our Lutheran church and if you are not, then we have nothing to do with you. Of course. I think that will be the case.²¹⁷

So, through its teachers the institution plays an active role in the continuing process of evaluation and assessment of the students. One informant told me about an incident that had caused the institution to report a student to the local diocese. Being highly engaged in social media the student had posted a message on Facebook offering prayers for money. He presented himself as a pastor and provided his followers with instructions for how to transfer money to his account in exchange for his profound prayers for those in need. My informant explained: "I have a letter from the college [saying] he is not supposed to continue going there."²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Informant R, 2016, 11.

²¹⁶ Informant C, 2017, 17-18.

²¹⁷ Informant Y, 2016, 9.

²¹⁸ Informant P, 2017, 16.

In other words, the final decision on whether an individual student would be allowed to continue with his/her theological studies is taken by the diocese. As indicated above, the institution may report directly to the diocese if they have reasons to believe that the student has seriously departed from what was considered as a normal or expected progress. Furthermore, based on the feedback from the local pastor who was acting supervisor during the parish placement, a student may be withdrawn from Makumira. In a similar vein, as pointed out by one of the informants, the local diocese might also be contacted by other students present at the university campus to provide the bishop with further details on what has taken place on site. But what could be the reason for a student to be requested to break the contract and leave the university campus?

Discontinuation of Theological Studies

One has to remember that the drop-out rate among the BD students at Makumira is generally very low.²¹⁹ As noted already, an absolute condition for a student to undergo ministerial training is to be endorsed by a local diocese. Such a decision involves many actors, such as representatives from local congregations and church districts, which try to assess each of the candidates.

I asked the interviewees questions on what kind of actions, standpoints, or views would disqualify a Lutheran theological student from continuing his/her theological studies at Makumira. To clarify what they had in mind, some of them shared stories about students that for various reasons had had to discontinue their studies. Issues related to lifestyle, moral character, socio-cultural practices, church discipline, or doctrine particularly came to the fore. Some incidents in the past had caused students to leave, such as when one of the students was openly dating a Muslim student at the university campus or when the family of another theological student had consulted and taken advice from local medicine men. So, the process of assessing and selecting students in theology that would fit the ordained ministry in the ELCT continues throughout their theological studies.

Some of the interviewees seemed to refer to one and the same incident that had taken place more than a decade ago, when one of the students, at the very end of her theological training, was re-baptised in a Pentecostal congregation nearby.²²⁰ Two years before the incident took place the student had entrusted one of my informants with her growing doubts concerning the Lutheran practice of infant baptism. It was then decided that during her internship in a local parish, she explicitly should be involved in the preparations of infant baptisms.

²¹⁹ According to the records of the LMC, showing all the LMC sponsored students at Makumira by name and academic year, only one student of theology discontinued studies 2014–2017. *LMC Manual 2015*, 128-130; *LMC Manual 2016*, 162-163; *LMC Manual 2017*, 124-125; *LMC Manual 2018*, 127-128.

²²⁰ Informant A, 2016, 8-9; Informant B, 2016, 13; Informant E, 2016, 5-7; Informant F, 2016:16-17.

According to one of the informants, it was important to get her ‘on board’ and her local supervisor was therefore requested to make sure that she really took part in all the pastoral duties leading towards the actual baptismal service.²²¹ As the issue of infant baptism, I was told, was virtually ‘a settled matter’ in the ELCT, i.e. advocating and practising the Christian baptism regardless of age, it was important that the Lutheran pastor was willing to act in accordance with that pastoral praxis of the church.

The student successfully completed all the assignments required in the local parish. After having finished her internship she returned to Makumira for her final year of theological training. However, in correspondence with her bishop during that period she made it clear that she was not fully convinced that she should undergo ordination, but she agreed to finish her studies so that she could serve the diocese as a theologian at some of the diocesan institutions, instead of becoming an ordained Lutheran pastor. During the examination period, just two weeks before the academic year was about to come to an end, her decision to be baptised in a Pentecostal congregation therefore came as a shock. One of my informants told me what happened:

I got a phone call after midnight from one of the pastors who also did some postgraduate studies at Makumira. He said: ... I am sorry to tell you that [name of the person] has been re-baptised today. Where? He said: at the Full Gospel Fellowship Church in Arusha.²²²

The fact that a promising student, after almost five years of theological studies with good results including a one-year internship in a local parish, was requested to leave the institution immediately was unusual. But even though the case was very unusual, it shows what kind of theological issues my informants had to tackle as bishops and theological educators. The reason for their decision to discontinue the student was primarily linked to the fact that she decided to undergo a baptismal praxis that was not in line with Lutheran tradition in Tanzania. The informant admitted that he admired the student for having articulated her doubts and critical remarks in relation to the issue of the Christian baptism. However, it was the baptismal act more than anything else that seemed to initiate the drastic decision to request her to leave. So, being a Lutheran pastor means to theologically defend the praxis of infant baptism in the pastoral ministry one has been entrusted with. Through her actions the student had infringed the doctrinal line of what might be accepted.

As soon as this incident came to the local bishop’s attention, he informed the university about his decision to withdraw his formal support from the student. In its turn, the university requested her to leave the campus area the day after the baptism had taken place. However, the aftermath of their decision is interesting. Financially supported by some of her peers, the student who had

²²¹ Informant E, 2016, 5.

²²² Informant O, 2016, 6.

been expelled went to court and began a case against the university, claiming her right to complete her studies and graduate from the university. One of the informants explained:

The case was put on a fast track because she wanted to come back and finish her examinations and graduate. She lost the case. The judge determined that it was her mistake. She was brought to the seminary by the diocese and the seminary doesn't believe in the second baptism and therefore she did it knowingly that really that it would impact her, and that's it. So she lost the case.²²³

The verdict indicates the close and intimate relationship concerning Lutheran teaching and praxis between the local diocese on the one hand and the university on the other. As indicated above, Makumira was in this case clearly guided by its denominational affiliation. To discuss, problematise, and critically analyse the issue of Christian baptism in the classroom was one thing; the practical realities in a local parish were something else. In the parish context, the pastor was expected to act in accordance with the Lutheran praxis and to defend its theological conviction regarding infant baptism and embody its liturgical practice. To hinder a child from being baptised or advise the family to postpone the baptism until the individual was able to decide for himself or herself seemed to be an unacceptable position for a Lutheran pastor in the ELCT. So, a student training for the ministry was expected to follow the same line of thought as the church. More broadly, it seems, the situation reflects the clear distinction being made by one of the interviewees, stating that being a theologian is one thing and being a Lutheran pastor something else. The fact that the student of theology was not allowed to complete her academic studies and graduate from Tumaini University Makumira also showed the close structural ties between the ELCT and the university.²²⁴ According to the diocese to which the student belonged, she had proved herself theologically unfit and was therefore prevented from getting her academic degree from the university. As soon as the contractual agreement between the diocese and the university had been declared invalid, the student of theology had no other option than to leave the university.

The Ordination of a Lutheran Pastor

As already indicated above, Makumira plays a significant role in the life of the ELCT as the main provider of higher theological education. Its educational

²²³ Informant E, 2016, 6.

²²⁴ The Prospectus of Tumaini University Makumira clearly states that there are specific requirements for the admission of students to the Faculty of Theology programmes, indicating the close relationship between a local diocese/church and the university. It states: "The student applying for theological studies must have entered a contractual agreement with his or her diocese or church." *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 38.

responsibility is primarily played out in terms of residential ministerial training at the university campus. At the same time, it is closely related to the local dioceses in which the students, after three years at Makumira, serve in a local parish for one year. The idea of letting theoretical as well as practical parts of the education overlap, complement and intertwine with one another is crucial throughout the formative years on the BD programme.²²⁵

In a similar vein, as several of the informants implicitly pointed out, the process of theological formation is not exclusively located in an academic context such as Makumira but also in the local Christian contexts from where the theological students come. The students at the Faculty of Theology had all been recruited and supported by a local congregation. Their strong ties with the congregations that had fostered and formed them even impacted their way forward, reminding the students about the ultimate purpose of their studies; one day serving as ordained pastors in a local congregation. We have seen how individual students, in their respective diocesan contexts and in accordance with the hierarchical diocesan structures at hand, had to seek institutional support and official approval to be able to undertake theological studies. The local dioceses in the ELCT are in charge of the selection process and of the final decision that enables the students to embark upon theological training at Makumira. These steps towards ordination and fulltime ministry as ordained Lutheran pastors in the ELCT are defined and regulated in the constitution of the local diocese as well as in the *Constitution of the ELCT*.²²⁶ Some dioceses arranged additional courses on a diocesan level that further underlined the notion of theological and pastoral formation in the local contexts. One of the interviewees told me that he always gathered students for a retreat just before their ordination in order to give them some special training:

[W]e normally have a one week mandatory, special retreat for ordinands whereby we walk with them [through] every step of their pastoral work. Baptism, the marriage act, church discipline, constitution, youth ministry, women's ministry, in the parishes you know, pastoral counselling, pastoral care, confidentiality, you know, working with the government.²²⁷

In his recent study on the changing roles and expectations for pastors in the ELCT, Lutheran scholar Zawadi Job Kinyamagoha, provides an outline of what pastoral ministry might imply in one of the dioceses in the ELCT. Kinyamagoha situates the individual theological student in the context of the procedures in a local diocese, such as the calling to Christian ministry, training, the oath and ordination, and work allocation. Even though Kinyamagoha focuses on a particular diocese, he refers to official church documents, such as the constitution for the local diocese as well as the Constitution for the ELCT,

²²⁵ For an overview of the courses of the BD Programme, see the Appendix.

²²⁶ Fihavango, *Jesus and Leadership*, 261-271.

²²⁷ Informant O, 2016, 7.

and thus opens up a wider discussion on the legitimacy of these documents more broadly.

As one of my informants pointed out, the *Constitution of the ELCT* underlines the necessity of theological training prior to ordination. It indicates what tools an individual pastor needs to use in his/her ministry. Moreover, it clarifies what it means to be a Lutheran pastor and its implications for theological teaching and formation, Lutheran ecclesiology, and common service in the whole church. Kinyamagoha particularly points out the following:

1. The Pastorate of this Church is to serve the Word of God and administration of (Holy) Sacraments through those who have the authority by the Lord of the Church to work in each Diocese.
2. This Church, through her dioceses, will call pastoral students, educate them, ordain them become her pastors and to oversee their moral conduct.
3. After a pastor has been ordained by his or her diocese, he or she will have the recognition as a pastor of the ELCT. If this pastor becomes withdrawn by his or her diocese, he or she will not have this recognition as a pastor of the ELCT. Thus, any service that he or she performs will be worthless and unrecognized by the Church.²²⁸

The constitutional text referred to above situates the theological student in the context of the ELCT and clarifies what it might mean to be a Lutheran pastor in the church. First, it indicates how the different units of the church, such as a local diocese or a local parish, are interlinked with the whole church. Second, the *Constitution of the ELCT* underlines that the pastoral ministry is primarily linked to the Bible and Sacraments and that the pastor is given the authority to represent and to fulfil his/her pastoral duties in the church. Third, through the supervision of a local diocese, the individual student will discern his/her calling and undergo theological training. The moral conduct of the pastors is explicitly mentioned as an area of special concern for the dioceses to oversee. After ordination, the pastor is recognised as a Lutheran pastor not only in his/her local diocese but in the ELCT.

In other words, the question of being theologically trained starts in the local parish in a particular diocese, but how one understands the calling to the priesthood may vary. So, to be ordained one has to undergo the procedures of the local diocese and, if accepted, one embarks on theological education at a particular institution. But again, some students may start studying at a Bible school, continue at a zonal college, and after a number of years of ministerial duties in a congregation continue their studies in theology on a more advanced academic level, for instance at Makumira.

²²⁸ I have followed Kinyamagoha's translation into English of the *Constitution of the ELCT* (*Katiba ya KKKT*). Kinyamagoha, *The Pastor*, 67.

After having finished the academic part of the training, the student is ordained in the local diocese. For those students already ordained upon their arrival at Makumira the ordination act is not repeated when they return to parish ministry. Kinyamagoha has shown that two terms in particular come to the fore here: oath and ordination.²²⁹ They may be differently understood and applied in the various dioceses of the ELCT but the basic structure is the same all over the country. Before the candidate is ordained the bishop confronts him/her with a number of questions in order for the candidate to respond positively to them.

Kinyamagoha refers to the ordination oath as it is formulated and practised in the Southern Diocese of the ELCT. Thereby he points to the correlation between the *Constitution of the ELCT* on the one hand and the constitution of a local diocese on the other. Moreover, he cites the questions that those who wish to be ordained as Lutheran pastors are asked:

Bishop (1) In the Name of a Triune God, will you be ready to receive the Holy pastorate, to the extent that you will keep it up, so that God may be given thanksgiving, and people may be served?

Candidate: Yes I will, May God help me!

Bishop (2) Do you accept the WORK of being a PASTOR of the CHURCH AND TO PERFORM IT, so that God may be praised, and His church may be built and nourished?

Candidate: Yes, I agree, May God help me!

Bishop (3) Will you be faithful in the parish, while being ready to serve God through Exhortation, un-tirelessly have a worship habit, even to care for the poor and the sick and those who have no one to assist them, and with the accord to the grace that you will receive from God to console those who have encountered problems and those with sorrowful hearts?

Candidate: Yes, May God help me!

Bishop (4) Will you be ready to control your moral behavior so that it becomes a model to all human beings?

Candidate: Yes, May God help me!

Bishop (5) Will you be ready to work wherever you will be sent?

Candidate: Yes, May God help me!

²²⁹ Kinyamagoha, *The Pastor*, 72-77.

Bishop (6) Are you ready to serve God's congregation according to the church order, in the Sacrament, in Baptism and the Lord's Supper as Jesus Christ had established in his praise and in [sic] for the salvation of God's nation?

Candidate: Yes, May God help me!

Bishop (7) Are you ready to keep confession confidentiality, to preserve confidentiality in your pastoral ministry, even though you may be forced or tortured? And so are you ready to announce the absolution and forgiveness of Christ to all who asks for forgiveness in faith?

Candidate: Yes, May God help me!

Bishop (8) Do you trust that the Bible, that is, the Old Testament and New Testament is the basis for the faith life of the church? Again, do you agree that the Augsburg confession that is unaltered and the Small Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther are correct explanations of the word of God?

Candidate: Yes, I trust and accept!

The Candidate be provided with: BIBLE, AUGSBURG CONFESSION AND CATECHISM

Bishop (9) Do you agree to FOLLOW and to OBEY faithfully the CONSTITUTION of the SD [Southern Diocese] of the ELCT?

Candidate: Yes, I agree to FOLLOW and to OBEY faithfully the CONSTITUTION of SD [Southern Diocese], May God help me!²³⁰

Through the oath and ordination the person declares his/her willingness to serve in the diocese in the capacity of an ordained Lutheran pastor. The oath in itself indicates the contours of the role of a Lutheran pastor: to fulfil the duties of the pastor in a local parish and to join a pastoral ministry that goes beyond the actual duties in a local parish.

To be ordained as a Lutheran pastor in a particular diocese in the ELCT is to be recognised as a pastor in the ELCT on the whole. Due to urbanisation, often in combination with increasing mobility in society more broadly, pastors in one diocese have shown interest in moving to another diocese to serve there instead. That is one of the reasons, some of the interviewees explained, that the bishops had recently been discussing the formal requirements for ordination in the ELCT in general, thereby further strengthening the unity of the church. Kinyamagoha indicates that the oath may slightly differ from one di-

²³⁰ I have here exclusively followed Kinyamagoha's translation into English of the *Constitution of the Southern Diocese of the ELCT*. Kinyamagoha, *The Pastor*, 74-76.

ocese to another in terms of its actual wording but it is structured and performed in a spirit of ecclesial unity, trying to keep the plurality of dioceses in the ELCT together as one church.

What is briefly mentioned in the *Constitution of the ELCT* about pastoral ministry and commented upon above is further elaborated in the ordination oath. The oath implies that the pastor is committed to individual and communal worship, is ready to administer the sacraments and to keep confession confidentiality. It particularly underlines the importance of a pastoral ministry that is shaped and embodied in solidarity with those who are marginalised in church and society. Moreover, the pastor is obliged to be a role model for other people and therefore to be ready to control his/her moral behaviour. The pastor must be willing to serve wherever the ELCT decides to send him/her. At the end of the ordination oath, one of the questions refers explicitly to confessional documents such as the Augsburg confession (1530) and the Small Catechism of Martin Luther (1529) as “the correct explanations of the word of God”. In a similar line, when the candidate has responded positively to that particular question, the Bible, the Augsburg Confession, and the Lutheran Catechism are symbolically handed over to him/her, something which further signals how the denominational identity is framed in relation to the pastoral ministry in the ELCT.

Concluding Remarks

Establishing and developing structures and institutions for ministerial training is a major concern of the ELCT. As formal theological education is considered key prior to ordination, and even seen as a prerequisite for exercising the ordained ministry, the church is eager to build an adequate and effective organisation when recruiting, selecting, educating, and ordaining students for pastoral ministry. A broad range of actors, from the local congregations, or from the diocesan or the national levels, are involved and cooperate closely in these processes of government. The way they try to explain, motivate, or problematise the discourse of theological education underpins what is at stake, namely to serve the overall idea of fostering and educating a cadre of Lutheran pastors in Tanzania.

As noted in this chapter, theological education is carried out in multiple forms, on various academic levels, and in different parts of the country. It is through these diverse institutions and models of theological training that the ELCT strategically teaches and forms its future leaders. All educational institutions except Tumaini University Makumira, are run on a diocesan level though they are open to students across Tanzania and beyond. The multitude of courses and programmes, carried out either as residential or non-residential training, may differ from one institution to another. At the same time, the educational infrastructure is built to promote flexibility and academic progression. In other words, some students may start taking some TEE courses in the

local congregational context, then continue with studies at one of the zonal colleges, and if they become qualified enough they can go for higher theological training at a university.

Theological education is thus seen as a joint interest and concern across borders in the ELCT. The three levels of the church – local, regional, and national – work autonomously and yet closely together. The local congregation is like a greenhouse or a laboratory for recruitment, discernment, and rejection of individual candidates for pastoral ministry. Moreover, it hosts, mentors, and directs those in training for the ministry when they are sent to the congregational milieu for the internship. The diocesan level is highly involved in the process of selecting and endorsing individual students for the ordained ministry, in setting up a contract between the diocese and the particular institution for theological training, and lastly in the ordination of pastors. The role of the bishop in each diocese, representing the ELCT more broadly, plays a pivotal role in this regard when discerning and confirming the inner calling of an individual student in the rite of ordination to the ordained ministry. As noted, some of the dioceses are highly involved in running and managing institutions for ministerial training themselves, yet always with the intention of serving a wider group of students than those coming from the local diocese.

The diverse institutions, models, and programmes of theological education are all shaped, guided, and embedded in certain convictions and forms of thought concerning how to best train and educate pastors in the ELCT. Factors such as the shifting educational background of the students, the introduction of theological studies at a university level, the pluralisation of courses and programmes, or the geographical location of the learning institutions impact how theological education is envisioned and structured. Moreover, issues related to lifestyle and character formation – often motivated by ethical and doctrinal arguments – such as how to dress and behave, how to ethically discipline and control oneself and others, or how to deal with money, alcohol, and sexuality put emphasis on particular norms that are to be followed. As noted, these ethical issues are crucial to take into consideration prior to, during, and after the formal studies take place.

In a similar vein, the constitutional and liturgical texts analysed in the latter section of this chapter express certain assumptions or produce truths about what pastoral ministry entails. The constitutional texts clarify the role and self-understanding of the ELCT in relation to the field of theological education; namely to ‘call’, ‘educate’, ‘ordain’, and to oversee the ‘moral conduct’ of the pastors. Additionally, the ordination oath reflects particular norms, values, and ideals linked to what pastoral ministry is about. The structure of the ordination oath is built upon a call and response model through which the ordinand is requested to actively give a positive response to the questions raised in the liturgy. The pastor-to-be confirms not only his or her personal vocation to the ordained ministry but the willingness to be totally loyal and obedient to the regulations in the ELCT.

That leads us to the process of identity formation. This chapter shows that theological education is an academic exercise that impacts all aspects of life. Theoretical and practical aspects of the learning processes go hand in hand. As noted, with formal ministerial studies come expectations - regulated in agreements and signed contracts between the actors - on academic progress as well as character formation. One might argue that the processes of recruiting, selecting, educating, and forming students are linked to what is expressed in the ordination oath. The fact that the candidates, as part of the ordination service, are supposed to declare themselves willing to follow the oath shows what is at stake, namely that theological education is about governing oneself and others at one and the same time. The students are thus far from passive recipients but active collaborators in the processes of becoming Lutheran pastors. As such, the fostering project culminates in the ordination oath and is, at the same time, something that continues to impact the life of the ordained pastor throughout his/her ministry in the church.

5. Resources, Interests, and Priorities

As noted already in the previous chapter, the field of ministerial training impacts all levels in the ELCT. It affects the life of a local congregation as much as it engages actors on both the diocesan and national levels of the church. For the informants, it was important to develop an adequate organisation for such a diverse educational enterprise. Local initiatives in a particular diocese coincide with joint efforts on a national level which have implications for the whole church. But to train and educate pastors is a delicate issue to handle, with contesting interests and concerns to take into account when strategising and prioritising for the future. Issues related to resources such as funding, personnel, and infrastructure represented an area that the interviewees constantly tried to come to grips with.

This chapter draws attention to organisational, structural, and financial aspects of the fact that the ELCT, in close cooperation with its global partners, is highly involved in developing the field of Lutheran theological education. In particular, the technical aspects of government come to the fore. Government takes place not in a vacuum but in and through particular practices and techniques; in this case institutions specially designed for ministerial training. The chapter demonstrates how and on what grounds the ELCT utilises these institutions as means of government in order to achieve its goals. It seeks answers to how the disciplinary power is operationalised when establishing and developing institutions for theological education in Tanzania.

The interviewees referred primarily to three different groups of actors, all driven by strong interests and concerns, namely the local diocese, the national level of the ELCT, and the global partners. Regardless of how and by whom the financial support is channelled, it is always embedded in certain ideas and agendas of how it should best serve its purposes. This chapter explores the discourse on theological education and funding, examines it in its wider ecclesial and societal contexts, and addresses challenges that follow in the wake of a decentralised educational system.

‘We have all studied theology at Makumira’

The informants eagerly pointed out the importance of Tumaini University Makumira as the main provider of higher theological education in the ELCT. In almost passionate terms they recalled their own time at Makumira as students,

teachers, or supervisors where they were engaged in theological education and research. Those interviewees that were currently involved in teaching spoke about the institution with gratitude and pride. The symbolic aspects of the institution should not be underestimated. The informants frequently stated that ‘we have all studied theology at Makumira’, nurturing a significant narrative of close friendship, loyalty, and unity that went far beyond the diocesan boundaries in the ELCT. For them the institution itself was a quality marker, theologically as well as spiritually, from which they all claimed to have benefitted greatly. Clearly they were arguing on the basis of their own personal experiences of being theologically shaped and trained at Makumira. By so doing, they placed themselves in the midst of an ongoing and ever changing theological and educational enterprise. As teachers and church leaders they claimed to stand in continuity with the historical past of the institution and its longstanding and prestigious tradition of training pastors in the ELCT.

All informants but one were trained at Makumira, and often at different periods of time. They had taken a Bachelor of Divinity from there and many of them had even taken a Master of Theology. Some of the informants who studied theology in the 1990s first took a Certificate of Theology at Makumira before undertaking further studies at bachelor’s and master’s level. However, those informants with a PhD in Theology had pursued their postgraduate studies abroad, for instance in the United States, Germany, or Finland. By drawing on these precious memories and personal experiences, often in combination with stories they had heard from ministerial students at Makumira over the years, they built a vivid narrative of ministerial training in the ELCT.

In fact, Tumaini University Makumira is the largest Lutheran institution for higher theological education in the country and the largest Lutheran university in Africa. It was thus seen as a pivotal instrument for ministerial formation and theological creativity at a time when the church was in great need of well-educated leaders. Some informants specifically drew attention to the impact of the institution on the ELCT in general. In addition to their commitments related to teaching and research, some faculty members were invited as consultants or advisers to different committees and study groups, or as speakers at pastors’ meetings on different levels in the church.²³¹ Several of the interviewees hoped that Makumira would continue to be highly instrumental and a dynamic force for theological reflection in the life of the church even in the future, particularly because of its consultative and overseeing role in relation to other institutions for ministerial training, such as the zonal colleges located in the dioceses.

At the same time, seen from a broader perspective, the informants considered the university an important hub and provider of higher education in soci-

²³¹ The informants mentioned, for instance, the participation of bishops in the ELCT as well as faculty members from Makumira in the Commission on Theology and Ethics (Kamati ya Theologia na Maadili), various denominational or ecumenical consultations in Tanzania and/or abroad, and as speakers at national and global conferences and gatherings.

ety in general. With its main campus located in Usa River, and with its constituent colleges spread over different regions of the country, the university creates a broad network of institutions.²³² With its nearly 5000 students, all constituent colleges included, and its explicit plans to double the number of students in the near future, the university considers itself to be a strong force for further education and service in both church and society.²³³

One has to bear in mind that Tumaini University Makumira offers its students a broad range of academic degrees in different places in the country.²³⁴ Accredited and chartered by the TCU, Makumira has to follow the general regulations and procedures for institutions of higher learning in the country.²³⁵ That was also the case with the theological students at the Faculty of Theology, who had to meet the formal requirements in order to have their applications approved. As noted already in the previous chapter, while the dioceses were highly involved in recruiting, selecting, and endorsing candidates for the ordained ministry, the university was exclusively in charge of processing the formal applications for higher studies. However, the number of students at the Faculty of Theology is small in comparison with the increasing number of students affiliated to other academic disciplines. In addition to the Bachelor of Divinity programme, to which the overwhelming majority of the theological students were enrolled, courses and programmes on diploma, master's and doctoral level are offered as well.²³⁶

Hence, Tumaini University Makumira engages with a broad range of actors, including governmental institutions and actors on various levels in the ELCT. As representatives of the dioceses, the 26 bishops have contact with Makumira on both bilateral and multilateral terms. The idea of theological and

²³² In addition to the main campus, Tumaini University Makumira has five constituent colleges: Kilimanjaro Christian Medical University College, Tumaini University Dar es Salaam University College, Stefano Moshi Memorial University College, Josiah Kibira University College, and the Southern Highlands University College. The premises of Karagwe University College, located in the Karagwe Diocese, was inaugurated on October 29, 2017. The institution will be the sixth constituent college of Tumaini University Makumira. It is scheduled to start operating in October 2018 and will be focusing particularly on studies in sustainable agriculture. Personal communication with Rev. Anicet Maganya, General Secretary, Karagwe Diocese, January 10, 2018; <http://www.karagwe-diocese.org/news/396.html> (accessed January 9, 2018).

²³³ *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 1-2.

²³⁴ According to the *Prospectus*, Tumaini University Makumira has the following faculties: Faculty of Theology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Faculty of Education, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Science and Information Management, and Faculty of Business Studies. *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, iv-ix.

²³⁵ The Tanzania Commission for Universities was established in 2005 under the Universities Act. It is mandated to 'recognise, approve, register and accredit Universities operating in Tanzania' and is highly involved in issues related to evaluation, quality assurance, and validation. <http://www.tcu.go.tz> (accessed May 17, 2018); Tanzania Commission for Universities, *List of University Institutions*.

²³⁶ According to the *Prospectus* of Tumaini University Makumira, the Faculty of Theology offers courses and programmes on the following levels: Diploma, Bachelor, Master, and Doctoral. However, theological students at the diploma level take their courses at one of the zonal colleges and not as residential students at Makumira. *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 37-43, 192-205.

pastoral formation was particularly important in their reflections on church leadership. They all expected Makumira to be a place that would constructively contribute to their ability to meet these challenges. They sent students there for ministerial training expecting them to be adequately equipped and properly trained for ministerial duties. On the one hand the bishops represented a specific diocese with its own challenges, demands and expectations on the theological education offered at Makumira. On the other hand, they represented a collegium of Lutheran bishops with a common interest in the whole church and in keeping the various concerns and interests of the church together in one unit. Makumira was definitely an important, even irreplaceable, ingredient for them when telling the story of the ELCT and elaborating upon its many contemporary challenges.

Lutheran Mission Cooperation

Though independently run, Tumaini University Makumira is closely connected to the ELCT and as such it is a symbol of a common interest in higher theological education within the church.²³⁷ One way for the bishops in more communal terms, to engage with Makumira as the main provider of higher theological education is through their participation in Lutheran Mission Cooperation (LMC). Since the early 1970s, when it was called the Lutheran Coordination Service (LCS), this forum has played a significant coordinating role in the relationship between the ELCT and its many partner churches and organisations abroad.²³⁸

Higher theological education at Makumira is thus an important concern for the LMC, a network through which representatives from the ELCT and the international partner churches and organisations cooperate closely together. The financial support channelled through the LMC is a result of conversations

²³⁷ Bendera, "A Historical-Theological,"; Fihavango, *Jesus and Leadership*, 235-240; Helander, "A Sociological Approach," 20-26; Lindqvist, "Partners in Mission," 32-40; Maanga, "The Evangelical," 182-183.

²³⁸ ELCA Archives, Tanzania Records, ELCA 24/13/1/4: Tanzania Trip Report, September 1997. The LMC Round Table meets on an annual basis and consists of one official representative from each member of the LMC, eligible for one vote each. The representatives are divided into two separate categories: the 'ELCT units' and the 'Northern members' respectively. The former group consists of one representative from each diocese in the ELCT including one representative from the ELCT Common Work in Arusha (in total 26 members) [From June 2018 onwards, in total 27 members, due to the establishment of a new diocese in the ELCT.] The latter group consists of representatives from partner churches and organisations outside Tanzania (in total 14 members) The members are as follows: Berliner Missionswerk, Church of Sweden, Danmission, Danish Lutheran Mission, Evangelical Church in Middle Germany, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission, Leipzig Mission, Mission EineWelt (Bavarian Mission), Norwegian Lutheran Mission, Swedish Evangelical Mission, United Evangelical Mission, United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Northern Germany – Centre for Global Ministries and Ecumenical Relations. *LMC Manual 2018*, 7, 12.

and decisions among actors in and outside Tanzania. The organisation strives for openness and transparency. Minutes from board meetings, financial reports, and annual narrative reports are published on the LMC website. The highest decision-making section of the LMC is the Round Table, which holds a meeting once a year. Additionally, the LMC Board meets three times a year and works closely with the LMC Secretariat, which on a daily basis administers and monitors the LMC programmes, projects, and operations from its office in Arusha.²³⁹ The coordinating role of the LMC, not least its financial support to ministerial training, signals that theological education is a field that the ELCT and its global partners value and prioritise. When reflecting on how to fund and structure ministerial training in the ELCT, the informants built many of their arguments around the formal processes and decisions taken in and through the LMC. The LMC thus serves its purpose by gathering its members around a common interest. The task of theological education in the ELCT is something that impacts every single diocese, and at the same time, to a significant degree is financially dependent on support from churches and missionary agencies abroad.

In contrast to students of other academic disciplines at Tumaini University Makumira, the theological students are not entitled to student loans provided by the state. Therefore, Makumira had for years been financially supported by the LMC through a block grant that enabled students from the different dioceses in the ELCT to undergo theological training. In 2014 however, the LMC decided to establish the Bachelor of Divinity Fund (BDF) and to channel its financial support in accordance with a new policy. The idea of the BDF was to exclusively support students at the BD programme at Makumira. According to the policy, the BDF should “contribute to spiritual, social and economic development of Christians in Tanzania through increasing the number of well-educated pastors in all ELCT units.”²⁴⁰ So, to enable all the dioceses in the ELCT to send one student per year to the BD programme at Makumira, the LMC decided to channel its funding in accordance with a new structure. The annual budget of about 610 million Tanzanian Shillings (268 000 US Dollars) to the Bachelor of Divinity Fund, indicates what was at stake.²⁴¹ In this new structure the financial resources could be shared on more equal terms between the dioceses in order to ensure the continuity of pastors educated at a higher theological level in each diocese in the ELCT. The Annual Reports of the LMC 2015—2018 clearly show that the present student body at Makumira represents all dioceses in the ELCT.²⁴² However, if a diocese was unable to

²³⁹ It should be noted that the LMC is financially supporting other areas than theological education. The LMC budget indicates that the ELCT units receive funding from, for instance, the Programme Fund (money allocated to the core programmes; Mission and Evangelism, Christian Education, Training Clergy, Diaconia, or Women and Children’s work), the Retirement Fund, the Vehicle Fund, and a number of Scholarships. *LMC Manual 2018*, 82–84.

²⁴⁰ *LMC Manual 2016*, 160.

²⁴¹ *LMC Manual 2018*, 85.

²⁴² *LMC Manual 2015*, 128–130; *LMC Manual 2016*, 162–163; *LMC Manual 2017*, 124–125; *LMC Manual 2018*, 127–128.

send a student to Makumira, another diocese would be given the opportunity to add an additional student in its place. So, even if each diocese had funding for at least one student per year it was not a guarantee that it would eventually find a student with the formal requirements needed to be accepted for higher theological studies.²⁴³

According to the BDF policy, each student granted a scholarship “must sign a legally binding contract with the sending unit to work for at least ten years after completing the studies.”²⁴⁴ Also the relationship among the local diocese, the LMC Secretariat, and Tumaini University Makumira is regulated in the policy document.²⁴⁵ The LMC has a crucial role to play, not least administratively, when monitoring the financial transactions between the actors involved. While the students’ tuition fees are paid directly to the university, each student receives funding for subsistence during term-time including for transportation from the diocesan headquarters to the university. The policy requests the university to send “a progress report, signed and approved”, at the end of each academic semester, before the LMC can make the payment for the coming semester.²⁴⁶

As mentioned earlier, the LMC allocated funds annually for one BD student for each diocese. Additional students could be sent from the local dioceses and, if so, could be financially sponsored from there, often but not always, supported by external funding from overseas. For the year 2016/2017, 112 students were actively participating in one of the five BD classes most of which had been sponsored by the LMC.²⁴⁷ However, the number of theological students from the respective dioceses varied greatly. For instance, the dioceses

²⁴³ The records show that the dioceses negotiated with one another about how many students they were able to send to Makumira for theological education each year. One diocese could, for instance, decline its designated place one year and instead be offered two places the coming year. Alternatively, one diocese could give its place away to another diocese and be financially compensated for it in order to send students to one of the zonal colleges instead. Personal communication with Mr Peter Karlsson, LMC Secretary, LMC Secretariat in Arusha, Tanzania, June 10, 2016; *LMC Manual 2015*, 126.

²⁴⁴ *LMC Manual 2015*, 125.

²⁴⁵ *LMC Manual 2015*, 126. It should be noted that the BDF policy dictates that the local diocese is obliged to cover the costs during the fourth year of studies (BD 4) when the students are placed in a congregation for internship. Similarly, the diocese is also responsible for the upkeep of the family of the student while doing his/her training at the university.

²⁴⁶ *LMC Manual 2015*, 126. Moreover, the BDF policy indicates what the monitoring procedures might imply: “Issues to be followed up will include but not be limited to students enrolment, progress of studies and dropouts if any. Students challenges and problems will be addressed through appropriate channels”. On several occasions I asked for documents from Tumaini University Makumira related to the students’ progress of studies or possible dropouts. However, my requests were denied due to confidentiality. Similarly, information about individual students sent from TUMA to the LMC Secretariat in Arusha was strictly limited in scope. Nevertheless, the data provided was presented to a wider audience and included in the *LMC Manual* each year.

²⁴⁷ Tumaini University Makumira, *List of BD Students 2016/2017*; Tumaini University Makumira, *Students Records as of 4th November 2016*.

in the northern part of the country dominated the field with nearly 47% of the total number of theological students at Makumira.²⁴⁸

Moreover, the BDF policy explicitly states that the diocese, when appointing its candidates for further studies, should consider the gender balance.²⁴⁹ In the academic year 2016/2017, the overwhelming majority of the students were men. Out of 112 BD students, 91 were men (81%) and 21 were women (19%).²⁵⁰ One of the informants particularly pointed out the issue of gender in the selection process as well as the present situation in the ELCT more broadly:

[M]aybe the pastor in charge is not in favour of female ordination or women ordination, so he will discourage the young lady or a lady who want to join the theological institution to become a pastor. /.../ There are those who have been discouraged and they never turn up again. So, even the way of finding a theological student is also a challenging one. At least, if one could report to a certain office it could be easier but the church want to know if this who wants to join theological education really is a believer, a Christian, the one who is attending church, the one really coming from [the] area, and in order to know this the diocese wants the information from the parish pastor. At least, there are those who have been discouraged right from grass root and were able to find another alternative or another way to overpass the pastor and turn to district pastor. And in this case, they maybe are lucky because they were taken to the diocesan level but come again if the district pastor also has problem with women ordination will broke the person again. And to come to a bishop directly it might be but sometimes not easy for those who do not know how they can reach a bishop.²⁵¹

In a similar vein, Israel-Peter Mwakyolile, by then Bishop of Konde Diocese and Chair of the LMC, pointed out in his opening speech at the 2015 LMC Round Table Meeting that the gender-related issues, not least in relation to theological education and Christian leadership, were in need of further attention.²⁵² Reflecting on the theme of that year's meeting, *Women in God's Service*, he drew attention to the fact that the ELCT that year was celebrating the 25th anniversary of the first ordination of a woman in the ELCT in 1990. Mwakyolile explained:

²⁴⁸ Dioceses in the northern part of the country here refers to the following dioceses in the ELCT: Karagwe Diocese, North-Western Diocese, Diocese in Mara Region, North-Central Diocese, Northern Diocese, Diocese of Meru, Mwanga Diocese, Pare Diocese, and North-Eastern Diocese.

²⁴⁹ *LMC Manual 2016*, 160.

²⁵⁰ The LMC records show that the proportions between men and women involved in theological education remained more or less the same in the period 2015–2018. *LMC Manual 2015*, 128–130; *LMC Manual 2016*, 162–163; *LMC Manual 2017*, 124–125; *LMC Manual 2018*, 127–128.

²⁵¹ Informant A, 2016, 17–18.

²⁵² *LMC Manual 2016*, 34–36.

The challenge women Pastors are still facing up to today is that, not all the Church members and not all the male Pastors accept the idea of ordaining women and thus being served by them or sharing ministry with them. They still think that, this is a male office and therefore should not be given to women. This is why you find that some Dioceses, even after these 25 years, do not ordain women or do not recruit women for theological training. Even in those Dioceses which ordain women, you hardly see a theological training policy which binds those in power, so that they create equal opportunities of theological training. One always sees, that men are the majority in theological training institutions. Does it mean that women are not there? Or if they are there, is there a political will to encourage them, so that they get trained and become Pastors?²⁵³

In May the same year, 170 female clergy in the ELCT met for a consultation in Bukoba, in the North-Western Diocese, calling all the dioceses in the church to implement the decision from 1990 to approve the ordination of women.²⁵⁴ In a similar vein, the ELCT General Assembly, held in August 2015 at Tumaini University Makumira, addressed the issue of the ordination of women.²⁵⁵

With the above in mind, the LMC decided to actively encourage the dioceses to send female students to Makumira. The BDF policy clearly states that gender balance should be observed when appointing candidates for ministerial training.²⁵⁶ From 2015 onwards the LMC offered the dioceses a two-for-one deal.²⁵⁷ If a diocese was able to send two qualified students and both of them were women, the LMC would cover the costs for both of the students. If not, the LMC would stick to its original policy to cover the costs for one student per diocese and year.²⁵⁸

²⁵³ *LMC Manual 2016*, 35.

²⁵⁴ Rev. Alice Kabugumila was the very first female student at the Lutheran Theological College Makumira (now Tumaini University Makumira). She took a Certificate in Theology 1969-1973 but was not ordained until 2006. The *ELCT Press Release* from 2015 states that the total number of women pastors in the ELCT currently is 274. 'Unity and Lutheran identity dominates discussions at the ELCT 19th Assembly', *ELCT Press Release*, No. 001/09/2015, <http://www.elct.org/news/2015.09.001.html> (accessed October 21, 2017).

²⁵⁵ 'Tumaini University Makumira to host the 19th ELCT Assembly', *ELCT Press Release*, No. 002/07/2015, <http://www.elct.org/news/2015.07.002.html> (accessed October 21, 2017).

²⁵⁶ *LMC Manual 2015*, 125.

²⁵⁷ The two-for-one deal was an issue discussed and promoted by the LMC Board and formally introduced in 2015. Personal communication with Mr Peter Karlsson, LMC Secretary, LMC Secretariat in Arusha, Tanzania, June 10, 2016; Personal communication with Mr Sirieli Palangyo, Administrative Officer, LMC Secretariat in Arusha, Tanzania, May 7, 2018; *LMC Manual 2017*, 16.

²⁵⁸ So far, the following dioceses in the ELCT have benefitted from the two-for-one deal: In the academic year 2015/2016, the Eastern and Coastal Diocese sent three female students for higher theological education to Tumaini University Makumira. In the following year 2016/2017, three dioceses in the ELCT – the Diocese of Meru, the Dodoma Diocese, and the North-Central Diocese – sent two female students each for higher theological education to Tumaini University Makumira. Similarly, in the academic year 2017/2018, the Karagwe Diocese sent two female students for ministerial training to Tumaini University Makumira. Personal

Same but Different?

As indicated above, the decision to introduce the BDF implied that all dioceses in the ELCT, at least in principle, would be able to send at least one student of theology to Makumira each year. Such a strategy, it was argued, would not only allocate the financial resources on more equal terms but more importantly would supply the ELCT across the country with academically well-trained pastors. Additionally, the two-for-one deal underlined what the LMC intended to achieve with its financial support. The number of women studying theology was far too few. Through its structures therefore, the LMC wanted to promote and encourage the dioceses to send more female students for ministerial training.

From a more general perspective, there is no doubt that the financial support from the LMC is crucial, both for the dioceses and for the institutions in charge of ministerial studies. The overwhelming majority of the students at the Faculty of Theology are sponsored by the LMC, and not by their respective dioceses, which clearly shows that the financial support is absolutely essential for the institution to maintain its leading role as the main provider of higher theological education. However, one has to remember that very few of the total number of students in training for the ordained ministry in the ELCT actually are educated at Makumira. In fact, with the present system most of the ministerial students would never qualify for theological studies there. So, what does the larger picture look like when it comes to the number of pastors in the ELCT and their theological schooling? At what academic level are they actually trained and what could be said about differences in this regard between the respective dioceses?

According to the statistics acquired from the ELCT Head office in Arusha, in July 2016 there were 1286 parishes divided into 131 church districts in the ELCT.²⁵⁹ In every church district there was a district pastor in charge of local parish pastors and evangelists. As shown below, there were in total 2214 ordained pastors working in the ELCT. Additionally, there were approximately 6400 evangelists working in the ELCT.²⁶⁰

communication with Ms Kornelia Kilian, LMC Secretary, LMC Secretariat in Arusha, Tanzania, April 14, 2018; Personal communication with Mr Sirieli Pallangyo, Administrative Officer, LMC Secretariat in Arusha, Tanzania, May 7, 2018; *LMC Manual 2016*, 162; *LMC Manual 2017*, 124; *LMC Manual 2018*, 127.

²⁵⁹ Personal communication with Rev. Lazaro Rohho, Deputy Secretary General of Mission and Evangelism in the ELCT, Arusha, July 24, 2016.

²⁶⁰ Personal communication with Mr Brighton Killewa, Secretary General of the ELCT, Arusha, March 26, 2016.

	NAME OF DIOCESE	NUMBER OF PASTORS	NUMBER OF DISTRICTS	NUMBER OF PARISHES	NUMBER OF CONGREGATIONS
1	CENTRAL DIOCESE (SINGIDA)	98	7	74	433
2	DIOCESE OF MERU (USA RIVER)	78	5	51	135
3	DIOCESE IN MARA REGION (MUSOMA)	21	4	12	110
4	DODOMA DIOCESE (DODOMA)	68	4	37	85
5	EASTERN AND COASTAL DIOCESE (DAR ES SALAAM)	138	6	84	151
6	EAST OF LAKE VICTORIA DIOCESE (MWANZA)	38	7	39	120
7	IRINGA DIOCESE (IRINGA)	268	7	102	886
8	KARAGWE DIOCESE (KARAGWE)	72	7	40	232
9	KONDE DIOCESE (TUKUYO)	142	7	82	328
10	LAKE TANGANYIKA DIOCESE (SUMBAWANGA)	19	2	15	60
11	MBULU DIOCESE (MBULU)	53	4	30	347
12	MOROGORO DIOCESE (MOROGORO)	54	5	47	175
13	NORTH-CENTRAL DIOCESE (ARUSHA)	90	5	70	779
14	NORTHERN DIOCESE (MOSHI)	338	5	165	445
15	NORTH-EASTERN DIOCESE (LUSHOTO)	54	4	49	589
16	NORTH-WESTERN DIOCESE (BUKOB)	108	9	49	271
17	PAPE DIOCESE (SAME)	103	4	50	218
18	RUVUMA DIOCESE (SONGEA)	13	4	12	45
19	SOUTH-CENTRAL DIOCESE (MAKETE)	101	7	64	119
20	SOUTHERN DIOCESE (NJOMBE)	185	8	86	n/a
21	SOUTH-EASTERN DIOCESE (MTWARA)	17	4	14	57
22	SOUTH EAST OF LAKE VICTORIA DIOCESE (SHINYANGA)	47	8	49	179
23	SOUTH-WESTERN DIOCESE (MATAMBA)	44	4	23	76
24	ULANGA KILOMBERO DIOCESE (IFAKARA)	45	4	21	103
	ELCT MISSION AREAS				
1	KIGOMA MISSION AREA	5	n/a	7	33
2	TABORA MISSION AREA	10	n/a	9	33
3	ZANZIBAR	5	n/a	5	3
	TOTAL	2 214	131	1 286	6 012

The table shows the number of ordained pastors, church districts, parishes, and congregations in each diocese of the ELCT as of July 2016. Since then two new dioceses have been established, namely the Mwanza Diocese in November 2016 (emerging from the Pare Diocese), and the West-Central Diocese in June 2018 (former Tabora Mission Area).

The number of pastors mentioned in the table above includes parish pastors as well as pastors working on the diocesan level, and at different ELCT institutions such as universities, colleges, schools, or hospitals.²⁶¹ Most likely even the retired pastors in the ELCT are included in these figures.²⁶²

One has to bear in mind that the number of pastors with a bachelor's degree compared to those with a lower level of theological education, such as a certificate or a diploma, differed significantly from one diocese to another. With its 347 pastors, the Northern Diocese was the single largest diocese in the ELCT in terms of pastors.²⁶³ Around half of them were diploma holders whereas the other half had at least a BD degree.²⁶⁴ That may be contrasted with the Konde Diocese in the southwestern part of the country with a much lower proportion of BD holders. As shown in the table above, there were a total of 144 ordained pastors in the Konde Diocese, of whom around two thirds were certificate holders or had qualified for ordination in other ways through crash courses or in-service courses.²⁶⁵ Similarly, out of the 138 ordained pastors in the Southern Diocese, about one third had a BD or higher.²⁶⁶ In a similar vein, there were 53 ordained pastors in the East of Lake Victoria Diocese in 2017, of which the overwhelming majority were certificate holders.²⁶⁷ At the end of 2017, the Karagwe Diocese, in the north-western part of the country, had 78 ordained pastors, of which two fifths had a bachelor's degree or higher.²⁶⁸ Among the relatively newly established dioceses in the ELCT is the South-

²⁶¹ Personal communication with Rev. Lazaro Rohho, Deputy Secretary General for Mission and Evangelism in the ELCT, Arusha, July 24, 2016.

²⁶² Informant E, 2016, 9; Personal communication with Rev. Anicet Maganya, General Secretary, Karagwe Diocese, December 21, 2017.

²⁶³ In total: 347 ordained pastors (252 male, 32 women, 63 retired). Personal communication with Mr Arthur Shoo, General Secretary, Northern Diocese, ELCT, November 22, 2016.

²⁶⁴ 173 pastors in Northern Diocese had a BD of which 56 pastors had a master's degree and another 11 pastors had a PhD. Personal communication with Mr Arthur Shoo, General Secretary, Northern Diocese, ELCT, November 22, 2016.

²⁶⁵ In total: 144 ordained pastors (92 male, 18 women, 34 retired) out of 17 were diploma holders, eight were bachelor's holders, 16 were master's holders, and four had a PhD. Personal communication with Rev. Ikupilika Moses Mwakisimba, General Secretary, Konde Diocese, ELCT, January 19, 2017.

²⁶⁶ In total: 138 ordained pastors (123 male, 15 women) out of 73 were certificate holders, 20 were diploma holders, two were postgraduate diploma holders, 23 were bachelor's holders, 15 were master's holders, and four were PhD holders. Personal communication with Bishop Isaya J. Mengele, Southern Diocese, ELCT, January 9, 2018.

²⁶⁷ In total: 53 ordained pastors out of 41 were certificate holders, four were diploma holders, five were bachelor's holders, and three were master's holders. Personal communication with Bishop Andrew P. Gulle, East of Lake Victoria Diocese, ELCT, September 27 and November 11, 2017.

²⁶⁸ In total: 78 ordained pastors (71 male, 7 women, 17 retired) out of three were educated in accordance with a 'Special programme', 29 were certificate holders, 14 were diploma holders, one was an advanced diploma holder, 16 were bachelor's holders, 12 were master's holders, and three were PhD holders. Personal communication with Rev. Anicet Maganya, General Secretary, Karagwe Diocese, December 21, 2017.

Eastern Diocese, with only 19 ordained pastors, of which 13 were certificate holders, four diploma holders, and two BD holders.²⁶⁹

It should be noted that the accuracy of the present figures regarding the number of parishes and co-workers in the ELCT is highly uncertain. As shown above, the data provided from the different dioceses showing the number of ordained pastors in the ELCT does not fully match the statistical figures acquired from the ELCT head office. The same goes for the statistics concerning the number of church members in the ELCT more broadly, which recently has been estimated to have 6.5 million members. Nevertheless, the data indicates that the 26 dioceses in the ELCT differed significantly in size when it comes to the number of church members, pastors, parishes, and districts, with clear implications for the involvement, challenges, and priorities in relation to theological education.

The fact that the number of church members has steadily grown over the years implies significant challenges in relation to higher theological education and pastoral training. Several informants drew attention to the challenges related to the recruitment process of pastors. As indicated above, it was not even possible for all the dioceses in the ELCT to send one student per year to Makumira who met the formal requirements. Reflecting upon the fact that it may be difficult for the ELCT to attract students leaving form six²⁷⁰ for higher theological studies, one of the interviewees explains:

/.../ many of them have seen that being trained as a theologian, it takes five years. You have finished your studies, you go to the field, the amount of money you get is very very little, compared to the education you have attained. /.../ When they compare the pay [salary] with the secular subjects which if they take them and get qualified they see that there is a very little pay in the religious studies, a very high pay in the secular world. Not only that, but, in the secular world the training is only three years. Then you get your degree. And you get employed.²⁷¹

In other words, why study theology for five years with the result of being poorly paid as a pastor when one might study for three years and end up with a job that is far better paid? Another informant pointed out that the number of theological students with degrees in other disciplines than theology, the so-called second careers, has decreased significantly in the last 30 years and, in his view, the church should further investigate what lies behind such a development.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ Personal communication with Bishop Lucas Mbedule, South-Eastern Diocese, ELCT, January 19, 2017.

²⁷⁰ In Tanzania the school cycle is as follows: Primary school (ages 7-13) lasts seven years, lower secondary school (ages 14-17) lasts four years, and upper secondary school (ages 18-19) lasts two years. The secondary education is split into ordinary and advanced level secondary education.

²⁷¹ Informant G, 2016, 4.

²⁷² Informant E, 2016, 23.

My informants wrestled with the issues related to the recruitment of Lutheran pastors. The fact that the ELCT rapidly continues to grow signals a strong need for more pastors in the near future and sustainable strategies for further theological education for those already ordained. So, how do the dioceses in need of pastors actually handle the situation given the fact that they face difficulties in recruiting theological students qualified enough to study at Makumira?

One way for the dioceses to manage to educate and ordain pastors is to upgrade the evangelists to pastors. As shown above, at present there are over 6000 evangelists serving the congregations in the ELCT. If needed, the local diocese could decide to send some of the more experienced and qualified evangelists for further studies. They may then join crash courses, training programmes, or other types of course for a few years before being ordained as pastors. Doing so would enable the dioceses to fill the gap of missing pastors and send them to the local congregations to administer the Word and Sacraments. At the same time, the fact that the pastors are trained at different academic levels paves the way for contestations and tensions among them. The issue of higher theological education is thus a sensitive topic that might cause rivalries, competition and a fight for power among the pastors. One of my informants commented upon the recent developments in a local diocese when pastors with a lower level of theological training approached their bishop claiming to be eligible for leadership positions in a similar way as those pastors who had achieved higher qualifications:

We can be chosen as bishops, we can be chosen district pastors, we can be chosen leaders of the church on different levels. Don't only look for BD holders or PhD holders or master's holders. Don't only look on education. Look on the wisdom of a person. Look on the leadership skills of a person. Don't take education as the maßstab [German word for a yardstick].²⁷³

Even the financial implications of this kind of power struggle were addressed among my informants. With higher education follows new demands for higher salaries and access to more attractive leadership positions in the church. The higher the level of academic degree the higher the salary the pastor will get, which further fuels the tensions between the rural and urban congregations or between the wealthier dioceses and those struggling with financial difficulties.

Moreover, as a result of the rapid church growth the number of dioceses has recently increased, either through a split of existing dioceses or through a process of transforming a mission area into a diocese.²⁷⁴ But as noted by God-

²⁷³ Informant X, 2016, 6.

²⁷⁴ In the last five years, 2013—2018, the ELCT established five new dioceses; South-East of Lake Victoria Diocese (2013), Ruvuma Diocese (2014), Lake Tanganyika Diocese (2014), Mwanga Diocese (2016), and West-Central Diocese (2018).

son S. Maanga, operating a diocese is a costly project both in terms of personnel and finances.²⁷⁵ It is against this background that one might argue that developments like these would further strengthen the crucial role of the LMC in relation to its support of theological education as well as to the set-up of a new infrastructure. In addition to the financial support given to the BD programme, the LMC financially supports the Car Vehicle Fund through which each ELCT unit receives a Land Cruiser on an agreed cycle of six years.²⁷⁶

Regionalisation and New Directions

The institutional developments in the ELCT related to theological education reflect what is at stake in the educational market in Tanzanian society in general. Like many other private actors in the country, the ELCT responded positively to the new policy of marketisation and privatisation of the field of higher education that was adopted in Tanzania and all across the African continent from the end of the 1990s onwards. The transformation of Tumaini University Makumira, from a theological seminary to a university college, and later into a fully-fledged university, impacted the informants' perceptions of theological studies. Moreover, these types of institutional changes implied that the discipline of Theology gained a wider academic recognition and higher academic status than before when compared and measured in relation to other disciplines. Studies in Theology could thus be pursued in a scholarly environment that benefitted from courses and programmes of different academic disciplines. The fact that the institution had gained the status of a university further implied new requirements for accreditation, quality assurance, and admission, with direct implications for the field of theological studies.

As shown already, the latter aspect, that of the formal requirements for the admission of students interested in higher theological education, became key. In other words, the new structures for higher learning implied challenges in terms of which students that might meet the qualifications needed to embark on theological studies at the bachelor's level and beyond. It was against this background that the interviewees reflected on alternative ways of educating pastors in the ELCT. There were students who were not qualified enough for higher theological studies at a university yet who were deliberately identified, encouraged, and endorsed by the local dioceses to engage in ministerial training. The situation with differing models of training was certainly not new in the ELCT. However, it was important, the informants argued, to pave the way for a sustainable system taking the needs of a broad range of theological studies seriously. So, when the ELCT decided to strengthen the ministerial training at a lower academic level and locate these courses and programmes in the three zonal colleges in Mwika, Kidugala, and Nyakato, the church confirmed

²⁷⁵ Maanga, "The Evangelical," 190.

²⁷⁶ *LMC Manual 2018*, 89.

a system that had been present for decades. One might argue that the ELCT applied the principles of liberalisation and privatisation of the educational market in general. The present system with three zonal colleges implied a pluralisation, differentiation, and regionalisation of theological education in the ELCT that aimed to provide the church with educated pastors.

In the light of how the interviewees described and talked about Makumira it becomes clear that the situation has changed significantly in the last two decades. The decision at the end of the 1990s not to offer theological education at certificate and diploma level any longer but to exclusively focus on the bachelor's level and beyond also changed the student body at Makumira. So, as a consequence of the university status, Makumira became an institution for a limited group of students that all had to meet the qualifications and standards required for university studies.

There is no doubt that for the interviewees much of what they said or thought about theological education was based on their profound memories from their own time at Makumira. At the same time, the fact that the majority of those currently in training for the ministry in the ELCT were studying at other places made them reflect on the present situation more closely. The stated axiom 'we have all studied theology at Makumira' thus had to be re-phrased in one way or the other. Developing existing institutions for ministerial training like Mwika and Kidugala or establishing a brand new institution like Nyakato were therefore aspects of a broader strategy in the ELCT. Their geographical location, serving the needs of the dioceses in the Northern, Southern, and Lake zones, should not be ignored in this regard. The informants did not describe this development in opposition to what had taken place at Makumira in the last 20 years but as something that was linked to the provision of ministerial training for the benefit of the whole church. Moreover, the various forms and levels of training were built upon an idea of progression and continuity. Ideally, students could first engage in theological studies at one of the zonal colleges in order to qualify for further studies, for instance at Tumaini University Makumira.

From a structural point of view, the different institutions were closely linked to one another. As shown earlier, both Tumaini University Makumira and the University of Iringa had a consultative and legitimising role to play in relation to the zonal colleges, not least in terms of curriculum development and validation of courses and programmes.²⁷⁷ The three zonal colleges should thus serve, each on its respective regional basis, the ELCT in its totality in educating pastors for the ordained ministry at a lower academic level.

These developments and changes at the regional level have recently even impacted the LMC that so far was primarily focusing on theological education

²⁷⁷ One of the most recent examples of this kind of collaboration between different institutions in the ELCT is related to the development of Lutheran Bible College Nyakato. Härkönen, *Narrative Report*, 2015; Lugaganya, *Narrative Report*, 2016; Härkönen, *Principal's Report*, 2015.

at Makumira. In 2014, the LMC decided to allocate 1.5 billion Tanzanian Shillings to a Theological Education Fund (TEF) specially designated for theological education at a lower academic level.²⁷⁸ Using the interest gained over the years, the LMC decided to financially support ministerial students joining any of the recognised zonal colleges in the ELCT.²⁷⁹ The idea is that the LMC, from the second half of 2018 onwards, administratively will handle the TEF in a similar way as the BDF.²⁸⁰

Still, as each diocese in the ELCT is a legal entity in its own right, it acts independently in accordance with its constitution. The present structure with autonomous dioceses being involved in recruiting, selecting and sponsoring students for the ordained ministry, makes possible alternative forms and models of ministerial training. The unifying educational system that the ELCT had agreed to encourage and prioritise is thus partly challenged by the educational initiatives in the local dioceses. It is evident that the dioceses handle the shortage of pastors by setting up local arrangements in addition to the programmes and courses offered at the recognised institutions. As each student is assessed individually, the local diocese can design the educational route according to its own criteria. In fact, the informants were often able to describe the routines and elaborate procedures related to ministerial training in their own dioceses but had no or limited knowledge of what actually took place in other dioceses close by. When circumstances allowed, i.e. when funding was secured and the formal requirements met, a local diocese could decide to send students for theological training for shorter or longer times in or outside Tanzania.

Moreover, the autonomy of the local dioceses in the ELCT also has implications for how they establish institutions for learning and teaching. In the previous chapter, we showed that the Iringa Diocese and the North-Eastern Diocese have established and developed universities. A more recent example is the Karagwe Diocese, which is in the process of establishing a university college as part of Tumaini University Makumira.

Yet another example with special bearing on theological education is the establishment of the Bishop Makala Training Centre in the South-East of Lake Victoria Diocese (SELVD). The diocese was inaugurated in 2013 and

²⁷⁸ *LMC Manual 2017*, 17. Though with identical abbreviations, it should be noted that the Theological Education Fund which was established by the LMC in 2014, must be distinguished from the aforementioned Theological Education Fund within the IMC/WCC from 1958-1977.

²⁷⁹ Through the Theological Education Fund, LMC supports theological training in the ELCT at the lower academic level. At the LMC Round Table meeting in 2015, it was announced that the LMC had set aside 1.5 billion Tanzanian Shillings in its budget in order to financially support ministerial training at any of the zonal colleges, such as Kidugala, Nyakato or Mwika. *LMC Manual 2016*, 37. At the LMC Round Table meeting in 2017, the issue was further discussed. The records show that the new educational initiative, sponsoring up to two students per year per diocese in the ELCT, was to be launched shortly. *LMC Manual 2018*, 16-17.

²⁸⁰ The first students fully funded by the TEF will commence their studies in October 2018. Personal communication with Bishop Isaya J. Mengele, Southern Diocese, ELCT, December 2, 2017; Personal communication with Rev. Obias Kilagwa, Principal of the Kidugala Lutheran Seminary – Theological section, March 27 and March 29, 2018.

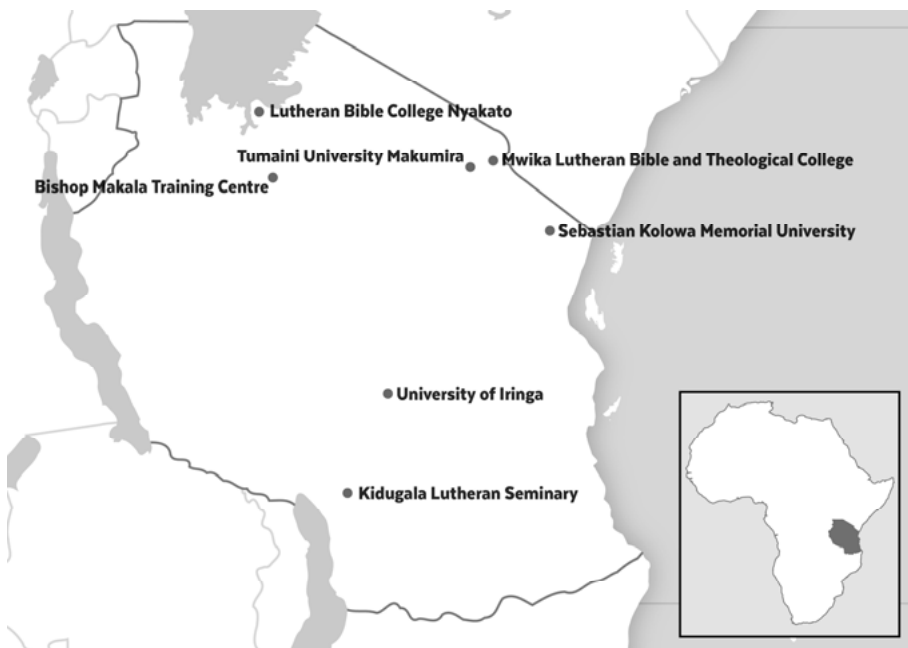
emerged from the East of Lake Victoria Diocese that was considered too big to serve its members adequately.²⁸¹ The shortage of ordained pastors in the newly established diocese was obvious. With substantial support from the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS) in the United States, the SELVD was able to establish an infrastructure for theological schooling in its own diocese.²⁸² Since its inception in 2013 onwards, the institution has offered a two-year training programme from which 38 students so far have graduated in order to serve as ordained pastors in the SELVD.²⁸³ Additionally, the institution is also in charge of special training courses for evangelists and deaconesses so that they can serve in congregations across the diocese.²⁸⁴ The fact that in 2016 the diocese had 47 pastors in total, indicates that many of the pastors ordained in the SELVD are theologically trained within the perimeters of the diocese.

²⁸¹ The consecration of the new bishop and inauguration of the South-East of Lake Victoria Diocese took place in Shinyanga on May 5, 2013. *ELCT Press Release*, No. 001/05/2013, <http://www.elct.org/news/2013.05.001.html> (accessed January 18, 2018).

²⁸² ‘Synod, Tanzania Lutherans Partner to Spread Gospel’, <https://blogs.lcms.org/2014/synod-tanzania-lutherans-partner-to-spread-gospel/> (accessed May 4, 2018).

²⁸³ The Bishop Makala Training Centre offers a two-year programme of ministerial studies. Its first cycle (2013—2015) had 21 students and the second cycle (2015—2017) had 17 students. The third cycle is ongoing (2017—2019) and presently has 10 students participating. Personal communication with Mr Bob Allen, coordinator of the LCMS, Mid-South District, January 15, 2018; Personal communication with Ms Happiness Yoram Gefi, General Secretary in South-East of Lake Victoria Diocese, ELCT, April 12, 2018. See also: ‘First Graduations Take Place at LCMS-Supported Tanzania Center’, <https://blogs.lcms.org/2015/first-graduations-take-place-at-lcms-supported-tanzania-center> (accessed May 4, 2018) and ‘Pastoral Training in the Southeast of Lake Victoria Diocese’, <https://mid-southlcms.org/pastoral-training-in-the-southeast-of-lake-victoria-diocese/> (accessed May 7, 2018).

²⁸⁴ Personal communication with Mr Bob Allen, coordinator of the LCMS, Mid-South District, January 18, 2018; Personal communication with Ms Happiness Yoram Gefi, General Secretary, South-East of Lake Victoria Diocese, ELCT, April 12, 2018.



The major institutions for theological education in the ELCT, as of October 2018. The map also shows the location of Bishop Makala Training Centre in the SELVD.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has focused on some of the structural and financial aspects related to theological education in the ELCT. It shows that the church, nationally as well as regionally, cooperates and works broadly when dealing with its diverse educational initiatives linked to ministerial formation. Through the TCU the institutions seek societal and academic recognition. The great shortage of ordained pastors in the ELCT is of great concern and an issue around which the different dioceses strategise and mobilise in various ways. The complex issue implies cooperation across the diocesan borders as well as with partners abroad. The LMC plays a pivotal role in this regard and its members are eager to further strengthen the structural and financial capacity of the ELCT to enable the church to offer theological education, on various academic levels, across the country.

The LMC sets out strategic goals when financially supporting ministerial training at Makumira as well as at the zonal colleges in Kidugala, Nyakato, and Mwika. On the one hand, the present system enables each diocese to send at least one student per year for theological training to Makumira, and from the second half of 2018 onwards even to the zonal colleges. On the other hand, it shows that providing theological education is a costly business which individual dioceses in the ELCT cannot manage on their own, at least not if the

principle of sharing the financial resources on equal terms would remain intact. Certainly, that is not to say that some of the dioceses would not be able to send students for theological studies at their own expense but those dioceses with limited financial resources would have difficulty in doing this. Having that said, as each diocese acts autonomously and makes decisions in its own right, the situation makes possible a broad range of bilateral arrangements with churches and missionary organisations in the global North. Through such links, the dioceses get funding and support for individual students as well as for their institutions and projects connected to ministerial training.

The fact that the number of institutions providing Lutheran ministerial training has grown over the last 20 years raises new questions. To what extent does the decentralised educational system actually harmonise with the idea of promoting structural and theological unity in the ELCT that so many of my informants found crucial? There is no doubt that the interviewees eagerly advocate higher theological education, on bachelor's level and beyond, as a strong educational and intellectual ideal. They encourage students to embark on theological studies or already ordained pastors to continue studying at a more advanced academic level. It is against this background that the interviewees also defend the role of institutions for higher theological education in general.

However, given the fact that the demands for more pastors continue to increase in the ELCT, in combination with the fact that the financial resources from external actors are decreasing, several of the informants started to develop practical and pragmatic arguments. For several of them, it was a well-known fact that it was both cheaper and quicker to educate students for the ordained ministry at a lower academic level than to send them to institutions for higher learning. The newly launched initiative of the LMC to financially support even theological education at the zonal colleges, and not only the BD programme at Makumria, may strengthen a policy of sharing the resources for the common good, i.e. training pastors for the ordained ministry in the ELCT.

But the decentralisation has also paved the way for contestations and challenges between the dioceses within the ELCT. The example from the SELVD sketched above, clearly shows the complexity of the whole issue. On the one hand it illustrates the tremendous growth and development within the field of ministerial training on a diocesan level. Based on its influential bilateral links with a Lutheran church abroad, the SELVD is able to be a strong local player in the field of theological education and is thereby effectively providing the diocese with new pastors. In fact the majority of the pastors in the SELVD are currently educated within an institution in the diocese in accordance with locally designed curricula, courses, and programmes. On the other hand, what takes place in the SELVD raises a number of critical questions, which may be applicable not only to the situation in the SELVD per se but to the dioceses in the ELCT in general, and how the ELCT negotiates the discourse of theological education on a more principled level.

First, the correlation and balance between the regional and national initiatives, concerns, and priorities is crucial. The example from the SELVD shows that a local diocese selects, trains, and educates students for the ordained ministry at an institution governed and run by the diocese itself. At the same time, the SELVD is also sending students for ministerial training to Tumaini University Makumira and other institutions for theological education in the ELCT. As noted in this chapter, one significant factor behind the LMC decision to financially support institutions like Makumira and the zonal colleges was that all dioceses in the ELCT could benefit from the scholarships on equal terms. Moreover, it was equally important that the courses provided at these institutions were of a similar standard and scope in order for the students to qualify for ordination all across the country. In other words, the existence of multitude of institutions for theological training is not as problematic as the differing standards and lengths of the programmes and courses as such. In principle, nothing hindered a local diocese from establishing and run an institution for theological education of its own but how such an initiative would correspond to commonly agreed principles on the actual quality and content of courses and programmes remained unanswered.

Second, the relationship between institutional autonomy and financial dependency comes to the fore. Several of the informants argue that the institutional autonomy of the local diocese is crucial, not least when it comes to agency, local ownership, or initiating projects. At the same time, they admit that the financial support from partners abroad is an important prerequisite when establishing and running institutions for ministerial training or when sending students to theological studies. According to the LMC records for 2015–2018, which are based on data provided by the dioceses in the ELCT, the SELVD projected a significant amount of money in its budget for 2015 to develop and run the Bishop Makala Training Centre.²⁸⁵ The two-year programme of ministerial studies offered at that institution was part of the Global Seminary Initiative of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.²⁸⁶ In partnership with Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana and the Mid-South District of the LCMS, the SELVD was enabled to implement its educational programmes for pastors, evangelists, and deaconesses on the diocesan level. In a similar vein, the curriculum was developed by Concordia Theological Seminary in cooperation the SELVD. Also the teaching was carried out

²⁸⁵ The 2015 programme budget of the SELVD regarding Bishop Makala Training Centre shows that the diocese projected 2 256 795 000 Tanzanian Shillings (990 210 US Dollars) from overseas. The equivalent figures for 2016: 260 000 000 Tanzanian Shillings (114 000 US Dollars), for 2017: 286 000 000 Tanzanian Shillings (125 500 US Dollars), and for 2018: 300 000 000 Tanzanian Shillings (131 600 USD). *LMC Manual 2015*, 115; *LMC Manual 2016*, 127; *LMC Manual 2017*, 114; *LMC Manual 2018*, 116.

²⁸⁶ ‘Synod, Tanzania Lutherans Partner to Spread Gospel’, <https://blogs.lcms.org/2014/synod-tanzania-lutherans-partner-to-spread-gospel/> (accessed June 1, 2018); Personal communication with Mr Bob Allen, coordinator of the LCMS, Mid-South District, January 15, 2018.

as a joint effort, with resources available both from the United States and Tanzania. Bishop Emmanuel Makala himself, together with two pastors from the diocese, actively took part in the teaching assignments at the institution.²⁸⁷

Third, the establishment of transnational partnerships. The financial support from donors abroad gives rise to critical remarks and reflections among the interviewees about how global partnerships were to be established and played out in the localities. On what terms and with what aims in mind would the dioceses in the ELCT be engaged in various church relations? One of the informants shows what is at stake when stating:

[W]e have to live with people of different perceptions but [at the same time] have our own stand. Now when it comes to Missouri Synod, we do not hate them ... they are Christians like we, we do not hate you [Church of Sweden], you are Christians like we but please when we relate to one another don't try to convince me to be like you. ... I will remain ELCT, they will remain Missouri Synod, you will remain Church of Sweden, even though we have a common goal to preach the Gospel but don't bring strings attached to what you are giving me to support in my work.²⁸⁸

Establishing partnerships with diverse churches or missionary organisations abroad is something that the informants highly value and want to develop further. At the same time, it was important for them not to have other churches' interests and agendas imposed on them. As illustrated above, the ELCT wants to speak in its own right and be respected for its decisions and standpoints that do not always coincide with the convictions of its many partners. Two churches with which the ELCT is cooperating in the field of theological education are explicitly mentioned; the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod and the Church of Sweden. These churches differ significantly in relation to one another as well as to the ELCT on two issues in particular; the ordination of women and same-sex marriages. While the LCMS opposes the ordination of women, as well as same-sex marriages, the Church of Sweden approves both. The ELCT approves the ordination of women but opposes same-sex marriages.

Seen from a broader perspective, the complexities referred to above draw attention to how the ELCT is relating to its many global partners and how it builds its many transnational links and networks. With what actors should or could the ELCT be aligned when it comes to the field of ministerial training?

²⁸⁷ Bishop Emmanuel Makala and two other pastors from the diocese had, prior to their teaching assignments at the Bishop Makala Training Centre, undertaken further studies at Concordia Theological Seminary in the USA. *ELCT Press Release*, No. 001/05/2013, <http://www.elct.org/news/2013.05.001.html> (accessed June 1, 2018); 'Synod, Tanzania Lutherans Partner to Spread Gospel', <https://blogs.lcms.org/2014/synod-tanzania-lutherans-partner-to-spread-gospel/> (accessed June 1, 2018); Personal communication with Rev. Pekka Härkönen, FELM Regional Director (Eastern Africa), Arusha, Tanzania, December 13, 2017.

²⁸⁸ Informant G, 2017, 4.

We have already seen how many of the initiatives linked to theological education in the ELCT are built around broad and global alliances with actors coming from different churches, missionary organisations, and academic institutions across the globe. As far as the church-related bodies are concerned, most of them are either formal members or closely connected to the LMC and to the LWF. The fact that the LCMS neither is part of these multilateral Lutheran forums nor actively supports their joint educational efforts in the ELCT may explain why the bilateral link between the SELVD and the LCMS gives rise to internal debates and critical remarks among some of the informants. One of the interviewees comments on the implications of such a bilateral link, not least as regards the issue of the ordination of women:

They [the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod] are not accepting women's ordination. And the diocese [the South-East of Lake Victoria Diocese] is not accepting women's ordination. So the ELCT may not force them because if they ordain the first woman is the first day the relationship is going to break. And all the economic support from the sisters and brothers in USA will collapse. So it will not be possible to run the diocese. So maybe it is less evil to sacrifice these women, by saying 'No, we will not ordain you [the women] so that we get support'.²⁸⁹

In other words, the informants are explicitly concerned about being influenced from abroad with teachings and practices that they do not accept and embrace. At the same time, they are well aware of the financial implications of these global links and the importance these resources actually have in the life of the church. The situation in the SELVD, with its strong bilateral agreement related to theological education, also highlights the ongoing contestations within the ELCT in general. As noted in this chapter, joint educational efforts across the diocesan borders exist side by side with initiatives administrated and run in the local dioceses, which do not necessarily correspond with the commonly agreed agenda for ministerial training in the church. Furthermore, the fact that the field of theological education in the ELCT is still highly dependent on external funding and support from partners abroad makes the whole structure vulnerable. The informants are critical, even bothered, when commenting upon the present situation that, in their view, indicates that the ELCT risks falling apart.

²⁸⁹ Informant H, 2017, 11.

6. Chapel as Space for Lutheran Formation

This chapter focuses the role of the chapel in the academic activities related to theological training at Makumira. It argues that the chapel is an important identity marker for many of the informants when they reflect on theological education and how they understand ministerial formation in the ELCT. The very existence of a chapel on the university compound and the activities that take place therein symbolise, express, and underline crucial aspects of its function and impact on Christian formation at and around the university. At the same time, the university chapel clearly points beyond these spatial, social, and pastoral boundaries. The chapter thus shows how, why and by what means theological training is played out and practised in relation to the theological students and their future ministry in the ELCT. In the following, the term ‘chapel’ thus refers to a space for personal and communal devotion, teaching, liturgical practices, as well as for gatherings and meetings.

The chapel, as a place for worship and a classroom for pastoral and liturgical practices, might be seen as a significant means of government when promoting spiritual discipline among the students and fostering a Christian community. The informants intended to achieve specific ends with their engagements in higher theological training; the making and formation of Lutheran pastors. Their way of arguing, promoting and dealing with ministerial training is based on specific forms of knowledge or expertise, and played out with the help of techniques and instruments. Together they serve a higher purpose, namely to shape and re-shape desired subjects in a certain direction.

In my informants’ view, the formation of a Lutheran pastor had to be structured in accordance with what they believed characterised a solid Christian teaching, which effectively was to be practised, lived and played out in the chapel. Again, the chapel may be seen as a crucial instrument when governing the theology students in a certain direction, underpinning a formative process based on certain forms of knowledge, strategies, and techniques. In the following, we will focus on such regimes of practices of government and the way they are interconnected in relation to the role of the chapel in theological training.

The Congregation and the Chapel

One section in the Prospectus of Tumaini University Makumira underlines that there is a Lutheran congregation on the university compound which has the intention of proclaiming the gospel in words and deeds, thereby serving the whole community. The document states that one of the objectives of the congregation is to “provide the TUMA community with opportunity to know Jesus as their Saviour, through the Word of God and the Sacraments” and to “encourage relationship, faith, love, hope and service”.²⁹⁰ Moreover, it states that the spiritual life of the community is of great importance for the congregation.

The chapel, located on the campus, has a multi-faceted role through its worship services and gatherings. There are three choirs, all with different musical genres and repertoires, which actively take part in the life of the congregation. In addition to the main Sunday worship, the congregation meets for morning devotion on a daily basis Monday to Saturday, as well as for Bible studies and fellowships on Wednesday evenings and Sunday afternoons. Students and staff, including their families, are encouraged to join any of these gatherings. For the theology students and the members of the Faculty of Theology, it is mandatory to attend the morning devotion at 7.30 am on weekdays as well as the Sunday worship.

The university chaplain has a pivotal role to play in relation to the chapel and its pastoral functions, not merely organising services and gatherings but offering pastoral counselling, confirmation classes, personal consultation and advice. The Prospectus indicates that the chaplain is appointed by the Vice-Chancellor of the university among the ordained Lutheran clergy in the Faculty of Theology to be the “chief officer of the congregation”.²⁹¹ Among other things, he or she is assigned to monitor and supervise the teaching in the congregation “so that it is compatible with the foundation of faith”.²⁹² Moreover, the document signals the denominational identity of the congregation. It is Lutheran in nature and character, and marked by a wider ecumenical concern as well as an awareness of the multi-religious needs of the student body in general. The ecumenical feature of the congregation is particularly expressed in the ways the students organise themselves through the University Students’ Christian Fellowship (USCF), taking responsibility for gatherings in the chapel.²⁹³ In dialogue with the chaplain, the USCF invites speakers to the gatherings in the chapel on Sunday afternoons and Wednesday evenings. These fellowships are not necessarily led by an ordained pastor but by people of differing academic or denominational affiliations, who are asked to address topics such as family law, speaking in tongues, or the resurrection of Christ to mention just a few.

²⁹⁰ *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 6.

²⁹¹ *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 7.

²⁹² *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 7.

²⁹³ *Prospectus 2015-2018*, Tumaini University Makumira, 7.

The chapel is important for the university in its mission to be a Christ-centred institution for higher education. Its symbolic function, being an identity marker for the university in general, should not be underestimated. Tumaini University Makumira is one of several private Christian universities in the country, and has the ambition to serve the society more broadly. It is of importance for the institution to continue to strategically promote, support, and encourage a student body that is socially, culturally, and religiously diverse. The task of the Christian congregation, under the leadership of its chaplain, is clearly to gather and serve the community of students and staff including their families, regardless of their religious affiliation, or social or cultural background.

The primary idea of a chapel at the university campus is thus to serve the spiritual needs of the whole academic community, individually as well as communally. More specifically, however, the idea of a chapel as a crucial place for theological formation, comes to the fore when my informants try to describe and exemplify what ministerial training is about. The fact that the congregational life of the university with its diverse student body reflects, at least in part, the features and conditions of a Lutheran community elsewhere in the country makes the various duties in the chapel even more relevant for the students to encounter.

As such, the chapel points towards the overarching objective of theological education: to train pastors for Christian ministry and mission in a local congregation. So, leading worship in the chapel, being trained and shaped in that particular milieu, is loaded with a multi-layered purpose, namely to serve the community at the university campus and help the students fulfil their pastoral and practical assignments. With that in mind, the informants reflected upon the role of a Lutheran pastor, what kind of training is needed for the theological students to be able to serve in the localities, and on what grounds they have to be guided in a certain direction in and through the educational tasks of the university.

Learning through Practice

One has to bear in mind that my informants, when commenting upon the role of the chapel in theological training, situated what takes place therein with the wider purpose of higher theological education in mind. To deliver a sermon or to lead prayers there does not take place in a vacuum but is always related to the bigger picture of what it means to be a Lutheran pastor in Tanzania.

As discussed earlier, many of the informants pointed out that the concept of calling is always linked to and nurtured in a local congregation and that it therefore has to be analysed in the light of the congregational context. The matters the students formally started to explore in the vetting process on the diocesan level, such as being confronted with detailed questions on their personal calling to the priesthood, their engagement in a local congregation, and their motives for embarking the pastoral ministry, are further elaborated upon

while being students at Makumira. Their commitment and loyalty to the church are further tested during their training at the university. That applies to all theology students regardless of whether they are ordained or not. During their training they must all attend the morning devotion in the chapel and shoulder pastoral responsibility. This is considered an important part of the discipline at Makumira, the interviewees explained. In several ways they are expected to show, for themselves, their peers, the teachers and authorities of the university, and implicitly also to the diocesan level, that they take their theological training seriously and that they are dedicated to Christian ministry.

It is against this background that my informants pointed out that the theology students, as part of their training and ministerial formation, are obliged to take responsibility for leading the morning devotion in the chapel. Practical, theoretical, and emotional aspects of the training are thus moulded and tightly knit together. The individual preparations before worship, the liturgical action in the chapel, including the feedback from their peers and teachers are important components of the students' theological schooling.

Leading worship in the chapel is important, the interviewees argued, for the students to be adequately prepared for their internship in a local congregation during their fourth year of training as well as for the ministerial duties that await them after ordination. The students are here to learn, one of the informants explained, in order to be able to act as well as possible in their ministry.²⁹⁴

All aspects of the students' educational assignments – the way they sing and perform the liturgy, lead prayers or deliver a sermon, how they move and act in front of the altar, using the pulpit, or how to speak loud enough for the message to reach the audience – are supervised, assessed and examined by the teachers. The fact that the students, particularly when leading worship, are under supervision again shows the multi-layered function of the chapel; a place for teaching and learning and simultaneously a space for personal devotion.

Throughout the academic year, the chaplain provides the students with instructions on when and how to lead the morning devotion in the chapel. After completing two years of fulltime studies at Makumira, the BD students are qualified enough, I was told, to lead services in the chapel and deliver a sermon.²⁹⁵ From their third year of training onwards, the master's students included, they are requested to preach and lead the worship in the chapel on a more regular basis. By then they have undergone introductory courses on biblical studies, homiletics, ministry, and worship to mention just a few.²⁹⁶

The morning devotion from Monday to Saturday is held in Swahili, except for Wednesdays when English is used. The sermon that the students are supposed to deliver must be based upon given biblical texts according to the

²⁹⁴ Informant, H, 2017, 3.

²⁹⁵ Informant, A, 2016, 6.

²⁹⁶ For an overview of the courses of the BD Programme, see the Appendix.

church calendar of that particular day.²⁹⁷ As part of the liturgy they have to choose one or two hymns that are supposed to be in line with the overarching theme of the text and that include some of the main ideas in the sermon delivered. As shown, the expectation that the ministerial students will participate in the daily gatherings in the chapel has practical, theological, and pastoral grounds. One of the informants explained that these aspects often overlap and complement one another. The students, he argued, have to practice, integrate, and implement what they have studied in the classroom.

In the chapel, it is a question of learning by doing in order to become 'independent', one of the informants argued. It is through their mistakes that they may be corrected, guided and given a chance to do the exercise again. One aspect of what it might mean to undergo theological training is to learn through pastoral practice in a setting that may be similar to the congregational milieu outside the campus. One of the informants compared the situation of leading worship in the chapel with a consultation with a doctor in order to get adequate treatment. It is a good sign, my informant seemed to indicate, if the patient in need of help admits that he is sick, without pretending otherwise when seeing the doctor at the clinic. Only if that occurs is it possible for the doctor to give a correct diagnosis. So, for the students, leading worship in chapel means to be exposed to practical, theological, and pastoral challenges similar to those in a local congregation.

The Educational Task

One of my informants pointed out that theological education has to provide the students with tools for further reflection, which he argues is an area in great need of further attention and improvements. He explained:

I would say around 90% [of the theological students] are not used to reflect, not used to reflect on them individually, and not able to scrutinise. They take every information as given as truth. So, I am coming to the point of teaching them on how to reflect on their own.²⁹⁸

Concerning the academic activities related to the chapel, these primarily concern giving constructive feedback to the students in charge of leading worship. The chaplain has a pivotal role in this regard but is often accompanied by other faculty members as well when giving the students comments. The feedback to the students is usually delivered individually in dialogue with the particular student. Sometimes, however, it is necessary for the informants to intervene more publicly, for instance in close connection to the worship service in the chapel.

²⁹⁷ All information needed is found in the ELCT Kalenda that is published every year. *Kalenda 2017. Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania*. Arusha, 2017.

²⁹⁸ Informant J, 2017, 4.

My informants indicated that the reasons to take action upon what has been expressed or done in chapel during worship are highly dependent on the character of the matter. In particular, the doctrinal aspects here come to the fore. One informant pointed out that from time to time he meets with the student in charge straight after the morning devotion in the chapel, in order to correct him or her about what was said from the pulpit the same morning:

... when it comes to the point of salvation in justification they [the students] like to talk about money matters. So sometimes, I have to go to the sacristy and say 'You cannot buy a place in heaven' this is not our theology. /.../ I take them aside and I did it quite often right now. /.../ What I do is I let them on their own compare their knowledge or their preaching with the theology they are confronted with in my lesson. And then I ask: what did you learn, what is the tradition and what do you think could be the Lutheran way?²⁹⁹

If we do not intervene, another informant argued, the message of a sermon may cause confusion and tensions among the students that also might be highly problematic for them as pastors in the future. In this particular situation therefore the students are in need of correction and further guidance, he argued. The informant explained:

Let's say if someone stand up and say 'According to this text I see that women ordination is against the will of God. Even Paul a, b, c, d is against women and therefore women must remain silent. And then he say AMEN.' I mean, since we have accepted women ordination I would not allow the congregants go with that image because they will be confused. /.../ So I would correct [the student delivering the message] saying that he said what Paul said, but in Paul's context; he didn't say what it means today in our contexts.³⁰⁰

The example above illustrates when, how, and why it is necessary for one of the lecturers to intervene. Leading the morning devotion in the chapel implies that what actually is said or taught from the pulpit has to be in line with the teaching of the church in general. So, when standing in the pulpit the students are requested to speak and preach on behalf of the church and be loyal to its teaching. As already noted, that is clearly put forward in the Prospectus of the university and it applies to both students and faculty who are assigned to lead a worship service in the chapel.

Given the fact that the ELCT has ordained women pastors since 1991 this kind of textual interpretation of a certain biblical text would contradict an accepted, though yet questioned, practice in the church for the last 25 years. The fact that not all dioceses in the ELCT ordain women to the priesthood, did not seem to impact or challenge the informants' view when reflecting upon the

²⁹⁹ Informant Ä, 2017, 8-9.

³⁰⁰ Informant Z, 2017, 3-4.

role of Makumira and its teaching. Rather the opposite, it seemed. It was the official position of the ELCT that should guide and reflect the actual teaching.

The narrative of the preaching student in the chapel and its imagined implications for how to instruct and re-direct the theology students is interesting as it resonates with the historical legacy and the crucial role of Makumira in relation to the issue of the ordination of women in the ELCT. As recently shown elsewhere, Hance Mwakabana, Principal at Makumira 1984–1992 and later Bishop in the ELCT, was instrumental in advocating the ordination of women from the end of the 1980s onwards.³⁰¹ At that time, the issue of the ordination of women was part of a wider conversation that had gone on for nearly a decade focusing on the role of women in the ELCT in general and the possibilities for them to be part of the decision-making bodies in the church specifically.³⁰² Clearly, when Mwakabana in 1989 published his article “The issue of women to become pastors”, which he also presented to the bishops in the ELCT, he paved the way for a theological position that later would be approved by the highest decision-making body of the ELCT: the Assembly.³⁰³ The first diocese to implement the decision was the Iringa Diocese, southern Tanzania, where the first woman was ordained as a Lutheran pastor in January 1991.³⁰⁴

Reading the informant’s example in the light of the historical perspective allows a broader view on the role of Makumira in the ELCT and its impact on theological education. As already noted, it was important for my informants to point out that the teaching provided at Makumira ought to be in tune with the current position on the ordination of women in the ELCT. Furthermore, the way they depict Makumira as the main provider of higher theological education in the ELCT, shows that they consider Makumira to have a central and legitimising role in the church in general. The example provided above harmonises well with the wider theological discourse, which has been nurtured, elaborated and promoted at Makumira for decades. As such, it signals continuity with the past when Makumira, through its Principal, was highly instrumental in advocating the ordination of women in the ELCT. Such a position, it seemed, is still relevant and important for many of my informants to implicitly argue and defend.³⁰⁵

³⁰¹ Lyimo-Mbowe, *Feminist Expositions*, 106-115; Moshi, “Stretching the Drum,” 240-242; Lundström, *Mission i omvandling*, 221-223.

³⁰² Lugazia, “Evangelical Lutheran Church,” 200-203; Lyimo-Mbowe, *Feminist Expositions*, 101-106; Mbowe, “Evangelical Lutheran Church,” 204-209.

³⁰³ Mwakabana, “Suala la Wanawake,”. The official position in the ELCT to approve the ordination of women was taken at the 12th Assembly of the ELCT, held in Morogoro in 1990, which in turn was a decision that had to be approved and implemented in each diocese of the ELCT respectively. Lyimo-Mbowe, *Feminist Expositions*, 101-106.

³⁰⁴ The ordination service in the Iringa Diocese in 1991 was closely followed by similar events in the North-Eastern Diocese (three pastors), in the Northern Diocese (five pastors), and in the Konde Diocese (three pastors) the same year. See Lyimo-Mbowe, *Feminist Expositions*, 103-104.

³⁰⁵ In August 2016 the ELCT was celebrating its 25th Anniversary of the ordination of women. The press release published on the official ELCT webpage in relation to the celebrations stated

So, coming back to the chapel, the preaching student and to the teacher that had to intervene. What the student was missing in his sermon, the informant explained, was the application of the biblical message in relation to the particular time and context being a Lutheran in Tanzania today. He clarified: “I may stand up there after the service before they are dismissed and say: what he [the student] said is not our tradition so please don’t take it.”³⁰⁶ Seen from a wider perspective, the example reflects implicitly the informant’s view on ministerial formation and what it means to be a theological educator in relation to the teaching and practices of a particular church. So, for my interviewees it was of importance that higher theological training at Makumira harmonises with the teaching and practices of the ELCT.

Clearly, the students are obliged to lead services in the chapel on a regular basis in order to prepare themselves for their future pastoral ministries. Some of the students were more experienced than others, particularly those who were ordained before embarking on higher studies at Makumira. Nevertheless, they were all under supervision, undergoing further training and active assessment. The metaphor of the chapel as a medical clinic – a zone for advice, consultation, diagnosis, and adequate treatment – indicates, the informants claimed, the importance of learning through practice. Moreover, it was important to have an allowing and open attitude in regard to various mistakes or shortcomings experienced along the way. At the same time, the asymmetrical power relations between doctor/patient or teacher/student imply that the experts are in charge of the process and that their words and actions guide and direct the way forward in accordance with certain regulations and ideals.

Not all problematic issues caused the teachers to intervene publicly in front of the congregation. However, the students’ (con-)textual interpretation and application of biblical texts, or the conclusions and claims embedded in their sermons, often gave rise to further conversations. Such issues were not explicitly in opposition to ‘the doctrine’ or ‘Lutheran tradition’ *per se*. The preacher, one informant explained, may have deviated from the text and its intentions, but his or her interpretations or applications were not of the kind that were “destroying our faith”.³⁰⁷ In those cases, the student may be taken aside afterwards in order to reflect upon the mistakes made in the pulpit in order to modify and correct them. When I asked for an example of such an issue, the informant confronted me with the narrative from the Gospel of John where the author speaks about ‘having life in abundance’ (John 10:10). In the sermon, the student may then emphasise:

... that we should be spiritually enriched, that we should be strong spiritually, if we have a life in abundance we could cast out demons and they [will] obey.

that two of the dioceses in the ELCT, the Diocese in Mara region and Mbulu Diocese, had not yet ordained any women pastors. ELCT Press Release, No. 002/08/2016, <http://www.elct.org/newsindex.html> (accessed May 10, 2017).

³⁰⁶ Informant H, 2017, 3.

³⁰⁷ Informant H, 2017, 4.

If we have a life in abundance we can say even these witchcrafts ... cannot do anything to us.³⁰⁸

According to the informant, such a sermon was not necessarily theologically unsound, but it was definitely in need of modification and clarification. Therefore, to preach on such a text requires the student to present a 'wider' view on the issue that also includes 'physical' or 'horizontal' aspects of the message. In other words, giving feedback in this case implies, among other things, to reflect more thoroughly on the importance of keeping the spiritual and physical aspects of the message together in one comprehensive unit. In their capacity as theological educators it was a question of safeguarding and promoting a sound theology.

Another informant, commenting upon his role as a theological educator in relation to what happens in the chapel, explained:

I am the first person to call the student, sit with him or her, and then discuss, hear the student and help the student to see where he was wrong and where I thought he did not do well. /.../ We sit together. We read that word [the reading from the Bible] again and we re-plan the sermon together. I want to see what he did, why he did what he did, why is [he] not keeping the format of what the teacher taught in the class. And then we need to review together. And I will help the student if there is a serious problem. I'll need to find it out and to see the way we can solve the problem.³⁰⁹

Several of the informants thus expected their students to be thoroughly rooted in, and well acquainted with Lutheran tradition. Such formative aspects of the education could, as we have seen, be found in and through the students' participation in the worship life in the chapel. I was told that those students who already were ordained pastors went to different parishes outside the university campus area to preach on Sundays. However, due to the diverse ecclesiastical terrain in the local parishes, the same students were also encouraged to participate in the worship in the university chapel from time to time. One of the informants gave these groups of students careful instructions:

[A]lthough you are pastors, make sure you are spending one Sunday here in the university. Why? Because, you'll see the way we are expecting a Lutheran pastor to preach, to lead a liturgy, and when you're spending much time outside in Lutheran congregations, sometimes there are those congregations that have adapted some other things, and we are thinking by being here this pastor will come back again to our track as Lutherans.³¹⁰

According to my informants, the Lutheran worship in the university chapel was meant to provide a good example of a Lutheran service. It was referred to

³⁰⁸ Informant H, 2017, 4.

³⁰⁹ Informant B, 2016, 12-13.

³¹⁰ Informant Y, 2016, 10.

as a norm, even a corrective, to what might be seen and experienced in local parishes outside the campus area. If any of the pastors went astray while preaching in the localities, he or she would be offered a way back to normality regarding how Lutheran worship was supposed to be conducted. Again, the interviewees seemed to be well aware of what the students may encounter outside the campus. They were therefore eager to provide them with a supplementary arena in terms of a university chapel with clear Lutheran ideals.

Chapel as Classroom

As shown, the chapel at Makumira is a place for worship, choir practice, Bible studies, student gatherings, major lectures or conferences, and ministerial schooling. The latter in particular indicates that it might even be seen as a classroom, an actual space for theological reflection, pastoral formation and liturgical practice. As such, the chapel represents the congregational milieu for which the theological students are trained to serve in the future. The interplay between worship and doctrine, and the links between the academic environment on the one hand and the pastoral challenges in a local congregation on the other, were some of the issues that came to the fore when the students were practically trained in the chapel.

One example of such a course was the Worship Course of the BD programme offered during the programme's second year.³¹¹ What follows below is an analysis of this course showing how the informants argued and reflected on what government entails. The course aimed to qualify the students for their ministerial duties in the chapel from their third year of training onwards. More importantly, however, the course would educate and empower them to lead Christian worship in accordance with the common standards of the ELCT. Throughout the 14-week-long semester, the students met on a weekly basis for a three-hour class. With its focus on Lutheran worship, the course aimed to provide the students with a theoretical framework as well as with practical hands-on training. The course description indicates what was at stake:

A study of the history, theology, and practice of worship and its contemporary expressions. The course will outline the structure and form of liturgy, and give students the opportunity to plan and lead worship in the chapel setting.³¹²

The course was an introduction to Christian worship in a Lutheran context, from various angles and perspectives. It focused on the biblical and historical

³¹¹ According to the Prospectus of TUMA 2015-2018, the Worship Course (PT 200 Worship) was scheduled for the second year of the BD programme. See the Appendix. Special thanks go to Rev. Tim Sonnenberg, an ordained Lutheran pastor from the USA (ELCA) who worked as a Global Mission Volunteer (four months a year) at Makumira in 2012-2017, for providing me with copies of hand-outs and articles related to the course. As a lecturer at Makumira, Rev. Sonnenberg was in charge of the Worship Course between 2012/13-2016/17.

³¹² Tumaini University Makumira, *Course Outline, Worship PT 200*.

foundations for worship, the structure and order of Lutheran liturgy, the using of a Lectionary and relating to various seasons of the Church Year. Moreover, in dialogue with the reference literature the students were expected to situate, compare, and contrast Lutheran worship in Tanzania with other ecclesial contexts in sub-Saharan Africa, as well as to expressions of Lutheran worship in a North American context. A considerable part of the course, however, dealt with the practical aspects of Lutheran worship, and the way Lutheran liturgy should be played out in a local congregation in the ELCT. Firstly, the students were assigned to observe Christian worship in a non-Lutheran setting. Secondly, they were asked to prepare and lead a Lutheran service in the chapel in front of their peers.

The course underlined the importance of encountering different types of Christian worship outside the ELCT.³¹³ The purpose of the assignment was to attend a non-Lutheran service in smaller groups with two or three people in each group, in order to get a broad outlook on Christian worship. For around half of the students, I was told, these sorts of encounters with other churches were fairly new and not without friction.³¹⁴ The very idea of being exposed to or associated with the Pentecostal and charismatic churches was sensitive, even controversial, for some of the informants. The present design of the course had been introduced for the first time in 2012 though not without thorough discussions among the faculty members. In order to send Lutheran theological students to such congregations, it was argued, one had to clarify the actual purpose and format of the assignment. Otherwise, it might cause confusion and tensions among the students encountering non-Lutheran contexts as part of their formal Lutheran ministerial training.

The students were thus sent to a wide range of Christian congregations located in the Arusha region, not too far from the university. Based on personal observation and in dialogue with reference literature the students had to theologically, practically, and pastorally to reflect upon different types of Christian worship. They were requested to write a report where they presented the results in a systematised way. The overwhelming majority of the churches they visited were Pentecostal or charismatic in character. Only a handful of churches described in the 22 visitation reports belonged to historical mainline churches, such as the Roman Catholic Church and the Moravian Church, or to older churches like the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

In the reports the students had to describe and analyse what actually took place during the service. The instruction of the assignment told them to have a number of questions in mind while visiting the congregations and writing the report, such as: Did the pastor come out into the congregation or stay behind the pulpit? Did the people participate spontaneously, or only when it was

³¹³ I was given access to 22 written Visitation reports (12 reports from the academic year 2015/2016 and 10 reports from the academic year 2016/2017) in which the students, in line with the detailed instructions of the assignment and based on participant observations, analysed their various church visits by making a theological and critical content analysis.

³¹⁴ Field notes, Makumira, January 19, 2017.

written in the service book that they should do so? Was the atmosphere serious or lively? How long did the service last? Was it charismatic? What was the point of the pastor's sermon? Additionally, they were expected to reflect upon differences in relation to their personal experiences of Lutheran services. Furthermore, they had to describe and reflect upon what they disliked about the service, as well as look for two things that might be important to consider in a service that they would lead themselves in the future.³¹⁵

The churches to which the students went and about which they reported in written form, were among the multitude of churches currently existing in the country, all of different sizes and types. Given the information provided in the students' visitation reports, some of the congregations were interconnected to one another through particular networks such as the Tanzania Assemblies of God or the Free Pentecostal Churches in Tanzania, whereas others acted more or less independently. Some reports pointed out the transnational dimension of some of the churches; in one case the preacher was a guest speaker from a neighbouring country and another report indicated that the local congregation was closely linked to its founding church body in West Africa. Also, the names or the mottos of some the churches signalled their features or characteristics – 'The home for signs and wonders', 'The Lift Him Up Church', 'Revelation', 'The Centre of Holy Ghost Power', or 'The Divine Power Christian Centre' – which the students tried to flesh out in the written reports.

Guided by the instructions and questions posed in the instruction, the students focused on the worship style, and the structure and content of the service. Several drew attention to the catchy songs and lively music, the generous way newcomers were welcomed, or the fact that the pastor in charge was dressed in an ordinary suit and not in a clerical robe as in their Lutheran context. Some of the reports gave detailed descriptions of prayer practices related to miracles and physical healing. People were called to the front for prayers, which were often carried out by 'laying on with hands' and sometimes even by using 'anointing with oil'. Many of the services, the students reported, were highly participatory in character. Congregants were singing, kneeling, dancing, moving around, crying, praying out loudly, or even shouting. While pastors, deacons, or elders prayed for the congregants considered to be cursed or possessed by demons, some people fell to the ground under the influence of what was seen as divine and spiritual powers.

According to the reports, people prophesied and spoke in tongues either from the microphone at the front of the church or publicly from the pews. Furthermore, the long duration of the services, often due to long sermons, was a recurring theme in many of the reports. The students noticed that the altar, if there was one, was often sparsely decorated. Some of the students explicitly commented upon the decorations in some of the churches, such as photos on the walls depicting the founding pastor or prophet, or the occurrence of the national flags from Tanzania, Israel, or the USA in the church. On the issue of

³¹⁵ Tumaini University Makumira, *Instructions and Guidelines*.

methodology, some students noted that when they encountered practices they had difficulty understanding or interpreting – such as being possessed by demons or evil spirits – they had asked people in the pews in order to become better acquainted with the local context.

The students were thus exposed to Christian communities with non-Lutheran affiliations and connections. As already indicated, they specifically drew attention to such aspects of the service that they claimed differed significantly from their own church tradition.

First, music played a significant role throughout the worship and was often accompanied by certain prayer practices and shorter testimonies. Some of the students explained what happened during the first part of the service:

... while we were singing one after another they started to speak in tongue, other were beating the wall of the church, other were falling down, other were beating the chairs, other were crying everybody with his style and other were jumping and others were rising their hands up, for sure it bored me and my friend, it took almost 15 (fifteen minutes) then they started singing under low voices while others were still crying loudly, and other two ladies were possessed with demons they were shouting loudly that “We are burning!!” We are burning!! and other people they were praying to them by rebuking the demons to get out of them but the response of the demons were negative ...³¹⁶

Testimonies, prophetic messages, announcements, or particular offerings were accompanied by music throughout the service. As pointed out in many of the reports, the ‘song and praise team’ played a pivotal role in bridging and building the various parts of the service together. Particularly the technical equipment in the congregations was often commented upon in the reports, such as musical instruments, amplifiers, effective loud speakers and projectors.

Second, some of the students drew attention to the fact that a number of different offerings, for various purposes, took place in the same service. One of the reports stated that up to seven offerings could take place in one single service. Another report indicated that an individual offering of less than 2000 Tanzanian Shillings, which is less than one US dollar, was considered not to be sufficient, and that the donor of such a gift would be publicly announced in the next service. People were encouraged to give their tithes or to make a financial contribution for a specific purpose, which sometimes seemed to be followed, the students claimed, by a special blessing or a prayer delivered by the pastor in charge. In a similar vein, some of the students took note of the prominent role or status of the pastor. One of the reports mentioned explicitly that the pastor’s wife was sitting next to him on the podium during the service and, in his absence, even acted as his stand-in as preacher. Another group of students pointed out that the congregants were requested to contribute special offerings exclusively designated for the pastor and his family, which further

³¹⁶ Tumaini University Makumira, *Visitation report*, no. 1, 2015/16.

emphasised the pastor's superior position in relation to the congregation in general.

Third, another aspect that several students commented upon was related to the role of the leader in charge. Some of the reports described in detail how the local pastor, apostle, prophet, or bishop acted in front of the congregants, particularly when delivering the sermon. The most critical parts of the reports were related to the actual teaching, i.e. how and on what basis the leader communicated the message at hand. Several students noted with dissatisfaction the way the preacher handed the biblical texts, stating: "this preaching we can call monkey type; touching many trees and jumping in different branches".³¹⁷ In a similar vein, some of the students noticed that the teaching delivered during the service drew upon 'Prosperity Gospel' whereas others found the connections between the biblical texts and what actually was said in the sermon strikingly poor. Most of the reports signalled that the sermons, up to three in the same service, were of great importance to the congregation. Often the preacher referred to a multitude of biblical passages, which further indicated the centrality of the Bible in the congregation. The sermon was often followed, some of the students claimed, by a prayer session addressing some of the themes or issues mentioned in the sermon. Some of the students wrote:

Pastor listed number of sins which are done and giving example illustrated by pictures on projector. Such sins are like homosexuality, abortion, killing of albino and deaths caused by witchcraft. Having listed them, he made a point that all congregants must cry to God and lament for repentance, the sinners must cry three times, especially those who ever have done abortion. /.../ It seemed that the service ends when one feels fully satisfied with crying. When one is finished with crying [one] can go out while others are continuing with crying. The service lasted for 4.5 hours and the pastor was the first to get out of the church building leaving other congregants continuing praying.³¹⁸

Despite the fact that several of the students were disturbed by both the form and content of the sermon, many of them also noted the other side of the coin and said they had seen very valuable aspects of Christian leadership. The way the pastor served the congregation, not least how he or she responded to the congregants' immediate needs for prayer, counselling, and care, seemed to have impressed immensely many of the visiting students. One of the reports highlighted with great appreciation that the pastor seemed to know many of the congregants by name, and that the pastor was 'present', 'active', and 'available' in the congregation throughout the week, something that the students believed was worth striving for in their own church.

As shown, the reports reflected the plurality of churches, predominantly Pentecostal and charismatic in nature, currently operating in the vicinity of the university, with which the ELCT has links in one way or another. In fact, one

³¹⁷ Tumaini University Makumira, *Visitation report*, no. 12, 2015/16.

³¹⁸ Tumaini University Makumira, *Visitation report*, no. 5, 2016/17.

of the reports pointed out that there had been a great crowd of university students present during the service in the congregation they visited. In a similar vein, I was told that one student upon his return to Makumira told his peers that he had identified some former Lutheran church members sitting in the pews.³¹⁹ So, the theology students' encounters with Christian worship provided them with first-hand experience and personal insights concerning churches to which they did not belong themselves.

One might argue that the assignment was limited in scope both in terms of its length and format. Nevertheless, the detailed questions outlined in the instruction clearly indicated what the students were to look for, reflect upon, and deal with while visiting the local congregations. The reports did not provide a complete picture, but offered glimpses of Christian worship as filtered through the eyes of the students. Overall, they created a dynamic picture of the diverse ecclesiastical landscape and the various forms of Christian worship in the region. It is also reasonable to believe that the students, in their oral presentations of the written reports, might have added information or reflected further upon what they had written in the document. The questions outlined in the instruction reflected the intention of the course, namely to describe, compare and evaluate what the students observed in the congregations they visited in relation to the Lutheran context they came from. In addition to its more descriptive parts the instruction told the students to offer critical remarks and constructive comments. Most of the students reflected upon what they might learn from the churches they visited. Even if it seems more common that they listed negative or problematic aspects of the Christian service, some of the students indicated that they also appreciated, even embraced, some of the practices discussed.

At the same time, the assignment clearly shows how and by what means the students may study a Christian service in a non-Lutheran setting. There was nothing in the instruction that explicitly presupposed or imposed a negative view on other churches and their way of doing worship. As shown, the course outline indicated that it was a question of observing a non-Lutheran service, then comparing and contrasting it with the ELCT worship. But the way the questions were put clearly defined the issues and factors worth studying. Questions on whether the preacher actually stayed in the pulpit while delivering the sermon, and the imagined binary divide between participating 'spontaneously' on the one hand and worshipping by 'the service book' on the other coincided with the dominating lines of thought among my informants. The students' church visits did not take place in a vacuum but were related to the other parts of the course which more explicitly stated examples of components that would constitute or legitimise a Lutheran service.

In the last and final step of the course, the written exam excluded, the students have an exclusive focus on Lutheran worship. The main task for them is

³¹⁹ Field notes, Makumira, January 19, 2017.

to lead a service, from beginning to end, all by themselves in the chapel, according to the liturgical order of a Sunday worship. As some of the students were already ordained pastors and had often served in local congregations for years before coming to Makumira for further studies, they served as mentors for the non-ordained students throughout the worship exercise.

One of these ordained pastors was assigned to conduct a demonstration service in order for the other students to know what was expected of them, which was followed by questions and discussions.³²⁰ The students worked in small groups, each of which was led by an ordained pastor. The idea was to meet together at least three times. Each student was requested to lead a service according to the liturgical order in the Lutheran hymnal *Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu*. According to the instruction of the exercise, they were expected to be liturgically dressed in a robe, but without a stole. Additionally, the students should deliver a sermon in front of their peers, from whom they would receive feedback afterwards.³²¹

The students consulted a guideline, a standardised commentary of the Sunday worship in the ELCT with instructions and illustrations, which further guided and directed them in their preparations. The document systematically commented on the structure of the service and provided the students with historical, biblical, and practical perspectives and explanations in relation to its parts. The guideline stated why, how and when to kneel, turn around from the altar, or use the sign of the cross when announcing the forgiveness of sins. Moreover, it showed how the different parts of the service were closely connected. It was important therefore to look upon the different parts of the service as an entity. The sermon, the document stated, was an important part of the liturgy. Nevertheless, “[a] good service does not only depend on a good sermon but on the completion of the entire liturgy.”³²² I was told that ‘for the purpose of teaching at Makumira’ the students had to stick to the guidelines and the Lutheran hymnal despite the fact that the students, coming from different dioceses in the ELCT, represented a broad range of liturgical practices and styles of worship.³²³

So, the way Lutheran worship was presented and promoted offered the students a counter narrative to the forms of Christian worship they encountered during their church visits. That also applied to a broad range of traditions and practices within the ELCT in the congregations and dioceses they originated from. Ever since their first day of schooling at Makumira, they had gathered for worship in the chapel on a daily basis. Some of the students may have

³²⁰ Field notes, Makumira, January 21, 2017.

³²¹ Guidelines for ELCT Worship, developed and adapted by the Faculty of Theology at Makumira, was originally in Swahili but had been translated into English. It comprises a detailed description of the separate parts of the service and as such presents how the Sunday worship is to be understood and performed at Makumira.

³²² Tumaini University Makumira, *Guidelines for ELCT Worship*.

³²³ Field notes, Makumira, January 19, 2017.

encountered practices and ideas that slightly differed from their previous experiences of Lutheran worship in the respective dioceses.³²⁴ Step by step they had discovered how ‘Lutheran worship’ was conducted at Makumira, a pattern that they also were recommended and were trained to follow in their ministry. Students and staff in charge of the worship in the chapel showed an example; a way that the students taking the worship course in their second year of training had started to practice and implement themselves.

Pastoral Formation in the Making

One might argue, at least in principle, that the role and function of the university chapel is similar to that of a local church in any village or city in Tanzania. Guided by its overarching objectives, the TUMA congregation was to serve the local community at and around the university compound. For my informants, the chapel was a miniature congregation and an ideal place for pastoral and liturgical practice. It was in such a milieu the students’ sermons, liturgical actions, and conduct were evaluated and examined in order for them to be prepared to serve in a local congregation elsewhere. In a similar vein, based on personal observations and guided by specific questions, the students offered a comparative analysis of Christian worship in their visitation reports. As previously shown, it was a theological schooling with many layers. First, for the sake of their personal discipline, character training, and Christian formation, the students were obliged to participate in chapel worship on a daily basis. Second, in order to become pastors, they had to study, practice, and lead worship in chapel as part of their pastoral formation and theological training. Third, the TUMA congregation wrestled with similar pastoral and theological challenges as any other Lutheran congregation in the country, which offered the theological students an authentic milieu for training, reflection, and further studies.

For my informants, it was crucial to relate to and continuously deal with these three aspects of the educational enterprise. In particular, the interaction or exchange of knowledge and experience between the academic environment on the one hand and the life of the ELCT in the localities on the other was of great importance. As noted by some of the interviewees, as the students originated from different dioceses and regions in the country they represented a wide range of traditions and practices in the ELCT that had to be referred to and addressed in the teaching. The students were at Makumira for a reason; to acquire a Bachelor of Divinity degree and to be trained as Lutheran pastors in the ELCT. As previously shown, when studying, performing, or participating in worship the interplay between worship and doctrine came to the fore, something which, in turn, opened up a broader discussion on the educational challenges facing my informants. Clearly, much of what they advocated and

³²⁴ Field notes, Makumira, January 20, 2017.

touched upon in their teaching also shed light on what takes place when leading worship in chapel. More specifically though, their descriptions of the role of a Lutheran pastor, and what kind of academic qualifications or personal skills they argued were needed for the ordained ministry further emphasised the many and diverse challenges they had to tackle while teaching their students.

At Makumira, I was told about an episode when the students, as part of their course work, had been watching a movie about Martin Luther and the Lutheran Reformation in the 16th century.³²⁵ Afterwards, lively discussions took place in the cafeteria, after which some of the students returned to their teacher asking whether the actor in the film had been the historical and ‘real’ Martin Luther or not. On a similar note, one of the informants commented upon some of the difficulties the students might encounter in relation to the concept of time and what implications that may have when reading the Bible:

They [the students] were not able to make a difference of present tense, that there is as past, a present tense, and a future. /.../ [W]hen I was talking about church history as well and I tried to give them an idea with a map and with a timeline that there are different stages, that there are different areas and that Jesus in another area in Israel means something else than living in Europe in the Middle ages than living in the present time now in Tanzania. So, this is also very challenging for them and this has a consequence in reading the Bible.³²⁶

So, to consider a historical text, in this case a passage from the Bible, merely as a mirror or as some kind of unfiltered reflection of today’s context and condition might be highly problematic for someone assigned ‘to preach the Gospel’.

At the same time, the difficulty the students had in understanding time and space points towards even broader issues, namely to questions related to the overarching objectives of and teaching methods in higher theological training. According to one of my informants, a good number of the students were used to the widely spread pedagogical method used in lower level of theological training, primarily based on a one-way communication between teacher and student in order to repeat the correct answers during an examination at a later stage. Even the poor quality of many of the secondary schools in Tanzania, which recently has been the subject of heavy debate, further underlines some of the difficulties and challenges a theological student may encounter when embarking on higher education.³²⁷ Moreover, many of the students were struggling with the English language. One has to bear in mind that English is a minority language in Tanzania and, as recently shown else, is estimated to be spoken by approximately 5% of the population.³²⁸ The fact that all the teaching

³²⁵ Field notes, Makumira, January 18, 2017.

³²⁶ Informant J, 2017, 3.

³²⁷ Human Rights Watch, *I Had a Dream*.

³²⁸ Mohr and Ochigen, “Language Usage,” 12.

at the university is conducted in English was challenging for many of the students who, after their vernacular language and Swahili, had English as their third language. It was against that background that my informants noted the difficulties many of their students faced. Moreover, to be engaged in university studies, they argued, implied adopting a critical historical approach and a process in which the students were encouraged to scrutinise, critically reflect upon, and even deconstruct much of what they had learnt in their previous studies or what they had experienced through their earlier pastoral practice.

So, the students' exercises in the chapel related to Christian worship, which, among other things, presupposed an ability of self-reflection and critical thinking. It was thus essential to address issues related to biblical hermeneutics. The fact that a Lutheran pastor in Tanzania, through his or her high status and public role, is often seen as a representative for 'the truth' and that his or her words are taken 'as given' or 'as truth' it was crucial for the informants to emphasise that the principles for the interpretation of historical and biblical texts were addressed properly as part of the students' schooling and teaching. One of the informants continues:

But the calculation that the Bible is the word of God I always contradict. It is not the word of God; it is a text written by human beings but within you find the message of God. Scrutinise. Search for it. And what then it's coming to the interpretation what does this message mean. I can listen today, I can find today what does this mean for me today?³²⁹

Additionally, the informants' perceptions of what it might mean to be a Lutheran pastor illustrate what was at stake. For many of my informants, to be a pastor implied to safeguard and to advocate the teaching of the church. But what did that mean in practice when reflecting upon the role of a pastor? When asked to clarify what a job description of a Lutheran pastor in Tanzania might be like, one of the informants started by talking about the ordination service in which the candidate is requested to answer a number of questions in public. One of these questions, he explains, is:

[W]ill you diligently proclaim the Word of the Lord and teach the people who are under your care? He or she says: 'yeah, with God's help'. I would explain that the main job of a pastor is to preach the Gospel and to teach. That is the main job. Word and Sacrament. Those are the things he cannot give other people just on the road /.../ The work is to preach, teach, and administer the sacraments. That is number one.³³⁰

On the basis of what is expressed in the ordination service, he underlines that the pastoral ministry primarily is structured around 'Word and Sacrament'. However, at present there is a tendency among some of the pastors, he claims,

³²⁹ Informant Ä, 2017, 4.

³³⁰ Informant X, 2017, 12.

to neglect their obligations. So, instead of preaching themselves they send ‘someone who is around’ on his/her behalf without ‘even knowing the background of that person’, which is highly alarming given the fact that it is the pastor who has to safeguard the sound teaching of the church. Additionally, the pastoral ministry includes various forms of counselling and actively visiting the congregants.

A third aspect of pastoral ministry includes administrative duties in the congregation. Being a pastor means to chair various meetings in the parish, not least the parish Council. The local pastor can delegate some of these duties to other people, my informant explained, but it is the pastor who has the ultimate responsibility in front of the bishop in the local diocese. Fourth, but not least, to be a pastor implies being a public figure and with that come certain obligations. As a representative of the congregation the pastor has to make sure that his/her lifestyle is in line with the teaching of the church. My informant explained: “[The pastor] has to live a life, which is not going to be contradictory to what he is talking of all the time when he is preaching or she is preaching.”³³¹ Another informant, reflecting upon his personal presuppositions and ideals, pointed out that the teaching of the ELCT is primarily expressed through the worship service; how it is celebrated and under what kind of leadership it emerges and develops. For him, the way worship is conducted and its characteristic ‘tune’ is composed revealed something essential, not merely about theological assumptions and convictions but about the historical context of the ELCT.³³²

First, he argued, a Lutheran pastor “is confined into our doctrines” and is someone who is “following our traditions”.³³³ These doctrines and traditions must be reflected in the life of a Lutheran pastor as well as in the worship service he or she is leading. Second, in that context he pointed to the fact that it is crucial to be familiar with and loyal to the officially recognised hymnbook of the church, *Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu*. For him the Lutheran hymnal with its approximately 400 songs was an important tool for the church and its pastors to promote and strengthen a liturgy of the ELCT that is Lutheran. There are pastors in the ELCT today deviating from this, he claimed, that are not comfortable with that kind of Lutheran liturgy and therefore “no longer [are] accepting our traditions”.³³⁴ Third, another consequence of being in line with a sound understanding of Lutheran doctrine, he argued, is to observe the proper teaching and practice in relation to the sacraments in the church, namely the Baptism and the Lord’s Supper. And finally, the way the pastor preaches reveals whether he or she is a proper Lutheran or not.

[W]e have our way of leading the liturgy, the tune of the liturgy, when to turn to the congregants, when to turn to the altar, the right use of the pulpit and the

³³¹ Informant G, 2017, 12.

³³² Informant H, 2017, 6-7, 12.

³³³ Informant H, 2017, 6.

³³⁴ Informant H, 2017, 6.

podium ... [W]e do not encourage someone preaching moving [around in the church] and then go to the congregants, shouting, running, it's not our identity.³³⁵

So, what the informant suggested is that the church through its leadership and its efforts in theological training has to strengthen and reclaim the Lutheran identity and relevance of today. He argued that the outer signs – the liturgical order of a service, the officially recognised worship books, the way a pastor is preaching, or the teaching and pastoral practice related to the Sacraments – encapsulate a solid Lutheran theology. Therefore he called for a theological and pastoral rediscovery in the theological formation of a pastor, in particular the biblical and spiritual roots of these Lutheran practices, that would strengthen the Lutheran identity in the church. The Lutheran worship book is rich, he argued while pointing at the *Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu* on his desk. So, before advocating changes, he suggested, 'let's make people love this book first'.³³⁶ In other words, why call for a change regarding the liturgy or why seek for green pastures in other churches when the Lutheran tradition has it all already?

Interestingly, another informant reflected upon his own role as a lecturer being an advocate of Lutheran theology in relation to the students, particularly when it comes to the four criteria *Sola Gratia*, *Sola Fide*, *Solus Christus*, and *Sola Scriptura*. For him as a Lutheran, he argued, "[t]hese criterias are binding".³³⁷ Whatever came up in a conversation, individually or communally, these criteria would serve as an instrument for further critical reflection. He continued:

"[T]his is what I teach to the students and when they are coming with different examples, I just scrutinise together with them, these four criterias, whether they fit or not. And how far they fit and where there are differences. And how to decide, it's their responsibility according to their context, according to their education, according to their tradition. That's not me. I'm just like an advocate for these criterias."³³⁸

The aim of such an approach is, it seems, to help the individual student to scrutinise and compare ideas and standpoints with other historical or theological sources and perspectives, and from there navigate in relation to the current context in Tanzania. In relation to what has been shown above, one might argue that being an advocate of Lutheran theology does not merely apply to my informants but to all Lutheran pastors in Tanzania in general.

³³⁵ Informant H, 2017, 6.

³³⁶ Informant H, 2017, 10.

³³⁷ Informant J, 2017, 9.

³³⁸ Informant J, 2017, 9.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter, which primarily focused on the multi-layered role and function of the university chapel in ministerial formation, shows that the dimensions of an analytics of governmentality are tightly knit and interrelated to one another.

The theology students at Makumira are there for a reason; to be fostered and trained as Lutheran pastors in the ELCT. Out of a range of applicants, they were selected on the diocesan level and sent to Makumira. In turn, the university had processed the students' applications according to its formal procedures and standards. After five years of training, they were expected to return to their home diocese with an academic degree in order to serve there as pastors. To lead worship was, in my informants' view, one of the most prominent pastoral duties of a Lutheran pastor. Therefore it was important to pay special attention to its features, content, and how it should be performed, and embodied. Due to the diverse religious landscape in Tanzania in general and to the charismatisation of the ELCT specifically, my informants argued forcefully in favour of further theological training in this regard.

Studying, performing, and practising worship was intended to guide the students in a certain direction and to show them a model to learn and a counter narrative to integrate into their lives and ministry. As noted, the interviewees eagerly claimed that the way Christian worship was taught and practised at Makumira had to be in line with the official teaching of the ELCT, a pattern that the students were trained to obey and follow. Whenever the students deviated from that example, they were requested to restructure their sermon or modify their liturgical action. The learning by doing principle was crucial, and also characterised many of the forms of thought in relation to the worship course. The idea was to provide the students with certain ideals to honour and norms to follow.

The informants often emphasised the importance of referring to and leaning on the 'structured', 'ordered' or 'organised' way of Lutheran worship and to proudly defend its benefits. The Lutheran hymnal *Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu* was of particular importance in this regard. By using it for worship, the pastor defended and fostered a Lutheran spirituality, which was both seen as faithful to the biblical foundation and to the historical past of the church at the same time. Additionally, it served as an important instrument for promoting the idea of keeping the church together. That was important, not least language-wise, even if there were different liturgical 'dialects' across the church due to the historical heritage in the respective regions and dioceses. So, the liturgy provided the scattered worshipping communities with a common language and a structure that would enhance the idea of being and acting as one Lutheran church in the country. That diverse practices and expressions were constantly circulating within the ELCT was a well-known fact among my informants, who often referred to them as 'unity in diversity'. Their students, they argued, were in need of direction in this regard, which Makumira could offer through

its teaching as well as through its structures, being an institution fully representing the ELCT and its various parts in one unit. Again, the predictable rhythm of the Lutheran liturgy directed the students towards greater homogeneity. Also the enhanced feedback from their superiors pointed the students in a similar direction. Clearly, the students were taught with the intention not merely to change or adapt in accordance with a particular ideal as individuals but to be a driving force for transformation of the whole church in and through their leadership.

The informants indicated the importance for the students of achieving particular pastoral or theological skills in relation to Christian worship in order to become a well-equipped Lutheran pastor in the ELCT. Disturbed by many of the present practices and contested claims within and outside the ELCT, the informants advocated an alternative route applicable for individual students as well as for the church in general. Much of what the students highlighted in their visitation reports was in line with the dominating paradigms and ideas defended and promoted by the informants. The way the students were guided, corrected and taught, for instance through practical assignments in and around the chapel reflected some of the informants' underlying assumptions, ambitions, and desires. It was through theological education, they argued, that the ELCT would be able to reform its leadership and initiate a change of direction within the church.

Makumira was thus seen as an important resource in fostering a new generation of Lutheran pastors in the ELCT. This chapter has shown that the students, in relation to the teaching in Christian worship, were guided, fostered, and governed towards greater homogeneity, both in how worship was taught and how it was performed. In particular, the students were to be shaped, reshaped and to shape one another in such a direction. In turn, that pointed towards an even wider educational task: to re-route some of the current developments within the church more broadly.

7. Encountering Charismatic Christianity

This chapter takes a closer look at how the informants describe, view, and situate their encounters with Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity in Tanzania with regard to their engagements in theological education. They found the tremendously rich flora of revivalist movements and campaigns, non-denominational preachers, healers, apostles and self-appointed prophets, charismatic churches and communities a multifaceted challenge. Therefore, it was crucial for the ministerial students to familiarise themselves with as well as to critically reflect on the current religious landscape as part of their academic studies.

On different levels, Lutherans in Tanzania are drawn into ambivalent processes of confrontation and exchange, dialogue and strife. On the one hand, the informants considered this diverse influx an external threat to Lutheran identity with a negative impact on the teaching and pastoral practice in the life of the congregations. On the other hand, the fact that there was a growing pressure from below; i.e. highly charismatic Lutheran congregations across Tanzania, urged the interviewees to revisit and modify their positions and standpoints. The religious landscape is thus like a kaleidoscope; constantly shifting in colour and form, dependent on context and time. How the ELCT would navigate in this terrain and tackle its many challenges was a major concern for the interviewees when reflecting upon their theological and educational responsibilities.

The previous chapter touched upon some of these issues in the context of teaching and learning at Makumira. This chapter widens the scope further and takes a broader outlook. One has to bear in mind that the practices of governing do not exist in splendid isolation but presuppose certain goals or ends to be achieved. Governing self and others is thus always linked to certain ideals worth striving for, be it perceptions of 'identity', 'self' and 'truth', or ideas about how someone or something should best function, evolve, be shaped or re-shaped. The chapter, therefore, draws attention to this embeddedness; to diverse forms of knowledge and the production of truth that both inform and arise from the activity of governing.

At the very centre of this chapter stand the informants, who are constantly reflecting on their self-understanding as Christians in Tanzania and negotiating their perceptions on Lutheran identity. How do they view and understand the theological and educational enterprise in their particular context? On what basis do they consider these encounters as a threat and as something that might

challenge their own understanding? And in what way do the informants consider these encounters as a constructive point of departure for further reflection and exchange?

Being Mainline, not Side-lined

Questions related to the self-understanding of the ELCT became key for my informants when encountering various forms of charismatic Christianity. It was important for them to clarify what distinguished the ELCT from other churches. In order to do so, many of them made clear distinctions between the mainline historical churches and the growing number of new emerging churches. While the ELCT belongs to the first category, the wide range of churches and ministries that my informants labelled ‘Pentecostal’ or ‘charismatic’ belong to the latter.³³⁹ The informants referred to these diverse churches in a very broad sense; either as distinct churches, ministries, or local congregations; or as individual pastors, servants, or prophets representing theologies and practices with typical notions of charismatic and/or Pentecostal Christianity.³⁴⁰

“[O]ur Lutheran pastors are in the constant pressure from the charismatics”, one of the interviewees explained when commenting upon the tense relationships between the Lutherans and ‘the others’.³⁴¹ Several interviewees claimed that the Pentecostals are a multi-layered threat to the ELCT. It was therefore important to protect and defend the Lutheran identity and to further nurture the characteristic Lutheran features. The informants tended to emphasise the differences over the commonalities: ‘Lutherans are not like the Pentecostals’, ‘Lutherans are different’, ‘Lutherans are everything but Pentecostals’. Such a binary approach between self and other gives rise to polarised descriptions of relationships that are highly characterised by contestations and rhetorical accusations.

³³⁹ The informants used the terms ‘charismatic’ and ‘Pentecostal’ synonymously when describing and problematising the broad range of Protestant churches and ministries in Tanzania in relation to the ELCT. In his article about African Pentecostalism, Ghanaian theologian Cephas N. Omenyo comments on African Pentecostalism: “Although not all Pentecostals and Charismatics share all the features as described, [Pentecostalism as a movement that “puts emphasis on the power and presence of the Holy Spirit” and that expects manifestations of “pneumatic phenomena such as speaking in tongues, prophecies, visions, healing, miracles, and signs and wonders”] what binds them together is their belief that the gifts of the Spirit are available in the contemporary church and that contemporary Christians ought to seek the power of the Holy Spirit.” Omenyo, “African Pentecostalism.” 132-133.

³⁴⁰ Given the purpose of this chapter, I have chosen to apply the same broad understanding of the two terms as outlined by the informants. It should be noted however that the informants did not make any distinctions between the various types of Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Tanzania such as ‘classical Pentecostal churches’, ‘independent/self-initiated/instituted churches’, ‘charismatic movements’, or ‘Neo Pentecostal/Neo Charismatic churches’ present in the country.

³⁴¹ Informant E, 2016, 5.

One of informants clarified what is at stake:

The Pentecostal churches are very eager to show that they have this talent [praying for the sick and exorcizing demons]; that they have this gift of praying for the sick, or speaking in the tongues, or preaching in the public and all that. They want to take our people saying: ‘Your churches are dry. Your churches have no Holy Spirit. Your churches are dying. Come to our living churches. We can pray for you. We can even pray so that your needs can be fulfilled. If you are poor, you can be rich. If you are sick, you can be healed.’³⁴²

In this interview, the informant drastically contrasted and compared the ELCT with the pro-active and vibrant churches being guided by distinct truth claims and convictions. While the Pentecostals were depicted as dynamic and expanding communities accompanied by the power of the Spirit, the Lutherans were described as dry, dying and non-attractive in nature and form. And most importantly, the Pentecostals have successfully gone public with their divine message, being able to adequately address the physical and material needs of their adherents.

The informants shared numerous such narratives in order to exemplify or explain how and why they were under significant pressure. Similarly important however, the same narratives also shed light on how they reflected upon their own church and its new role in a rapidly changing religious landscape.

Still, if the Pentecostals were ‘totally other’ or ‘different’ than the Lutherans, how could the ELCT then be described? The informants came back to the fact that the ELCT is one of the mainline churches in Tanzania. The historical perspective showed that the church had grown and developed out of Western missionary initiatives. As such it is well established across the country and linked to churches and missionary agencies abroad, though under other circumstances than during the colonial time. Its liturgical practices and spiritualities are informed by and linked to the relations between churches in the past. At the same time, the denominational identity of the ELCT is neither static nor monolithic in character but constantly undergoing changes and adaptations.

Another characteristic of the ELCT is how the church, through its many institutions, has impacted the society in general. Paul Gifford argues that a significant characteristic of the mainline churches in sub-Saharan Africa is related to their role as service providers in society.³⁴³ He points to the fact that

³⁴² Informant G, 2016, 9.

³⁴³ Gifford, “Trajectories in African,” 275-289; Gifford, *Christianity*, 85-106. In one of his recent studies – *Christianity, Development and Modernity in Africa* – Gifford deals with two broad types of African Christianity: Pentecostalism and Catholicism. Importantly, this is not to say that Pentecostals are not involved in development work. See for example: Freeman, *Pentecostalism and Development*; Freeman, “Pentecostalism and Economic Development,” 114-126.

these churches have made a vast contribution to the sectors of health and education in both past and present time. Additionally, these churches have mobilised extensively in the last 30 years in and through their networks for humanitarian aid and development work. However, all these commitments are highly dependent on resources and support from actors abroad to such an extent that “these resource-flows and what they involve become increasingly significant for – even constitutive of – parts of mainline Christianity.”³⁴⁴

Gifford’s description of African mainline churches could in my opinion even be applied to the situation in the ELCT and its way of describing and structuring its work.³⁴⁵ The ecumenical engagement of the ELCT implies national as well as global connections.

From its inception in 1934 onwards, Lutherans actively participated in the CCT together with Anglicans and Moravians. The organisation grew with time and today gathers together churches of different denominational affiliations. At present, the CCT comprises 12 member churches including 12 church-related organisations.³⁴⁶ Interestingly, the most recent church to apply for membership in the CCT is a Pentecostal church, Kanisa la Pentekoste Tanzania.³⁴⁷ In addition to what takes place on the national level, the dioceses in the ELCT take part in ecumenical networks and gatherings on a regional level.³⁴⁸ It should be noted that the ELCT has cultivated ecumenical relations with churches that were not formal members of the CCT. For instance, it has worked closely with the TEC, which is the single largest church in the country. Another network of great importance for the ELCT is the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service, through which the church carries out much of its humanitarian and development work, heavily supported by various donor agencies abroad.³⁴⁹

So, claiming to be ‘mainline’ strengthened the informants’ sense of belonging with other mainline churches in Tanzania. My interviewees referred to Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Moravians, pointing to the fact that they were cooperating across the denominational borders. Though

³⁴⁴ Gifford, “Trajectories in African Christianity,” 278.

³⁴⁵ A recent example is the widely debated Easter Message of 2018 in which the ELCT is positioning itself as highly involved in the field of development work. The document, which is written by the Bishops’ Conference of the ELCT points out that the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania understands itself as a faith-based organisation that is mandated to contribute to societal change and to constructively interact with other actors in society. See: ‘Our nation, our peace’, <http://cct-tz.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Pastoral-Letter-ELCT-2018-Easter-Message.pdf> (accessed June 26, 2018).

³⁴⁶ The 12 member churches in the Christian Council of Tanzania are exclusively Protestant by denomination. They cooperate closely through a broad range of programmes dealing with issues related to climate change, advocacy, interfaith, peace and justice, gender, and youth. <http://cct-tz.org> (accessed February 7, 2018).

³⁴⁷ Personal communication with Rev. Canon Moses Matonya, General Secretary, Christian Council of Tanzania, February 7, 2018.

³⁴⁸ Interestingly, some of the informants pointed out that there were Pentecostal churches participating in some of the ecumenical arrangements at the regional level.

³⁴⁹ <http://www.tcrs.or.tz> (accessed February 8, 2018).

different from one another, they shared a long common history and they were all concerned about the younger and charismatic churches effectively operating with new means and messages on their backyards.

The informants were, for instance, highly critical of how the charismatic churches were constantly ‘fishing from the boat and not from the sea’, i.e. how these churches actively recruited new members who already belonged to a Christian church. According to some of the informants, if such a trend continued, the ELCT and other mainline churches across Tanzania would lose many of their members in the near future. Having that said, according to recent church statistics there are no indications that the number of Lutheran church members *de facto* is declining.³⁵⁰ Rather the opposite. But the fact that the charismatic and Pentecostal churches in sub-Saharan Africa have grown rapidly and have mobilised and effectively spread over the last 30 years, explains why representatives from the mainline historical churches are highly concerned and explicitly frame it as a significant threat. In a similar vein, the Pew Research Center recently showed that, by the year 2050, nearly 40 % of the world’s Christians will be found in sub-Saharan Africa.³⁵¹ According to the same report, the number of Christians in Tanzania will continue to increase and, as a result, the ELCT has to continue to navigate in the new and contested religious landscape in the decades to come too.

The rapidly growing Pentecostal and charismatic churches filled my informants with anguish. One of the informants explained:

Well, you have the growing number of the charismatic churches, churches without a proper theology, churches without a proper tradition, you know, and you see that our churches in the urban areas, they are jumping into that bandwagon. They would like to continue to claim to be Lutheran but the way they do their things are completely different from how we are used to, we as Lutherans.³⁵²

What really mattered for them was to what extent the ELCT would be able to act faithfully and respond adequately to its members. They forcefully argued for the significant role of the local congregation. It was in that context that the local pastor had to minister so that the message of the church would be meaningful and make a difference for the adherents. When I asked them to describe and define what they saw as a characteristic of Lutheran identity – how Lutheran tradition could be expressed in the life of the congregation – the overwhelming majority of the interviewees referred to the form of the Christian worship. How prayers were said, songs were sung or sermons were delivered reflected, the interviewees seemed to suggest, certain assumptions related to

³⁵⁰ ‘New membership figures for 2014’, *ELCT Press Release*, No. 001/07/2015, <http://www.elct.org/news/2014.05.004.html> (accessed August 1, 2017).

³⁵¹ ‘The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050’ <http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/christians/> (accessed October 18, 2018).

³⁵² Informant E, 2016, 5.

Lutheran doctrine and tradition. On that basis, they indicated when and in what way the Lutheran church tended to go astray in relation to Pentecostal/charismatic theology and spirituality, but also what Lutherans may learn and gain from these churches and their way of worship.

In other words, they exemplified their views and standpoints in relation to what actually took place in a Lutheran service; how the message was communicated and carried out in the localities. The formalised liturgy including the usage of officially recognised documents such as hymnals, prayer books, and the Bible, on the one hand, and prayers, songs, music, and sermons, on the other, thus revealed or clarified, the interviewees argued, what might be considered as typically Lutheran. What was first described as a significant external threat was, in the context of a Lutheran service, depicted as a complex mix of several denominational influences. These eclectic and expanding churches were, according to my informants, labelled as mushrooming churches that were gradually invading the Lutheran congregations. The interviewees offered detailed descriptions, often in an antithetical form, of what they considered was in line with Lutheran tradition and what was not. Certain practices, thought forms, and theologies were, in the context of a Lutheran service, linked together and compared to one another. The Pentecostal ways of worship were depicted as something completely different. The Lutherans were what the Pentecostals were not. The characteristics of the Pentecostals, such as their loud prayers, vivid music, the speaking in tongues, and free forms of worship were contrasted and compared with the Lutheran way of worship. As Lutherans, one of my informants explained, we belong to the mainline historical churches with a structured and ordered form of worship led by a priest and not by a prophet. Our sermons are like lectures, he explained, and we are not like the Pentecostals who gather their congregants for worship in much more flexible forms than the Lutherans tend to do.

Another dimension of what it might mean to be Lutheran in the midst of contested claims was related to the rise of new technical means of communications, such as the Internet and social media. It was difficult, they argued, to keep pace with such a flourishing market and to reflect wisely on how to relate to such channels of communication adequately.

The myriad of diverse teachings promising prosperity, health, and wealth, were, by the new means of technology, distributed effectively and unfiltered across the country. To better illustrate what the informants were talking about one of the informants showed me a recorded clip of a prayer session on his mobile. The video showed a local pastor conducting an exorcism at his office. In a loud voice the pastor prayed that the woman would be delivered from her troubles, bad omens, and that the demons would leave her alone. During the session, they both stood up and the pastor intimately touched the woman all over her body. With his hands the pastor gently seemed to caress her back, chest, stomach and bottom. The pastor, who was dressed in a grey clergy shirt, held the woman tight in his arms and moved her around in the room while praying for God's help. It almost looked like they were dancing and the

woman tried her best to follow his body moves. ‘He’s Pentecostal’ the informant told me while showing the clip, as if he wanted to give me an example of what was going on in the localities and what kind of challenges Lutheran pastors of today were facing. Due to the loud music accompanying the prayer session on the recording, there were parts of the clip that were difficult to decipher. The pastor seemed to be speaking in tongues while praying, though occasionally speaking in Swahili:

Father, come with your presence ... Father, cleanse this woman ... let her become pregnant through your power ... I feel that the power is coming ... the presence of the Spirit.³⁵³

The film clip of the prayer session raised a number of issues for the ELCT to thoroughly think through, not least in relation to theological education and leadership training in the church. What lessons could be learnt from this clip in regard to pastoral counselling and teaching? What did it say about the needs and expectations among the congregants seeking healing, advice, and comfort? And how should the ELCT act responsively when encountering such situations within its own perimeters? The point my informant wanted to make was rather clear: regardless of what one thinks about the revivalist movements theologically or pastorally, or their teachings and pastoral practices, one has to take the situation seriously.

Countless similar clips circulating among Lutheran church members give rise to perceptions and expectations of pastoral counselling that the ELCT might have difficulty in fully embracing. The ELCT has to deliver a solid answer to those in need and yet remain faithful to its own convictions and principles. If it failed to do that, so the argument goes, people would tend to seek help and comfort elsewhere.

Being Mainline and Charismatic

So far, we have seen how the informants were wrestling with the role and identity of the ELCT in a rapidly changing society. The ELCT is one of many Christian churches in Tanzania trying to be heard and seen in a highly contested ecclesiastical landscape. The contours of self and others are highly polarised and loaded with negative connotations when depicting ‘Pentecostals’ and ‘charismatics’.

However, one has to bear in mind that the ELCT could also be described as very charismatic in nature and form. The revivalist and charismatic features

³⁵³ Rev. Rune Persson, a former missionary from Sweden (Swedish Evangelical Mission) working in the Iringa Diocese, helped me with the translation of the video clip. Email correspondence to author on April 23, 2018.

of the ELCT are not new but date back to the early twentieth century.³⁵⁴ A growing body of research is focusing on the impact of the East African Revival in the 1930s, the emergence of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity in the 1970s onwards with regard to Lutheran church tradition in Tanzania, and the ‘charismatisation’ of the historical mainline churches in sub-Saharan Africa at large.³⁵⁵

In other words, to be Lutheran and mainline also implies being charismatic and making space for several of its characteristic features. The interviewees indicated that many of the Lutheran parishes in the country are adjusting their conventional ways of addressing their members or organising their gatherings and activities. The needs of younger generations of Christians, who may attend a traditional Lutheran service on a Sunday morning but end up in an informal and livelier worship in the afternoon somewhere else, had been an important reason for these changes.

This situation impacted an institution like Tumaini University Makumira too. One crucial issue for the interviewees was to what extent the institution should legitimise and integrate these impulses. One might argue that life at the university campus, in many ways, mirrored life in church and society more broadly. The student body as such clearly shaped the informants’ arguments and reflections on Lutheran identity. As shown in the previous chapter, the students, not only those coming from the Faculty of Theology, gathered regularly for morning devotion, choir practice, weekly Bible study, and Sunday services in the chapel. On Sunday afternoons, after the formal Sunday service had finished, the students were invited to an informal spiritual meeting, in this context often called fellowship, that primarily focused on Bible readings, songs, music, and Christian testimonies. One of the informants explained what was at stake and elaborated upon the fact that several forms of worship were offered at Makumira:

If we don’t offer this room for those who want to come and prolong praying, prolong singing in the church, or want to hear more from the Word of God, if we don’t offer them this in the Lutheran church, they will go and find it somewhere else. /.../ If you don’t give enough food to your children, they will go somewhere else, even in the dustbin, or somewhere else, or in the neighbour’s house to find their food there. But if you give enough food they are satisfied and full. /.../ Those who are not full they want to eat more. Therefore we have to make sure they are getting extra food. And this extra food is in fellowship or Bible study whereby they are invited to go. But if we close the door for

³⁵⁴ Fischer, “The Spirit,” 104-108; Kibira, *Church*, 53-58; Larsson, *Bishop Josiah Kibira*, 1-13; Sundkler and Steed, *A History*, 863-865, 872-874.

³⁵⁵ Christenson, *Welcome*, 370-372; Fischer, “The Spirit,” 95-121; Ludwig, *Church and State*, 181-191; Lugazia, “Charismatic Movements,” 45-65; Munga, “Uamsho,” Omenyo, “Charismatization,” 5-26; Omenyo, “New Wine,” 231-249; Parsitau, “From the Periphery,” 83-111; Sendoro, *Väckelse och nådegåvor*.

fellowship and Bible study when they are not satisfied in our church, later on they will go outside again to find food somewhere else.³⁵⁶

The interviewees reflected upon the fact that Lutherans today have to modify the traditional way of worship and to offer alternative forms. The student body at Tumaini University Makumira has changed dramatically over time. So has the university, from being exclusively a traditional seminary for ministerial training to a fully-fledged university with several faculties. This has had clear implications for how worship life at the university campus is organised. The denominational, even religious, background of the students, including their individual needs and preferences, was something that the informants claimed coloured the present structures and forms of chapel worship in the university campus area. One of the informants recalled the way college worship was conducted during his time as a student in the 1970s and 1980s, saying:

In former times, when the seminary was only theological, the fellowship was typical to the Protestant Lutheranism type of fellowship. Currently such kind of fellowship is no longer applied. It is typical for Pentecostalism because its members are from different denominations ... Here. [At the campus compound of TUMA] And when they pray, they all pray, they all shout in high voices which is a new phenomenon in our church. The only way to stop them is not to dismiss them from the church but to further teach the Word of God along our Lutheran heritage. Dismissing them would be dangerous ... dangerous for the church ... what is needed is a pastoral control to check and monitor them accordingly.³⁵⁷

Recalling his own time as a student at Makumira, the informant noticed the differences compared to the current situation. The homogenous Lutheran student body on site had been replaced by a much broader spectrum of students. Despite his general scepticism about the recent style of worship, he argued that the institution had no other option than to make room for such expressions, needs, and spiritualities in the university chapel. Otherwise, it would be even worse; the students would go outside the campus in their search for worship styles that would better meet their needs.

However, what actually took place in the chapel was not left to chance. As noted in the previous chapter, the teachers directed their students with robust instructions before, during, and after leading services in the chapel. The fact that the fellowship gatherings took place at the university campus occasionally prompted the teachers to intervene. One student told me what had recently happened on such an occasion. One of the teachers had entered the chapel in the midst of an ongoing fellowship while people were singing and praying in a lively manner. He demanded the students 'calm down' and decided later to

³⁵⁶ Informant A, 2016, 7.

³⁵⁷ Informant Q, 2016, 10.

suspend the whole service. He took some of the ministerial students aside and forbade them from participating in these types of gatherings in the future.³⁵⁸

So, even if the institution makes certain adjustments and creates a space for these types of gatherings, the students are under surveillance at all times. That may also explain how the interviewees understood the role and purpose of ministerial training more broadly. After having studied at Makumira or at any of the zonal colleges, one of the informants told me, “we expect our students to preserve our culture and identity as Lutherans”.³⁵⁹ When I asked how one is able to discern what is Lutheran or not and on what grounds one may distinguish between the differing denominational practices, one of the informants pointed to the fact that the pastor himself/herself played a significant role in that respect.³⁶⁰ In other words, having been theologically educated, ordained in the ELCT, and in charge of a local congregation, the interviewees expected the pastor to monitor or control the situation in the localities. Moreover, the actual presence of the pastor in a worshipping congregation, it seemed, would actively promote a safe and sound Lutheran approach to theology.

However, it was not solely the actual student body – including the diocesan and educational backgrounds of the students – that coloured and guided how worship life would be organised and conducted. The informants’ views, arguments, and strategies reflected their close ties with the ELCT more broadly. Makumira is guided by the principles of the founding body of the institution, i.e. the ELCT and its traditions and teachings. The relationship between the Faculty of Theology and the ELCT therefore had doctrinal implications for the actual teaching on site, which also shaped the interviewees’ reflections on their responsibilities and ambitions. They described the close links between the church and the university in terms of a parent/child relationship. What was defended, encouraged and done at Tumaini University Makumira had to be in line with the teachings of the ELCT more broadly. The university was thus seen as a by-product of the church, or even a reflection thereof, and as an important instrument assisting the church to fulfil its mission more broadly. One of the informants described what was at stake:

It means that the contents of all courses taught here are determined by Christian faith and Christian ethos or Christian discipline. What is being taught here is part of the proclamation of the Gospel. Hence, we cannot have any establishment inside the campus which is against Christian faith.³⁶¹

Having that said, one of the informants was eager to emphasise the academic freedom in relation to the church.³⁶² He made a very clear distinction between being a spokesperson for the ELCT on the one hand and being a theologian

³⁵⁸ Field notes, Makumira, January, 28, 2016.

³⁵⁹ Informant A, 2016, 3.

³⁶⁰ Informant Q, 2016, 10.

³⁶¹ Informant I, 2016, 2.

³⁶² Informant M, 2016, 9-10.

on the other, which for him were entirely two different things. For him, it was of the utmost importance to safeguard the institutional independence and academic freedom vis-à-vis the church and he considered himself not as a spokesperson for the church, but primarily acting as a theologian. Even though he was an ordained Lutheran pastor himself, when confronted with questions that implied more normative answers concerning the development in the church, he responded rather hesitantly. Throughout the interview he pointed to the fact the ELCT was in great need of further research in order to offer proper answers to many of today's most burning issues. The church would be able to draw upon the research undertaken at the university, he argued, but only if the distinction between the ELCT and TUMA was kept intact.

The critical encounters with Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity generated a number of crucial questions for the Lutherans to engage with. Though theologically critical of some of the Pentecostal teachings, the interviewees stressed the need for a self-critical reflection on Lutheran theology and practice. The fact that the Lutheran church in Tanzania does not live its life in isolation from other churches, one of them explained, means that the ELCT has to reflect on its self-understanding and Lutheran theological approach in relation to what other churches and Christian communities claim to offer and contribute. The very existence of other churches and their way of addressing and attracting people indicated, in his view, some sort of criticism of the ELCT more broadly, which had to be further discussed. In other words:

They [the Pentecostals and charismatics] are voices with a message. So we need to see what are we doing, what are we giving people, how are we approaching people's issues. And what are others doing? Why are they doing what we are not doing?³⁶³

In a similar vein, another informant pointed out that Makumira might be a resource for that kind of theological enterprise in terms of conducting research, particularly in relation to the current globalised and multi-religious contexts of Tanzania. It is not enough to attribute blame or complain about the prosperity gospel, he seemed to argue. Instead it is necessary to understand why these kinds of theological ideas have become so popular and attractive for people to embrace. In our context, he explained, poverty is massive, which creates powerlessness among the people that, in turn, may explain why some of them try to compensate for this loss with something like the prosperity gospel.

³⁶³ Informant B, 2016, 4-5.

Lutheran Pentecostalism

The unease among the informants when reflecting on how the charismatic and Pentecostal movements impact the life of the ELCT reflects a feeling of frustration of not being able to respond adequately to the situation at hand.

The heading of this section, Lutheran Pentecostalism, derives from a widely cited master thesis, submitted at Makumira in 2011, which addresses the emergence and development of deliverance ministry in a Lutheran context in Tanzania.³⁶⁴ In her study, Leita Ngoy shows how the ELCT from the mid-1970s onwards made room for various prayer groups known as ‘fellowships’ in the context of Lutheran worship services.³⁶⁵ Not surprisingly, it first happened in the Eastern and Coastal Diocese in the urban setting of Dar es Salaam. Mwakilima however, argues that the practices that emerge out of the Lutheran-Pentecostal encounters may not be uncritically accepted but should be developed in such a way that they both respond to people’s needs and fit the Lutheran tradition in which they will be performed.³⁶⁶

Again, the conversation on ‘the religious other’ and how to accommodate the practices that grow out of these religious encounters are filled with ambiguities. On the one hand, the revival movements are depicted as a disturbing problem in the ELCT. The task for institutions involved in theological education, it was argued, was to adequately address these challenges through solid Lutheran teaching, reviewing curricula and programmes, and initiating specific research projects through which some of the most burning issues could be addressed. Lutheran theology had to be related to the actual conditions in the local congregations. The practices that the informants described as significant threats or as a poison, gave rise to tensions and conflicts locally and had to be defeated with robust theological education.

On the other hand, what some of the informants considered as something that might endanger and challenge Lutheran theology negatively was viewed by others as an important departure point for further theological reflection. Such an approach would make possible new constructive encounters that would build bridges and promote dialogue, instead of nurturing further polarisations and stereotypes of ‘the religious other’. In its capacity as ‘the mother church’, as one of the informants put it, the ELCT is able to embrace a multitude of expressions and thought forms.³⁶⁷ The historical legacy of the East African Revival and the influx of revivalism in the 1970s onwards point to the

³⁶⁴ In her master’s thesis, “‘Lutheran Pentecostalism’: Expressions of Deliverance Ministry in ELCT-ECD”, Leita Ngoy discusses the impact and challenges of deliverance ministry in some Lutheran congregations in Dar es Salaam. She defines and motivates the usage of the term ‘Lutheran Pentecostalism’ as follows: “to speak about the Pentecostal features that are being practised in the Lutheran worship services by Lutheran evangelists and pastors as a means to stop Lutherans [sic] members from shifting to other denominations because they seem to be attracted by the African Pentecostal worship style”. Ngoy, “‘Lutheran Pentecostalism’,” 8.

³⁶⁵ Ngoy, “‘Lutheran Pentecostalism’,” 8.

³⁶⁶ Ngoy, “‘Lutheran Pentecostalism’,” 110-112.

³⁶⁷ Informant E, 2016, 18-19.

fact, he argued, that the ELCT has to accommodate many of these features and forms even today.

One has to bear in mind that the informants considered Lutheran tradition not as a monolithic term but as something that had to be defined anew and revisited in every single context and time. The ‘religious other’ was, as we have seen, not merely to be identified outside the Lutheran boundaries but also in the heart of the Lutheran comfort zone. Lutheran parishes in Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Mbeya, or Mwanza, to mention just a few, organise themselves differently from many in the rural regions in the country. At the same time, the distinctions between urban/rural, local/regional, or Lutheran/Pentecostal are blurred. People constantly cross denominational borders. Christians of different denominational affiliation come from far and near to join inter-denominational conventions and campaigns. The interviewees gave several clear examples of local Lutheran congregations that in their practices drew upon impulses from the Pentecostal or charismatic traditions. Instead of offering just the main service on Sunday morning, they pointed to the fact that the number of congregations that offered alternative gatherings nowadays in which new forms of worship services were introduced had increased. As indicated earlier, worship life at the university campus reflected recent developments in the ELCT in general:

As a reaction to this Pentecostal teaching, the church has adapted some of these models. For example, some Lutheran churches in Tanzania have started a way of worship whereby they have two services each Sunday. In the morning they have an ordinary service but in the afternoon they have a special service, for special prayers, for the sick people or other problems. The intention is to render services that address people’s needs, and thereby they would not quit the Lutheran church to join Pentecostal church.³⁶⁸

Many of the informants commented upon the Mana Ministry led by the Lutheran lay preacher Christopher Mwakasege.³⁶⁹ His supporters, I was told, were found among a wide range of Lutheran church members, i.e. not only among the big crowds of congregants that come to his open-air seminars and meetings all over the country, but also among pastors and bishops in the ELCT. On one occasion, at the beginning of the 2000s, Mwakasege was even invited to preach at Makumira.³⁷⁰ Having his base in Arusha, northern Tanzania, Mwakasege has become one of the most prominent examples of an inter-

³⁶⁸ Informant I, 2016, 9.

³⁶⁹ <http://www.mwakasege.org/> (accessed February 13, 2018); The Facebook account of the Mana Ministry has hundreds of thousands of followers that comment on its work, sharing its news with others and witnessing about God’s presence in their lives. <https://www.facebook.com/Christopher-Diana-MwakasegeMana-Ministry-132462780111984/> (accessed February 13, 2018). Additionally, the Mana Ministry is very engaged in communicating its message through radio broadcasts, audio and video recordings and publications in Christian press. Hasu, “World Bank,” 683.

³⁷⁰ Fischer, “The Spirit,” 108.

denominational preacher, and attracts numerous Christians even within the ELCT.

Päivi Hasu argues that Mwakasege's inter-denominational approach in combination with "his respect for the established mainline churches" has created a seedbed of followers from a broad range of denominations. Hasu notes, for instance, that Mwakasege "insists that born-again Christians should remain in their denominations, an approach which makes him less threatening in the eyes of mainstream leaders".³⁷¹

One of the informants indicated what Mwakasege's popularity in the country might imply for local congregations on a Sunday morning stating:

[If] you say 'Mwakasege is coming', many people will go there. And if for example, normally our Sunday services are 10 o'clock am, but if Mwakasege will be somewhere in an open place at 10 o'clock, no church in that area will be functioning so most of the people will go there.³⁷²

Mwakasege's popularity in Tanzania has increased over the years and several of my informants referred to him in their descriptions as providing teaching and ways of worship that they would label 'Pentecostal' or 'charismatic'. But as Mwakasege himself, formally, is still a Lutheran church member and, at the same time, in charge of a very influential non-denominational ministry my informants had difficulty deciding how to refer and relate to his ministry. He is neither an ordained Lutheran pastor nor does he claim to have established a new church, but works efficiently through a well-operated network of co-workers all over the country. Several of my interviewees explicitly commented upon his ministries, pointing to the fact that the inroads of his and other revival movements had definitely become a challenge for them to tackle. So, even though the informants tended to be highly critical of the Pentecostal/charismatic teaching and its impact on the Lutheran church in Tanzania, many of them also admitted that there was a huge attraction among Lutheran church members to that kind of spirituality and the diverse practices that come with these revival movements. Clearly, Mwakasege was one of many preachers who had a significant impact on the life of the ELCT.

Interestingly, one of my informants even planned some of his own missionary engagements in the local diocese in conjunction with Mwakasege's meetings and campaigns. 'I see him as a person who can be used to strengthen Christianity in Tanzania', he argued, pointing to the fact that they as church leaders partly address the same people while preaching in the localities.³⁷³ So, knowing that many Lutherans in the diocese he served would participate in Mwakasege's gatherings he coordinated the mission activities with Mwakasege himself and the Mana Ministry. We have a common interest in doing mission, he explained, stating:

³⁷¹ Hasu, "World Bank," 683.

³⁷² Informant D, 2016, 14.

³⁷³ Informant C, 2017, 30.

The aim of Mwakasege I know is to reach the unreached. To strengthen our believers in one way or the other. And we have the same [aim]. I don't see how this is a problem.³⁷⁴

Another informant commented upon the current situation more broadly. What the church has to provide and to encourage, he argued, is a pastor that is theologically able to help and guide these revival movements to remain and develop within the ELCT. That applies both to the local parishes and on a diocesan level, and is necessary in order to bridge the gaps between diverse groups of Christians in the same parish. It is important, he claimed, to recognise the charismatic groups of Christians and take their claims and needs seriously. The informant implicitly underlined the hermeneutical task and concluded:

[W]e need the approach to try to find out solutions how we can help our Christians to understand and to get a good understanding of the Word of God as Martin Luther taught to us. To understand, to have a good understanding of the Word of God and the Bible. What does it mean? When we say Liberation, what does it mean? We say Grace, what does it mean? Faith, what does it mean? That is a very important thing. As theologians their position is how to think and to find a good approach to our people. That's my opinion.³⁷⁵

Drawing upon his previous experience as a local pastor, related to an excluded group of charismatic Christians in the parish, the informant took if not an enthusiastic but a moderate and pragmatic position regarding the revival movements in the ELCT. Without diminishing the actual problems with charismatic Christianity, his intention was for the ELCT and other Christian denominations to meet halfway as a response to the present situation in the church and not to repeat the mistakes from his early years as a pastor, when the charismatics had been excluded from the community.

One of the interviewees explained that even though he was highly critical of a theology of success, of the prosperity gospel and the way Pentecostal worship was performed with free and loud prayers among the congregants, he claimed that Lutherans might learn from the charismatic churches as well. In his view, the practice of praying for the sick or even the exorcising of demons might be considered Lutheran:

Yes, that could be considered Lutheran because even Jesus Christ was praying for the sick, was healing, was exercising, but our church is so rigid with its traditions. It wants to stay to its traditions, it doesn't want to see that people come in front [in order for] the pastor [to] pray for them. /.../ I embrace praying for the sick, I embrace praying for the needs of the people, I embrace praying for the families and the children and the people working in the society. I embrace it.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Informant C, 2017, 30.

³⁷⁵ Informant T, 2016, 15.

³⁷⁶ Informant G, 2016, 9.

However, there were limitations to how far the informants were prepared to go. Not all types of practices could be easily incorporated into a Lutheran context. Several of the informants explicitly mentioned one particular practice among Lutherans in Tanzania that is a hotly debated issue in relation to what they considered as proper Lutheran theology, pastoral practice, or tradition. In their view, that liturgical practice, called the Redemption of the First-born or the Liberation Sacrifice, was imported from other churches with alarming consequences for the ELCT.³⁷⁷ These practices were, according to the interviewees, specifically spread and performed in Lutheran parishes in urban areas such as Dar es Salaam and Arusha. They did not provide any detailed descriptions of how many parishes actually practised the rituals of the Redemption of the First-born but they all depicted it as something that was alien to Lutheran tradition and that implied an unhealthy biblical hermeneutics.

The interviewees told me how parents brought their new-borns to the front of the worshipping congregation to symbolically have their child set free before God. They handed over a financial gift to the pastor in charge with promises of prayers for the child in return. The practice itself, I was told, emerged out of the Old testament narratives, saying that all first-borns, animals as well as humans, belonged to God and therefore had to be sacrificed to him (Exodus 13). The Liberation Sacrifice was considered as contradictory to Lutheran theology and to what Lutherans in the Tanzanian context were used to doing or expressing in a service. One of the informants reacted forcefully against the practice and what it implied.

[S]omebody is saying; I'm going to free a first-born like it was done in Genesis or in Israel whereby the first-born was freed. And I say; how come? Are we going to have these kinds of teachings? But they [the teachings of the Redemption of the First-born] were coming from those revival churches. And some of our Lutheran pastors adopted them. And people were supposed to bring their first-born in the church with money and also there will be a prayer for them.³⁷⁸

A little later, during the same interview, the informant commented upon the outrageous idea for a Lutheran to theologically defend, legitimise, and practice the rituals of the Redemption of the First-born.

And I say, this is nonsense [the rituals of the Redemption of the Firstborn]; this is not our doctrine at all. And we are against those kinds of doctrines. /.../ [T]he firstborn has to be freed. But how can you say that? Jesus has done that on the cross. We don't need that anymore. But this is not from us. It's from others, these new revival churches. Maybe they are doing that for the sake of getting

³⁷⁷ The practice picks up leading motives from the Jewish tradition around the *Pidyon HaBen* ceremony, meaning the Redemption of the First-born Son, which is mentioned in Exodus 13:13 and Numbers 18:15-16.

³⁷⁸ Informant A, 2016, 10.

some money and when people buying their idea they will come and bring their children. And it's like the Lutheran pastors copied from there.³⁷⁹

The informants considered these rituals as contradictory to Lutheran teachings. The practice itself, it was argued, had emerged out of the revival churches, i.e. outside the boundaries of a Lutheran theological context, and the founding ideas of such a practice were therefore not in line with Lutheran pastoral praxis. Rather the opposite, as the interviewees clearly associated the practices around the Redemption of the First-born with the Pentecostals and charismatics. Moreover, for the informants the internal logic of the actual interpretation of the biblical narratives was inconsistent as the work of Jesus Christ on the cross, in their view, was done once and for all for all humanity. The redemption Christ was offering humanity on the cross, could not be repeated or supplemented in any way. Another aspect that made such a practice problematic according to the informant referred to above had financial implications. The parents of the child that was brought to the front in order to be prayed for were requested to donate money as part of the ritual. This further challenged the view of a safe and sound Christian leadership.

Concluding Remarks

As noted, the ELCT is currently navigating in the midst of a diverse multi-religious landscape, characterised by an increasingly complex mixture of contesting claims and practices. In particular, the informants identified the Lutheran encounters with Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity as one of the most important challenges for them to tackle, not least issues related to the denominational identity of the ELCT. It was often depicted in binary opposition, clarifying both commonalities and differences between self and other. However, what was articulated and emphasised on a theoretical and rhetorical level did not always correspond with the pastoral practice in the localities. The informants took overlapping, even contradictory, standpoints and positions. While some tended to describe Lutheran identity in sharp contrast to Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity, others pointed to the fact that the ELCT, throughout its history, had been and still is informed and shaped by different revival impulses and movements.

One might argue that the informants' outlook, how they positioned themselves, and how they problematised the denominational identity of the ELCT directed their views on government. The informants' encounters with Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity not only guided and shaped their self-understanding of the ELCT but clarified their educational intentions and ambitions too. Hence, the way they categorised or described the ELCT made it

³⁷⁹ Informant A, 2016, 10-11.

clear what they sought and strived for as regards the field of theological education.

As shown, the informants depicted the denominational identity of the ELCT as multifaceted and complex in character. It is neither monolithic, nor static but defined in relation to historical, socio-political, or theological factors. The local context in which the church conveys its message is crucial in this regard. This chapter described the ELCT in terms of historical and mainline, mainline and charismatic, as well as Lutheran and Pentecostal. Importantly, these descriptions do not necessarily exclude each other. In fact, several of the interviewees sympathised with two or three of the approaches at the same time. Rather, from the informants' point of view, they might be seen as overlapping and complementary perspectives when elaborating upon the self-understanding of the ELCT.

First, the ELCT is one of the historical mainline churches in the country with strong ties and well-established relationships to other mainline churches. It is ecumenically minded and shaped, and through its global networks highly involved in development work. As noted, the informants argued that it is important for the ELCT not to be 'deluded' or 'invaded' by rapidly growing churches that employ teachings, practices, and methods 'totally different' from those the ELCT claims to uphold. However, to what extent the ELCT would be able to keep pace with its own members, their needs, preferences, and expectations of the church and what it could offer is an open question.

Second, the ELCT could be described as both mainline and charismatic. The emergence and development of revival movements within the ELCT is neither new nor alien in relation to the history of the church. The level of 'charismatisation' in the ELCT may recently have increased or intensified and yet something that signifies aspects of Lutheran spirituality have been present and visible in the life of the church since the early twentieth century.

Third, another way of describing the ELCT as charismatic is to explicitly refer to some of the practices traditionally associated with Pentecostalism. The term 'Lutheran Pentecostalism' indicates that the ELCT is open to new practices after having critically examined their theological basis. Doing so is one way for the ELCT to respond theologically and pragmatically to many of the current challenges at hand. While some of the practices have to be rejected, for instance the Redemption of the First-born, others seem easier for them to embrace and to incorporate into already existing structures and thought forms.

Seen from a broader perspective, many of the processes in the ELCT resonate with similar patterns in sub-Saharan Africa in general. The rapid growth of the Pentecostal and charismatic churches all over Africa has made them a significant expression of the African Christianity of today. Partly as a continuation of the African Initiated Churches, the newer Pentecostal and charismatic churches began to emerge all over the African continent from the 1970s

onwards.³⁸⁰ Allan Anderson shows how the most dramatic growth took place in West Africa, especially in countries like Nigeria and Ghana, and that these kinds of churches due to their strong transnational links and networks started to operate in East Africa during the 1980s.

Martin Lindhardt argues that charismatic revival groups in Tanzania started to emerge within the Lutheran church partly as a response to the emerging Pentecostalism, sometimes leading to schisms and conflicts or to the establishment of new missions and ministries.³⁸¹ Josiah R Mlahagwa indicates that many of the current revivalist movements and expressions in Tanzania may be considered as revised versions of the East African Revival of the 1930s and describes how, from the mid-1970s onwards, they gave rise to numerous fellowships of born-again Christians which were partly backed by church leaders in the ELCT.³⁸²

In 1997 pastors and bishops in the ELCT met for a conference in Morogoro in order to thoroughly discuss issues related to revivalist movements and spiritual influences. According to Mlahagwa the meeting was an important impetus for the Lutherans in Tanzania to recognise the “spiritual revival as the spinal cord of the church” and to actively engage with its further developments in the country together with other protestant churches.³⁸³ Whether they were central to the church or not, the new paradigms overlapped and challenged existing structures. For example, Mlahagwa describes how the various fellowships executed their intensions and organised themselves independently in relation to the local congregation, and increasingly also challenged the role and authority of the parish pastor.³⁸⁴

We have seen how the informants were concerned about proselytism, i.e. how new members were recruited from existing groups of Christians in order to join a new Christian denomination. Anderson and Lindhardt argue that the newer Pentecostal and charismatic churches significantly responded to existential needs in the African milieu.³⁸⁵ The ELCT is struggling with similar challenges and ambitions to be relevant for its adherents. My informants indicated that the proliferation of these newer churches was linked to what they actually offered people in terms of being a way out of poverty and marginalisation, or were seen as a health-seeking option for those who suffered from illness and disease. Instead of being totally occupied by blaming ‘the religious other’ for doing wrong, they suggested that it was important for the ELCT to further reflect upon its own practices and theological assumptions in order to adequately respond to these kinds of societal and spiritual needs.

³⁸⁰ Anderson, “The Newer Pentecostal,” 167-184; Gifford, “Trajectories in African Christianity,” 275-289.

³⁸¹ Lindhardt, “The Ambivalence of Power,” 39-40.

³⁸² Mlahagwa, “Contending for the Faith,” 298-300.

³⁸³ Mlahagwa, “Contending for the Faith,” 296.

³⁸⁴ Mlahagwa, “Contending for the Faith,” 305.

³⁸⁵ Anderson, “The Newer Pentecostal,” 167-169, 180-184; Lindhardt, “The Ambivalence of Power,” 39-40.

Though highly critical of some of the charismatic expressions and practices, several informants indicated that the ELCT had something to learn, and had to change and adapt in response to the current situation. At the same time, examples of Pentecostal preachers and practices served as counter narratives when elaborating upon adequate forms and models of Lutheran ministerial training. The informants moved constantly across and between the complex descriptions of the ELCT - as historical and mainline, mainline and charismatic, or Lutheran and Pentecostal. Building institutions for theological education, emphasising the role of formal ministerial formation, and drawing upon the rich traditions of the church were crucial. Equally important, however, the ELCT had to be open to new impulses in order to respond properly to the many needs of its adherents.

As indicated, the informants reflected on the impact of preachers like Christopher Mwakasege and others, who were constantly campaigning across the country, propelling the discussion on denominational identity further. Moreover, charismatically oriented pastors were also found among the ordained Lutheran clergy in the ELCT. For instance, recent studies draw attention to the ministry led by Rev. Ambilikile Mwasapila aka Babu wa Loliondo.³⁸⁶ For about six months, in 2011, Babu was one of the most popular Christian healers in East Africa, backed up and visited by bishops of the ELCT as well as government officials who consulted him for advice. Another pivotal example is Willbroad Mastai, a Lutheran pastor in cosmopolitan Dar es Salaam. Mastai, who is a former student at Makumira, is well known for his dynamic leadership in one of the charismatic Lutheran congregations in the Eastern and Coastal Diocese.³⁸⁷ It has to be noted that the author of the before mentioned master thesis on Lutheran Pentecostalism, Leita Ngoy, conducted interviews and based much of her field work in this particular milieu. More recently, both of these Lutheran pastors in the Eastern and Coastal Diocese of the ELCT, have been described as representatives of “the future of the Protestant Church in Tanzania”.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁶ Vähäkangas, “Babu wa Loliondo,” 3-36; Vähäkangas, “Negotiating Religious Traditions,” 269-297.

³⁸⁷ Währisch-Oblau, “Towards a Protestant,” 190-191; In 2012, Willbroad Mastai and several other pastors and theologians from the ELCT participated in developing the *Pastoral Guidelines* and *Pastoral and Theological Foundations* for Deliverance Ministries in an African context, a study project managed by the United Evangelical Mission, Wuppertal, Germany. See: <https://www.vemission.org/en/about-uem/downloads.html> (accessed August 28, 2018).

³⁸⁸ The exhibition, *The Luther Effect*, presented at Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, Germany, in 2017 deals with Protestant Christianity celebrating 500 years of Reformation. One of the leading articles for the Tanzania section, published in the Exhibition volume, *The Luther Effect. Protestantism – 500 Years in the World*, was written by two lecturers from the Faculty of Theology at Tumaini University Makumira. See: Parsalaw and Mahali, “The Effect of Protestant,” 336-344. The same volume shows hundreds of objects and photographs related to Protestant Christianity in Tanzania, one of which explicitly deals with Rev. Willbroad Mastai and his ministry in the Kimara Lutheran Church in Dar es Salaam. On the same page there is a photo of Rev. Leita Ngoy, the author of the above quoted Makumira master thesis on Lutheran

In other words, the informants' descriptions of the ELCT signal both what they find crucial to defend or to protect and, at the same time, what they claim to promote, encourage, and further develop. Many different factors had to be taken into account when exercising power and trying to respond adequately to the situation. Contesting and powerful discourses are trying to be heard, seen, and acknowledged. The informants may be influential when it comes to the area of formal theological education but to oversee ordained pastors and to impact the development in local congregations in a certain direction may be far more difficult. One of the informants indicated that urban and charismatic congregations, due to their size, popularity, and theological approach, may even challenge the bishop's authority and ability to take action. There is no doubt about that the leadership of the ELCT is wrestling with these issues, he argued, with implications within and between the dioceses. He explained:

[T]hese bishops who are outside Dar es Salaam, they may say: 'You are from Dar es Salaam. Go and correct ... and rebuke that pastor, tell him that what he is doing is not what he is expected to do.' And when he [the Bishop] go and see, then he say: 'The less evil is to remain silent' /.../ 'What if I remove him [the local pastor] the whole congregation will scatter. You see.'³⁸⁹

The narrative illustrates that the activity of governing, here seen from the diocesan bishop's point of view, de facto is complex and limited. The informants point to the fact that the leadership of the ELCT deals with contesting interests and concerns. The bishops, who continuously consult and update one another on the current challenges across the country, are striving to uphold common principles in the ELCT. At the same time, how they manage the dioceses is dependent on how and to what extent their decisions or convictions are received and implemented in the local congregations. The consequences of the bishop's decision to remove the pastor in charge from one congregation to another have to be studied carefully before the action is taken. The informants raised theological and doctrinal concerns about the recent developments in these types of ecclesial milieus but what they feared the most was to cause internal splits or divisions and to lose church members. Therefore several of them argued that the bishops of the ELCT, regardless of their personal opinions or preferences, had to relate to and build trustful relationships with these types of congregations, instead of criticising and challenging them publicly.

Pentecostalism and presently the Director of the Women and Children Department of the Eastern and Coastal Diocese. The volume depicts the two pastors as representatives of "the future of the Protestant Church in Tanzania". Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, *The Luther Effect*, 385.

³⁸⁹ Informant Z, 2017, 8.

8. Mission and Ministry in Context

As this chapter will show, my informants elaborated on the field of theological education in relation to their understanding of the ELCT and its contemporary challenges. Ideally, what was taught and practised in the classroom had to correspond to the diverse local contexts in which the pastoral ministry was to be played out. The chapter argues that the way ministerial training was talked about, problematised, and envisioned was clearly linked to an overall idea and vision of the ELCT; that is a church not only serving its own members but also interacting with the wider society.³⁹⁰ More specifically, it demonstrates the diverse and complex expectations of the Lutheran pastor who is considered to be educated with a purpose; namely to foster, direct, and engage with the local Christian community and beyond.

This chapter begins by describing some of the motives and ideas against which my interviewees argued that theological schooling ought to evolve, particularly in relation to the ministry of teaching in a local congregation. The fact that the informants' perceptions of theological education were linked to, and informed and guided by their imagination of the ELCT shows how they wrestled with theology more broadly. In other words, theological education has to provide tools for the contextualisation process of the Christian faith. It must show how the message of the church could be meaningful and relevant for its adherents, or how the church, through its various engagements, could serve as an agent of societal change. As noted, the educational responsibility in relation to the ministry of teaching, which the ordained pastor was in charge of, came to the fore while reflecting upon the dynamic task of being a Lutheran pastor in the ELCT today. For my informants that applied to all sorts of ministerial training – residential as well as non-residential – carried out on various levels in the church.

Moreover, the way my interviewees reflected upon the nature and purpose of theological education was not limited to particular educational institutions but linked to wider educational discourses in the church. Several educational initiatives lived side by side. One way for the ELCT to gather, guide, and di-

³⁹⁰ The official ELCT webpage states: "The Church focuses on propagating the "holistic" Gospel serving man through spiritual, social, economic and environmental programmes /interventions in order to have a God loving community hence fulfilling God's mission in Tanzania. In serving human beings in a holistic way, The [sic] Church carries out mission work within and outside the country using all types of means and media." <http://www.elct.org> (accessed April 20, 2017).

rect its ordained clergy continuously over time was through particular conventions and conferences on local, regional, and national levels. The latter part of the chapter refers to this extended form of theological schooling by describing a national meeting for all ordained Lutheran pastors in Tanzania, held in Dodoma in September 2016, at which the ministry of teaching became key. With its aim to promote and encourage further theological reflection the conference was an important expression of how the ELCT was addressing some of its most salient challenges.

Hence, the training of pastors takes place through diverse forms of theological education. They are specially trained to lead the ELCT into the future, a study process through which they are supposed to be changed, challenged, transformed, and re-directed. Against what background did my informants sketch their various arguments about theological education and its imagined impact on the ELCT? What did they want to achieve when eagerly defending and promoting various forms of ministerial training and leadership formation?

The Prophetic Mission of the ELCT

Training students for the ordained ministry was related to the idea of the mission of the church. My informants often took the local congregation as a departure point when describing and reflecting upon the church and its missionary task to carry out its message. The congregation marked the context in which the ordained pastor was to serve and further indicated for what reasons theological education was crucial. Given the tremendous diversity and broad range of congregations in terms of size, geographical location, financial stability, historical legacy, or spirituality, the local congregation is the basic unit of the church, fully representing the ELCT in relation to the wider society. Clearly the other levels of the church, such as the diocesan or national levels, played their part but yet it was the life of the local congregation that became key for my informants when reflecting upon what it might mean to take part in the ordained ministry in the ELCT. It was primarily in the localities that the mission of the church had to be expressed and put into practice under the leadership of a pastor. Moreover, it was in the local context that the credibility of the community was tested and to its many challenges the ordained ministry had to respond. Theological education – theoretical as well as practical – was therefore considered to be of the utmost importance.

An essential aspect of what it might mean to belong to the church and participating in its mission, one of my informants emphatically explained, is to be engaged in diaconal work, serving others regardless of their religious, political, or cultural affiliations. That latter aspect, that of serving all people with no exception, is important he claimed, as it underlines an important prerequisite for the ELCT being socially involved. “I don’t serve because I want to convert someone /.../ we serve because we want to show the love of God”, and he continued:

... if I have a piece of bread which I can divide with my brother and sister, I do that regardless, I don't ask the person what is your name ... what is your profession, are you a prostitute, are you a drug addict, are you a Muslim. We don't do that. But that spirit of serving, that spirit of giving, that spirit of reaching out to the neighbour to be there unconditionally, I do that because of my faith as a Christian. It doesn't matter whether the person knows I do it as a Christian or not. But I know that I do it because I am compelled by my faith to do that to the neighbour. You see. Those challenges are there and are really critical. And now we have young pastors coming up, they don't even think about what we call theological diaconical work; theology of diaconia.³⁹¹

For many of my informants, the broad field of diaconia was very important, not only due to what the church actually managed to do through its diverse social engagements but because of what these endeavours envisioned about the church as an important agent of change in society in general.

The discourses on mission, ministry, and education were thus clearly intertwined. This further strengthened my informants' argument on the necessity of having a cadre of clergy that was both theologically trained and ordained, and capable of acting as leaders. The various techniques of governing have individual as well as collective implications. On the one hand, the students were recruited from the local congregation and sent to institutions for ministerial training as individuals. Though collectively educated and taught in close cooperation and dialogue with their peers, the students were formally and academically examined on an individual basis. On the other hand, as noted above, the collective aspects of belonging to the church were key, with clear implications for how my informants framed and understood the role of the ordained clergy. The training of pastors ready to serve the church, thus goes far beyond the individual level, as the educational enterprise has implications not only for the church but for society in general.

Due to a weak welfare system in the country, with a limited set of social and health services, several of my informants argued that it is even more important for the ELCT to act and respond to some of the major societal challenges at hand. The lack of homes for the elderly, increasing numbers of children and youths living in the streets, social problems related to prostitution and drug-abuse, the financially and socially vulnerable situation of many widows, or being a community afflicted by HIV/AIDS were some of the issues that they claimed the ELCT, through its social and diaconical work, tries to address. So, the diaconal engagement was regarded as part and parcel of what it might mean to be a Lutheran Christian in Tanzania, a task that in their view, should also impact the theological training in the church. More importantly, these types of initiatives point towards the vision of a prophetic church advocating for justice and integrity for all people in the society. One has to bear in mind, however, that such a view of the church also is challenged. As pointed out by one of the informants, the increasing pressure the ELCT witnessed from

³⁹¹ Informant V, 2017, 3.

Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity as well as from Islam has given rise to an internal discussion within the ELCT on its priorities and choice of path for the future.³⁹²

An additional aspect of being engaged in mission relates to numerical and spatial growth. The narrative of the ELCT as expanding and flourishing was crucial for many of my informants when reflecting upon the missionary and theological tasks of the church. As there is a great need for more pastors, theological education is considered a field of great importance. Moreover, the rapid church growth in the ELCT during the last 20 years in terms of increased membership and the establishment of new dioceses, has impacted the self-understanding of the church. To be a Lutheran community, the informants argued, is to reach out, to contribute and to serve the wider community. The conditions under which this work is perceived may differ from one diocese to another, even though the fundamental principle of a holistic mission was one and the same in the ELCT, that is the pastoral duties in the local congregation went hand in hand with the wider commitments of the church such as running schools or hospitals.

But, as pointed out by some of the interviewees, the fact that the church had grown quantitatively prompted the ELCT to consider the qualitative aspects of the same phenomenon. The actual church growth was not considered an end in itself. The expansion into new territories and the establishment of new dioceses did not guarantee that the many members would faithfully remain in the ELCT as they were often challenged by other religious initiatives. To outline a sustainable strategy for the future therefore was a major concern for several of my informants. It was clearly linked to how to carry out the pastoral ministry in the localities and in what way the church should present itself in the local community. One of the major challenges in this regard was the lack of pastoral follow-ups in relation to the ministry of a pastor. One informant, referring to a conversation with a woman the same morning, pointed out what was at stake:

This morning I heard a lady who ... lost her husband and she has been complaining to me this morning that it's unfortunate that many many pastors tend to do funeral services and they don't do a follow-up of what is happening after the funeral service to that lady who had lost her husband. /.../ '[T]he church [the ELCT] is turning away from us. And you find that many many Pentecostal pastors are the ones who are coming for counselling, were the ones who are talking to us, so if you are weak in your faith it is easier for you to move to their churches. Because they seem to be loving us instead of our own Lutheran church'.³⁹³

³⁹² Informant K, 2017, 3.

³⁹³ Informant X, 2017, 1.

To neglect such kinds of pastoral duties was indeed identified as a weakness in the ELCT he argued, not merely vis-à-vis the congregants in need of pastoral counselling but in relation to other churches taking advantage of the situation. Again, the mission strategy among the Pentecostal Christians was identified as a threat as these types of churches were ‘very busy fishing from the bucket instead of fishing from the lake’.³⁹⁴ At the same time, the situation fuelled the internal conversations on mission in the ELCT. First, one might argue that it further strengthened the idea of establishing new dioceses either through a split from existing dioceses or in transforming so-called mission areas into dioceses. Second, to expand in this way was, some of my informants pointed out, one way for the ELCT to better fulfil its goal; to holistically serve the people with the Word and Sacraments.

Being efficient in our ministry, being closer to the people instead of being very far from the people. And you know it is then when these Pentecostals come in and take our people because they see that the pastor is not caring for them, he is far away. And I am closer to you. Why don’t you join me? I will be taking care of you all the time. Yeah.³⁹⁵

One has to bear in mind however that what has been discussed so far needs to be related to the broader picture of the ELCT, that is being highly involved in the field of education in general and higher theological education in particular.

First, my informants linked the issue of theological education to the role of the church as a catalyst for education, learning and reflection more broadly. Promoting education for the church leadership, they claimed, is of special importance. One of the informants used the metaphor of the prophet, priest, and king when elaborating the ordained ministry of the ELCT. The church leadership, he argued, has to be guided by its prophetic vision for the future; its ability to teach, lead, and care for its members, and must work hard, even to make personal sacrifices, in order to fulfil its goals. Reflecting on the three dimensions of the ordained ministry he stated:

[T]he church has to show the way. The church also has to advocate against evil things which are taking place within the society. That is also part of the prophetic voice of the church; imitating what Christ was also saying. He was a prophet, he was a king, a king who so to say, [exercising] a kingly office that could feed people, could heal people, could educate people, but I don’t know if we are doing the same. Maybe we are doing the prophetic work, but kingly work which is very vital to be a pastor means to be a leader, to be a king. And a king has to feed his people. How to feed? You have to show them the way. You cannot give them food. But you can show the way. That is how you can feed them. You can train them as I have said. But lastly then, to be a priest, [means] to die for your people.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴ Informant G, 2017, 1.

³⁹⁵ Informant X, 2017, 3.

³⁹⁶ Informant G, 2016, 15.

The prophetic mission of the church, he argued, was to fight against poverty and to take action for all people without exception.³⁹⁷ During the interview, he drew parallels to the time of the missionaries; how they had established hospitals and schools and developed the field of agriculture. The ELCT therefore, he argued, has to draw upon the legacy of such a holistic mission, not least its diaconal aspects, when educating church leaders for the future.

Moreover, the kingly office, according to the metaphor referred to above, implied an active engagement in society where all Christians, not only the ordained clergy, were called to embody or materialise that vision in concrete terms. Only in this way could the church, through the actions of its members, be an agent of change and societal transformation. The striking picture language of the pastor as king providing food for his people is interesting given the context within it was delivered. The role of a Lutheran pastor is depicted as an enabler of change and not as a miracle maker *per se*. In other words, my informant offered a counter narrative, which stands in sharp contrast to the narratives about the self-appointed pastors and prophets proclaiming direct access to God's promises of immediate healing and wealth. Being a Lutheran pastor thus implies to exercise one's office in such a way that people, on a daily basis, can be fed by making a living for themselves.

Another informant, equally eager to emphasise the prophetic role of the church as stated above, frankly questioned whether the ELCT was prophetic enough, particularly concerning advocacy work. He claimed:

If you listen to politicians in this country they say that the church has the role to preach the Word of God, leave all other things to politicians, to economists, and so on and so forth. But as we see ourselves, the prophetic role of the church is also to address those issues which are actually affecting and impacting upon the life of Tanzanians. No, we haven't been very successful in that area. We have not been prophetic enough. We have not been very instrumental enough to attack, to speak aggressively, on what is happening, in terms of the political leadership, and in terms of the economic systems. Those are the areas, I think, we haven't done very well.³⁹⁸

One important reason for not being able to speak out more prophetically, he argued, has both historical and ecclesiological explanations. Historically, the tight alliances between the missionaries and the colonial administration made the church reluctant to intervene or question the ruling powers but to stay loyal to the state authorities. A similar pattern, he argued, was noticeable at the time of decolonisation during the time of Julius Nyerere's politics of African socialism and the implementation of Ujamaa. Moreover, what further hinders the ELCT from cultivating its prophetic voice is partly related to the fact that

³⁹⁷ Informant X, 2016, 1, 14-15.

³⁹⁸ Informant B, 2016, 2-3.

the church is still wrestling with its ecclesiological self-understanding, which at present prevents the Lutherans in Tanzania from speaking with one voice.³⁹⁹

Second, it was against this background that the informants argued and situated the issue of theological education. They explicitly underlined the necessity of formal ministerial training though in diverse forms and on various levels. Given the fact that they were Lutherans, some of them argued, drawing upon the history of the Lutheran Reformation in the sixteenth century, that theological education was a significant characteristic of their denominational identity in Tanzania.⁴⁰⁰ Another interviewee explained: “You cannot just say: ‘I have been called – you go and preach’. You need some basic training.”⁴⁰¹ It was in and through formal theological education that the students were formed and equipped with certain tools that would enable them to serve as Lutheran pastors. That coincided well with how one of the informants understood the overarching aim of theological education offered at the Faculty of Theology, Tumaini University Makumira:

So here we are making disciples. Here we are preparing people to go and make converts to Jesus. This is our basic objective as far as the theological education is concerned. It is to prepare disciples. Yes. Who will go and work for the church. Work for the people. Who will go to the world and witness to the world. This is what we are doing. This is our job. Yes.⁴⁰²

Moreover, what the Faculty of Theology claimed to provide in terms of ministerial training harmonised with the purpose and objectives of the ELCT more broadly.⁴⁰³ So, the idea of theological education was linked to the overarching purposes of the ELCT and its mission in which the theologically trained pastor played a crucial role as a leader. More specifically, the informants’ call for theological training could be seen as one way of responding to some of the challenges or problems they claimed that the ELCT was facing. The level of theological education would therefore affect to what extent the local pastor, or a team of local pastors for that matter, would engage in the actual teaching of the church in a relevant way. As indicated by my informants, the primary task of the pastor was to serve in the local congregation and as such to strengthen its members in their Christian identity with proper Christian education. That task was further motivated by the fact that the informants considered themselves to be under pressure from Pentecostal and charismatic teach-

³⁹⁹ Informant B, 2016, 3-4.

⁴⁰⁰ Informant E, 2016, 1; Informant K, 2017, 1.

⁴⁰¹ Informant G, 2016, 1.

⁴⁰² Informant R, 2016, 6.

⁴⁰³ The official ELCT webpage indicates how the concept of mission in the ELCT should be understood: “To make people know Jesus Christ and have life in it [sic] fullness by bringing to them the Good News through words and deeds based on the Word of God as it is in the Bible and the Lutheran teachings guided by the ELCT Constitution.” <http://www.elct.org> (accessed April 20, 2017).

ing in the vicinities. As already indicated above, for my interviewees the effects of a solid Christian teaching, in terms of Bible studies and other forms of educational efforts and practices, would make it less attractive for Lutherans to join other Christian churches. So even if the ELCT is very successful in its mission to reach new people with its message or to expand into new geographical areas in order to establish new dioceses, it is equally important to be able to offer all its members proper teaching in the local congregations. Otherwise, many of them will go elsewhere in their search for a Christian community that better answers their needs and dreams in life. That is why, one of my interviewees explained, mission and theological education are intertwined and dependent upon one another. They are like “twins” that walk together side by side, he argued, pointing to the fact that “[E]vangelism without theology is nothing”.⁴⁰⁴

The Ministry of Teaching in Context

In a previous chapter, we have already seen how the ELCT wrestles with issues around selecting and recruiting new students for higher theological education and how to find ways to ensure that enough pastors will undergo ministerial training in the future. Hence, the ELCT offers several pathways towards the ordained ministry, of which the upgrade of evangelists is one. The pastors thus acquired differing types of theological training, on various levels and of different lengths, at various educational institutions in the country. As shown, the diocesan bishop ordains all the candidates according to the constitution and the liturgical tradition of the local diocese. Regardless of educational background, however, all of the ordained pastors formed a community of Lutheran clergy with the same rights and obligations in terms of administering the Word and Sacraments.

But to promote different forms of theological education and to encourage students to engage in further studies is a complex issue, not only because of the financial implications but also in relation to practical implementation. The fact that the pastors’ salaries are dependent on their formal academic qualifications, and that the size of the salary differs from one diocese to another sometimes paved the way for tensions within the collegium of pastors.⁴⁰⁵ One of the interviewees even signalled that there was a significant ‘fight for power’

⁴⁰⁴ Informant D, 2016, 17.

⁴⁰⁵ Many of my informants used the term ‘salary’ while commenting upon how much money a local pastor earned each month in a local congregation. However, as the financial conditions for a pastor differed from other types of job in society the term ‘salary’ was sometimes replaced with ‘stipend’ or ‘financial contribution’. In other words, the local pastor was financially supported by the local congregation, which had to follow the policy adopted by the local diocese in which the level of the salary/stipend was regulated. However, the local congregation could add other benefits (for instance free housing, a car, motor cycle, a bike, or even financial allowances for transport/travel etc.) in addition to what the policy document in each diocese stated. Field notes, Moshi, January 23, 2017.

among the clergy in the diocese.⁴⁰⁶ In a similar vein, to be appointed district pastor, which implied a wider pastoral responsibility, was directly linked to the level of theological education of the individual pastor. Moreover, some of the informants pointed out that with higher theological training come expectations among the ordained clergy on where the individual pastor should be placed to serve, preferably in the urban areas and not in any of the villages.

The level of theological training also impacts what kind of duties the individual pastor is able to perform in the local congregation. One informant noted that pastors with a lower level of theological training, at least in the diocese he came from, tended to be less involved in conducting Bible studies or Christian education in the local congregation than those pastors having an academic degree in Theology.

They [upgraded evangelists being ordained] are not in a position to prepare Bible studies for their congregants because most of the people we are leading these days are well educated. Secularly, they are well educated. They know a lot. And many of our people are reading the Bible, unlike in the former time, when whatever the pastor said it was believed to be true. But these days, Christians are eager to read the Bible to study. So many of these pastors are afraid to prepare a Bible study knowing that they might encounter difficult questions which ... they are not able to address. So, they would have a very very big inferiority complex, which is a psychological torture for them. They cannot lead the congregation in a proper way.⁴⁰⁷

In other words, the quest for well-educated pastors has to be analysed in relation to various factors; the pastor's salary, the pastor being in charge of Bible studies and Christian education in the congregation, the differing and increasing level of education among the congregants, the various criteria for pastors to be appointed district pastors and other more prestigious positions in the diocese.

The level of higher theological training among the pastors in the ELCT is thus crucial, particularly as a growing number of church members, particularly in the urban areas, are well educated.⁴⁰⁸ Several of the interviewees explicitly pointed out that it was important for them to increase the number of pastors with an academic degree in the respective diocese. One of my interviewees explained:

⁴⁰⁶ Informant G, 2016, 6.

⁴⁰⁷ Informant X, 2016, 4.

⁴⁰⁸ Many of my informants indicated that the growing number of well-educated church members in the ELCT was linked to urbanisation in general and to the fact that an increasing number of people in Tanzania were engaged in higher education specifically. Additionally, the level of education was also related to the fact that some regions in Tanzania had a higher proportion of people with further education than others, which also impacted on how my informants framed the situation in their respective contexts. Field notes, Moshi, January 23, 2017.

[I]n Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Moshi town but even today in the villages, within the worshipping community there you'll find people with degrees, with master's degrees, retired government officers, and now if you send a pastor only with a diploma there or a certificate you know some people may say 'What is he talking about?' So it matters.⁴⁰⁹

Therefore, for the informants it was crucial that the theological training corresponded to the level of education of the congregants. A growing number of people in the pews, particularly among a younger generation of Lutherans, are today well educated, eager to learn and able to question what is said from the pulpit in the church. They may participate in Bible studies and other church-related gatherings with an expectation of encountering the Christian message in a relevant and challenging way.

So, the correlation between the actual level of education among the congregants and their need to be provided with solid Christian teaching on the one hand, and the level of education of the Lutheran pastor serving the congregation on the other, cannot be ignored. For several of the interviewees, such a situation seemed to further strengthen their argument to promote theological training among the pastors of the ELCT. "We have to agree that the level of education matters" one of my informants pointed out, and especially it seems when it comes to the ministry of teaching.⁴¹⁰ Given the present situation in the ELCT, it became crucial for many of the informants to emphasise the ministry of teaching in a local congregation, which beside preaching also included confirmation classes, Bible studies, and adult education classes, to mention just a few.

In a similar vein, formal education plays a pivotal role when appointing persons in charge of various educational programmes for pastors and other church workers in a diocese. Solid teaching is crucial when directing the future development of the church. One of the informants explained what is at stake:

We have pastors who are influenced by these revival issues, extremisms, and so we are very careful. You cannot putting this people in the ministry of teaching because otherwise all these things that are in his head or her head will just come up and spread among all other pastors. You see. We always place people in special positions, taking into consideration the level of knowledge, what I mean of course, theological training in that case. That is how we do it.⁴¹¹

In other words, there are pastors in the diocese that are caught up with 'revival issues' and therefore, according to the informant, referred to above, not suitable to lead or teach other pastors or church workers. Due to their 'extremisms' they are disqualified from the teaching ministry. Instead, so the argument

⁴⁰⁹ Informant L, 2017, 10.

⁴¹⁰ Informant K, 2017, 5.

⁴¹¹ Informant V, 2017, 2.

goes, these pastors have to undergo teaching themselves in order for them and the congregations to which they minister to change.

Having that said, an academic degree in theology was certainly not a guarantee that the pastor would be able to address these kinds of challenges or to respond adequately to the various expectations and needs on the parish level. For several of my interviewees, theological education was described and analysed as a dynamic, complex, and multi-layered enterprise. To be an ordained pastor, they argued, is to be an official representative of the church and a public figure. In addition to the formal academic training therefore, a number of other qualities and skills, often related to lifestyle or personal behaviour, were needed in order to be a well-functioning pastor.

As shown above, the procedures related to the selection process that precede the academic studies at the university already indicate what kind of qualifications the diocese is looking for when recruiting future pastors. It should be noted that when the diocese, through its bishop and the committee in charge of the vetting process, was to decide whether or not the applicant should pass, the students had not yet started their formal academic studies. So, at that particular stage of the process it was not a question of assessing any of the formal theological skills of the individual. Rather the committee had to decide on what grounds and to what extent the student was willing, motivated, and able enough to digest his/her theological training that was to begin in relation to his/her already acquired qualifications.

A System Undergoing Criticism

For my informants, theological education implied intellectual and spiritual formation. They were strongly convinced of the fact that the students, through their theological training, would be formed into Lutheran pastors. Theoretically and practically they would expand their theological and pastoral knowledge, and through the personal encounter with their peers and teachers they would further integrate and digest it in relation to their pre-existing experiences and formal competence. But the issue of theological and pastoral formation can also be questioned and problematised.⁴¹² To what extent is the theological education offered also formative in nature and character? How well does it serve the purpose of dealing with the upcoming challenges that threaten the development in the ELCT? And what does formation in this regard actually mean?

One of my informants was very explicit in his criticism of the present system. In line with the informants on the whole, he defended the idea of formal theological education and the necessity for a sound theological development in a growing church like the ELCT. But were these institutions influential enough to guide and direct the church in the years to come? What seemed to

⁴¹² Vähäkangas, "On the (Ir)Relevance," 172-175.

worry him most was if and to what extent the institutions for theological training in the ELCT really could make an impact on the church and its developments of today. More specifically, he accused the church for having ‘universitised’ the field of theological training into a rigid system that inadequately served the actual needs of the local congregations. That was also one of the reasons, he claimed, why the church and its institutions for theological training had difficulty keeping pace with what happened in the localities. The idea of formation, a term that signals and presupposes some kind of individual and communal change or transformation, tends in the present educational system, he argued, to be turned to its opposite. Due to the formal education gained at the university, the local pastor risks being caught in traditional ecclesiastical structures and thought forms. The pastor is thus, he explained, hindered from being the driving force he/she is supposed to be:

We need to create a military of pastors who come out of training with desire to serve and transform, rather than now that they come out of seminary after one year they are completely conformed to the status quo. Actually they are looking forward to graduate in order to become part of the status quo.⁴¹³

Differently put, instead of being agents of change the pastors become defenders of status quo. Formation turns into conformity. Hence the institution for higher theological education does not live up to its ultimate goal to produce Lutheran pastors able to give a significant contribution to many of the issues the church at present has to address. Instead the pastors, through the benefits they gain from formal education and the ordination to the priesthood, become reluctant to real changes. He explained:

So having a pastor who is chanting a liturgy on Sunday will not make this church sustainable in the next 20-25 years. No, it will be history, I’ll tell you. /.../ now we are having these young boys from high school, directly into seminary and then you have this superficial training ... training without formation and no wonder that we wonder what we are now?⁴¹⁴

So, what is then needed if one wants to go from conformity to formation and from stagnation to creativity? Clearly, his critique does not challenge primarily the educational structures as such; whether the theological training ought to be structured within the framework of a university, a zonal college, or a TEE programme. Rather, his concern points to a larger issue, namely that of recognising the great need of a plurality of competences, interests, and profiles among the collegium of Lutheran pastors in Tanzania. In other words, in what ways may the church, through its educational systems host and promote a diversification of the theological education and thus provide the congregations with pastors that are better equipped for the present challenges?

⁴¹³ Informant E, 2016, 22.

⁴¹⁴ Informant O, 2016, 22-23.

We have already touched upon some of the difficulties and challenges the ELCT is facing when recruiting theological students in the first place. Moreover, we also noticed that different levels of theological training among the clergy lead to different pastoral duties and responsibilities in the local congregation. Additionally, we have seen how some of the informants claimed that the present situation in the ELCT, particularly in the light of the growing number of charismatic and Pentecostal churches, brings forth a number of self-critical questions for the Lutherans themselves to reflect upon.

In the following, we will briefly look into another issue that some of the informants drew attention to, namely the need for a specialised ministry which would make possible a multitude of special pastoral competencies and functions in the church in a time of rapid change. As shown earlier, some of the students at Makumira argued, in their own academic writings, in favour of specialised ministries in the ELCT that would enable the church to respond properly to the various needs in the local congregation. In a similar vein, commenting upon the charismatic renewal and its different expressions within the ELCT today, some of the informants emphasised the importance of addressing these issues as part of the students' theological training.

For many of the informants, the idea and need of a specialised ministry is linked to the fact that the dioceses in the ELCT identify and define their respective contexts and challenges in different ways. For instance, one of the informants made a distinction between the pastoral contexts in the rural and urban areas respectively, which all had varying needs and challenges. The educational system today, one of them claimed, promotes and fosters one single type of pastor in the ELCT, namely generalists. They are all trained according to similar models and ideals, which then should be applied in relation to each of the dioceses. But the realities in the ELCT, he argued, demand pastors that are specialised in particular fields. The local or regional challenges and interests must therefore guide what is taught and practised in the context of theological education. He explained:

So, in each congregation there should be a Mwakasege-type-of-pastor, a senior pastor who is doing administrative work, a family pastor who is going outreach to deal with the family issues, you see, but having a single pastor who is expected to counsel the family, who is expected to be on the hotline for those who wants to go to the hospital, who is expected to go to court, who is expected to chair for the church. It is unthinkable. That's where Mwakasege gets the followers. Yeah. But it seems that we leaders are not awake. There are a lot of pastoral demands. Yeah.⁴¹⁵

Given what has been sketched above concerning the current situation, how should the ELCT then navigate? Are there any alternatives to the reactive approaches put forward in much of the teaching and rhetoric commented upon

⁴¹⁵ Informant O, 2016, 17.

above? Some informants called for self-critical reflection that aimed to enable the ELCT to re-route its direction.

First, the shifting multi-religious landscape demands that the ELCT does not blame the religious other but admits that religious diversity in Tanzania is a fact and that it influences and affects the church in one way or another. Or as one of my informants frankly declared: 'If your shop is empty, no customers, ... then you have to ask why ... I am telling you that we have to renew ourselves'.⁴¹⁶ The fact that many people, even among very loyal Lutheran church members, seek healing, comfort, advice, and recognition outside the boundaries of the ELCT has to be taken seriously. The fact that the Pentecostals are good at 'marketing their thing', as one of the informants put it, ought to be a wake-up call, he argued, for the Lutherans to respond adequately to the challenges at hand and not yet another reason to criticise or accuse the religious other for being wrong.⁴¹⁷ Moreover, it raises questions about what kind of pastoral counselling the ELCT actually offers its members, and if and how the church is able to deal with the current issues in a relevant way. So, strategising for the future implies learning from other religious communities and their way of addressing and responding to people's physical or spiritual needs. But it was not a question of a copy and paste strategy, but to further reflect on how the ELCT may communicate and express its holistic teaching, not only through its verbal preaching but in its various liturgical rituals and pastoral practices. That leads us to the second argument brought forward by the informants.

Second, people need 'rituals that empower them' one of the informants explained, with a clear appeal for the church to further reflect on what kinds of space, tools, or arenas the ELCT is willing and able to offer its members.⁴¹⁸ On a similar note, another informant pointed to the fact that the Catholics generally speaking are more open to a ritualisation of the Christian faith than the Lutherans which traditionally have emphasised the preaching ministry. Again, a major concern therefore for the Lutherans in Tanzania is to attentively listen to people's needs and try to respond as appropriately as possible. The main point here is that the church has to acknowledge the fact that people are empowered through the many rituals performed and developed in the church. Equally important however is to be attentive to the current situation. The informants emphasised that the ELCT, when analysing the situation, has to look beyond and beneath what is immediately at hand. The systematic way of preaching, which in my informants' view was regarded as characteristic for Lutheran tradition, may in comparison with the style of the energetic prophets seem less attractive. On the other hand, one of the informants argued:

⁴¹⁶ Informant M, 2016, 8.

⁴¹⁷ Informant S, 2016, 8.

⁴¹⁸ Informant M, 2016, 8.

I don't think that the needs of our people is to go in the church and cry 24 hours [a day]. They have other problems and I don't even say those are psychological problems. An African person should be thought of holistically ... That's my position.⁴¹⁹

Therefore it is important for the ELCT to employ different methods and means of communication when embodying the Christian faith.

A third argument, linked to some of the processes mentioned above, is that the inadequate way of dealing with the current situation directly or indirectly leads to what some of the informants called a 'secularisation' which is partly triggered and caused by the church itself. When the ELCT is unable to adequately address or deal with the needs of its members, one of the interviewees argued, they might not merely leave the Lutheran community but also the Christian church. Some of these people may find their way to another Christian community, but seen from a broader perspective the situation tends to undermine the members' confidence in the church and its ambition to impact and transform society in general.

One way of coming to grips with the challenges mentioned above is to actively promote and take part in various forms of missionary activities. The informants brought up theological as well as pragmatic arguments. One of them showed me, for instance, photos of a team of people from his diocese involved in a missionary outreach. The overarching purpose of the campaign, that culminated in an open-air meeting in a rural area, was to 'reach the unreached' with the Gospel.⁴²⁰ Under the leadership of its bishop, the local congregation thus mobilised and educated teams of people engaged in preaching, praying, and healing services. The evangelistic campaign had educational implications and included worship services as well as film shows. In this way, the local Lutheran congregation was strengthened in its missionary endeavours and its ability to welcome new members. However, as many of the pastors were often poorly equipped for these kinds of pastoral ministries it was crucial to make thorough preparations beforehand. By participating in the event himself, my informant explained, he was not only supervising but also legitimising others to do the same elsewhere. In other words, Lutherans mobilised in ways similar to the Pentecostal and charismatic churches in the area. In this way, they tried to make their voice heard in contestation with many others. Moreover, as many of the Lutheran pastors employed methods and practices for which they were not necessarily trained it was important for my informants to offer them proper schooling in this regard.

⁴¹⁹ Informant S, 2016, 9.

⁴²⁰ Informant P, 2017.

Additional Venues for Teaching and Formation

Based on what the ELCT communicates on its official website, Tumaini University Makumira is ascribed a vital role in the life of the ELCT. The institution is an important space where mission, ministry, and education are tightly knit together. From various viewpoints, one might argue that the university signifies and visualises the desired unity of the ELCT. The fact that the institution has been highly involved in hosting conferences, meetings, and gatherings with national and even global concerns, further signals its symbolic role in bringing the various interests and needs of the church together.⁴²¹ Unsurprisingly, the informants brought similar viewpoints and opinions to the table when elaborating their understanding of theological education and ministerial training.

First, in its capacity as a university, founded and run by the ELCT and not by a particular diocese, there is a national concern, often even with global connotations, in relation to the respective arrangement. Second, Makumira is seen as an important academic resource for ministerial training and theological reflection in the ELCT in general. Third, the close cooperation with other academic and church-related institutions across the globe, including the support and cooperation from the LWF, adds a global and transnational dimension, which further underpins the many links between the ELCT and other Lutheran churches across the globe.

Having said that however, it is important to bear in mind that theological education was not only envisioned or thought of in terms of specific courses and training programmes at particular institutions, such as Makumira or the zonal colleges. My informants pointed out that ministerial training and pastoral formation implied a learning process that continued beyond ordination and throughout the years of pastoral ministry. In fact, if the ELCT was able to stay theologically healthy and relevant, it was argued, it was absolutely crucial for its pastors to have further training and reflection. This educational enterprise

⁴²¹ In 2013 the ELCT celebrated its 50th Anniversary under the theme ‘All may be one’ at Tumaini University Makumira. The event marked the end of the Jubilee year in which several regional arrangements in the respective dioceses in the ELCT had taken place. By the time of the official celebrations, 50 years had passed since the ELCT was founded in June 1963. Thousands of participants from all over the country joined the festive event including a large number of guests from churches and missionary agencies across the globe, all with strong ties to the ELCT. ‘The way the ELCT celebrated her 50th Anniversary’, *ELCT Press Release*, No. 008/06/2013: <http://www.elct.org/TechServ/Radio/events/anniversary/anniversary.htm> (accessed October 16, 2018). In 2014, Makumira hosted a conference for theological educators in sub-Saharan Africa that gathered around the theme ‘Lutheran Identity in Africa’. The meeting was organised by the LWF sponsored network for theological educators in Africa. Several papers from the conference were later published in the *Africa Theological Journal* 35, no.1 (2015). In 2017, the ELCT celebrated 500 years of Lutheran Reformation with regional arrangements in the different dioceses. A major event for the whole church took place at the end of October and was located at Tumaini University Makumira. ‘ELCT to celebrate 500 years anniversary of church reformation’, *ELCT Press Release*, No. 002/10/2017: <http://www.elct.org/news/2017.10.002.html> (accessed October 16, 2018).

was played out in all levels of the church and often involved a broader group of people than the ordained clergy. Various anniversaries in the ELCT gave rise to public celebrations of national concern, with participants from all over the country providing educational input of various kinds.

When it comes to ministerial formation more specifically however, there are gatherings particularly designed for the ordained clergy in the ELCT at which further theological reflection in terms of Bible studies, worship services, lectures, and discussions are prominent components. Many of my informants referred to meetings and gatherings for pastors organised on different levels of the church. The most recent national meeting for pastors in the ELCT at which many of the issues mentioned above were addressed becomes crucial when directing and influencing the church for the years to come.

The conference in Dodoma in September 2016 gathered over 1500 pastors coming from dioceses, institutions, and mission areas in the ELCT all across the country.⁴²² The overarching theme of the meeting was entitled ‘500 years of Reformation: Our Witness’ and aimed at focusing on ‘unity and cooperation’ within the ELCT in the light of the Lutheran Reformation. More specifically, the issue of how and on what grounds the ELCT would be able to act and respond adequately and with one voice to some of the major challenges at hand became key. That implied further reflection on issues such as Lutheran identity, Christian worship and teaching, including pastoral counselling in relation to the changing and diverse religious landscape in Tanzania. Several things are worth noting in this regard, and which some of the speakers also touched upon in their presentations.

First, the wider context of the meeting. The chosen theme referred to the broader context of Lutheran churches across the world preparing for the celebration of the 500-year anniversary of the Reformation that was about to take place in 2017. The historical perspective was as important as the contextual one when they scrutinised the implications of the Reformation in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, the fact that the General Assembly of the LWF would take place in Windhoek, Namibia, in May 2017 under the theme ‘Liberated by God’s Grace’ further situated the Dodoma conference in its wider Lutheran, transnational, African, and global context.

Second, several issues addressed at the pastors’ meeting were, if not identical, similar to what my informants considered crucial in relation to theological training in Tanzania more broadly. Some of my informants referred to this particular meeting by pointing to the fact that it had addressed some of the most crucial issues in the ELCT with clear implications for mission and ministry. ‘We are in an education process’, one of the informants explained, while elaborating upon the background and the underlying assumptions of the gathering:

⁴²² The Pastors’ meeting took place in Dodoma on September 24-29, 2016. *ELCT Press Release*, No. 001/11/2016: <http://www.elct.org/news/2016.11.001.html> (accessed April 4, 2017).

[A]t any cost we have to avoid what we may call popular evangelism or popular Christianity. We have to. Being a Christian, a genuine Christian means also being different /.../ so to teach what it really means to be a Christian in the changing society and the changing world and to give the proper biblical understanding of what it means to be a Christian, to believe in Christ, to be a follower, what discipleship entails, you know, I think that is the crucial thing.⁴²³

As shown, the pastors' conference can be seen as an attempt to deal with issues related to enchanted Christianity in general and the charismatisation of the ELCT specifically. In addition to the regional conferences and meetings for pastors in the dioceses across the country, it was equally important to gather the ordained clergy in the ELCT for meetings on the national level. So, coming together as Lutheran pastors around a common theme and under the auspices of the Presiding Bishop of the ELCT is a manifestation of the structural unity of the church and its educational endeavours to promote further theological reflection and pastoral formation. In line with the arguments underpinning the residential training at Makumira or at the zonal colleges, the meeting in Dodoma underlined that the ministry of teaching was crucial for every single pastor to carry out in the localities. In a broader perspective the conference as such might be viewed as an example of a church wrestling with issues similar to those in many of the historical mainline churches all over the African continent.

Third, the relationship between ecclesiology and the ministry of teaching was further discussed during the conference. In his concluding address Fredrick Shoo, bishop of the Northern Diocese and the presiding bishop in the ELCT, told the ordained clergy in the ELCT the following story:

The father of our nation, Julius Nyerere, ventured to give an example of some foolish people who sold diamonds. Now there was a man who looked for a way to deceive them. He formed pieces from bottles with different colours and told the diamond sellers that their diamonds were not real ones, while his were. When they saw the beauty of them they despised the real diamonds only because the man was so self-confident. And they said "no wonder that what we had were not real diamonds" and they exchanged the real diamonds for the pieces of glass. It is possible that this is what happening today.⁴²⁴

Shoo summarised the Dodoma meeting, which had specifically drawn attention to various aspects of unity in the ELCT, by referring to the founding father of the country and its former President Julius Nyerere. The narrative implicitly alluded to a dramatic period of time when people in Tanzania, as part of the nation building, strived for national unity and independence. With its help he illustrated the complexity of the present situation in the ELCT by pointing to the fact that the church, due to contested creeds and truth claims, might easily

⁴²³ Informant Å, 2017, 15.

⁴²⁴ Shoo, "Closing Speech," 2.

lose its track. For Shoo therefore, while seeking and discerning ways forward for the ELCT in the 21st century, it was of the utmost importance for the church to re-examine its rich theological and spiritual resources from the time of the Lutheran Reformation and re-claim its relevance and meaning today. Much of what characterised the 16th century, he argued, was similar to that of the present context in which the ELCT is called to carry out its message. He explained:

People [during the time of the Reformation in the 16th century] were full of doubts instead of being certain; they were filled with fear without any reason and they were taught in a way that did not square with the truth of the Word of God.⁴²⁵

Ordained Lutheran pastors, he claimed, are called to defend the teaching of the ELCT and represent it with great confidence. He forcefully urged the participants to critically reflect upon how and to what extent, by exercising the ordained ministry, they might serve the unity of the church. Shoo reminded them that “[e]verything that glitters is not gold” and that they as ordained pastors had a significant role to play in the life of the ELCT.⁴²⁶ In particular they had a responsibility for the teaching of the church and would encounter many challenges. The personal calling becomes key, he claimed, and thus reminded the clergy of the ELCT about the authority that comes with their position in the church.

A pastor who does not believe in himself says to his congregation “I beg you to look at page..., I beg you to stand up” or “I ask you to pray”. You have the authority in your hands. Instead you should say to the congregation: “By the power I have from Jesus: ‘stand up!’, ‘sit down!’, ‘listen to the Word!’, or ‘let us pray!’”⁴²⁷

In line with the introductory story about the diamonds, Shoo pointed out that they as Lutheran pastors had a valuable treasure not merely to protect from being deformed by external forces but to draw upon and make use of in their many encounters with people. The ELCT thus has something important to offer its adherents, and the pastor must take the lead and show them the way forward.

The Presentations at the Pastors’ Meeting

The speakers at the Dodoma conference were all established and well-known theologians within the ELCT. Revd Dr Abednego Keshomshahara, bishop of the North-Western Diocese, delivered the keynote address under the heading

⁴²⁵ Shoo, “Closing Speech,” 2.

⁴²⁶ Shoo, “Closing Speech,” 2.

⁴²⁷ Shoo, “Closing Speech,” 6.

‘500 years of Reformation: Our Witness’. Among the other presenters, all of whom were ordained pastors in the ELCT and heavily involved within the field of theological education, were Revd Dr Angela Olotu (Tumaini University Makumira), Revd Dr Faith Lugazia (Protestant University of Rwanda), Revd Dr Msafiri Mbilu (Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University) and Revd Dr Emmanuel Kileo (Stefano Moshi Memorial University College).⁴²⁸ Through their academic affiliations the speakers represented a broad range of the educational institutions in the ELCT and beyond. As such the conference symbolically expressed the importance of having speakers from several academic institutions brought together at a joint conference for the whole church.

As already noted, a central aim of the speakers was to critically and constructively address the theological and pastoral challenges in a rapidly changing religious society. The proliferation of Pentecostal and charismatic churches, their emphasis on the teaching on the Holy Spirit and the way healing, prophecy, and the speaking in tongues are practised and taught in these churches, demanded that, as Lutherans, they thoroughly address and deal with these issues. But what perspectives did the presenters actually underline as important when searching for greater clarity on the role of the church and its Lutheran teaching?

First, in order to adequately address people in their various social, historical, or experiential settings it was important to call for a theology that was attentive to context and time. Moreover, it was also important to be clear on the principles for how to navigate theologically in these waters. Keshomshahara underlined what was at stake: “The challenge is to strengthen the Christians spiritually without losing our identity and witness, and without opposing the Word of God.”⁴²⁹ Terms such as ‘spirituality’, ‘identity’, ‘witness’, and ‘Word of God’ became key. His personal experiences of visiting a hospital ward served as an example of what he was aiming for:

Two years ago I came to our regional hospital in order to visit a sick person and pray for him and others. A Pentecostal pastor arrived who prayed well until he started to talk like Jesus. He told the patients that “you will be discharged tomorrow, you there [pointing towards another patient] the day after tomorrow, and you over there [pointing towards another patient] on Saturday”. He added “You don’t see the one who was lying over there, whom I said would leave today, but he was actually discharged from the hospital earlier”. When the other patients told the pastor that the one he was talking about actually had

⁴²⁸ It is worth noting that both Keshomshahara and Lugazia have published extensively on Lutheran encounters with charismatic Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa. Keshomshahara, “The Challenges,” 95-106; Keshomshahara, “Christianity, Superstition,” 42-57; Keshomshahara, “The Lutheran Doctrine,”; Lugazia, “Charismatic Movements,” 45-65; Lugazia, “Towards an African Inculturation,”; Lugazia, “Transformation,”. Several other theologians within the ELCT have dealt with similar issues, for example: Katabaro, *Hunger for Success*; Katabaro, “Who Challenges whom,” 1-9; Moshi, “Charismatic Challenges,” 24-27; Munga, “Uamsho,”.

⁴²⁹ Keshomshahara, “500 years of Reformation,” 7.

died that morning, he said “OK, let’s pray for his eternal rest”, and talked as if he were drunk.⁴³⁰

This narrative provided the audience with a telling case from the local context that Keshomshahara used to further strengthen his argument; it was crucial for them as Lutherans to take people’s physical, psychological, and spiritual needs seriously and not to withdraw from the practical implications of the teaching about the Holy Spirit but to respond adequately to the various pastoral needs at hand. In the above narrative, the ways Lutheran pastors conducted prayer and counselling at a local hospital are compared and contrasted with the methods of pastors coming from other types of churches with other ideals and practices. As such, Keshomshahara created a Lutheran role model of how to handle the situation.

Second, the fact that Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity in the Tanzanian context has given rise to a multitude of prayer practices related to healing and prophecy as well as to diverse perceptions of salvation that challenge the self-understanding of the ELCT and its ministry of teaching. While Lutherans traditionally have emphasised the principle of ‘grace alone’ (i.e. justification by grace through faith) Keshomshahara argued that the teaching on sanctification (i.e. the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of an individual Christian) has generally been weaker, or even neglected.⁴³¹ Lutherans are confronted with contesting assumptions and truth claims even within their own local contexts, which makes it even more necessary for them to articulate reasons for their convictions, practices, and beliefs. The different practices and teachings, constantly circulating in and between the churches, made individual Lutherans vulnerable as they could easily be misled and go astray. Several of the speakers therefore argued that it was vital for Lutherans to strengthen the teaching on the gifts of the Holy Spirit and to relate it to the existing pastoral practices and structures in the life of the church.

In his lecture, Keshomshahara touched upon some of these challenges; double or triple belonging in terms of denominational affiliation among the church members; people refraining from consulting healthcare or schooling who asserted that instead they would be fully comforted exclusively by the Spirit; or people seeking advice from traditional witches or healers instead of seeking pastoral counselling in the church.⁴³² Again, practising the gifts of the Holy Spirit, Keshomshahara argued, does have a legitimate place in the life of the ELCT as long as it is accompanied by, embedded and rooted in solid teaching that is both Lutheran and biblical. It is through teaching, either in oral or written form, that people can be encouraged to explore and discern their faith as it is presented, lived and embodied in the Lutheran tradition in Tanzania.

⁴³⁰ Keshomshahara, “500 years of Reformation,” 4.

⁴³¹ Keshomshahara, “500 years of Reformation,” 1-5.

⁴³² Keshomshahara, “500 years of Reformation,” 6-7.

In a similar line, Faith Lugazia argued that it was important for the ELCT to draw upon existing but, in her view, often neglected historical and theological resources when elaborating a pneumatology for the 21st century. As the reformation of the church continues over time, she argued, the historical creeds of the church, the confessional and liturgical documents of the ELCT were crucial when translating the teaching on the Spirit into the present time. Martin Luther's own writings in his *Small Catechism* or the teachings available in the Lutheran hymnal *Tumwabudu Mungu Wetu* are, in Lugazia's view, important resources to consult.

So, strengthening the teaching of the Holy Spirit, emphasising its role in the life of the church, and practising the gifts of the Spirit were crucial for both Lugazia and Keshomshahara when addressing the pastors at the conference. However, there were many pitfalls to overcome along the way. Looking for signs, wonders, and miracles, they argued, can lead people to go astray, become too inward looking, or self-centred. Therefore, they underlined the role of the Word and Sacraments, which in contrast to the gifts of the Holy Spirit, are means of grace, reassuring Christians about the promise of salvation. Lugazia underlined the role of teaching in this regard:

We should teach more on the real meaning of the Sacraments in our various teaching situations, such as preparing for baptism, confirmation classes, and small groups. Today, many of our believers have made baptism into an occasion for having a party rather than [treating it as] a Sacrament. If possible, I would advise that from time to time all believers, not only parents and godparents, be reminded about these matters.⁴³³

Third, another aspect that was dealt with at the pastors' meeting in Dodoma in relation to its overarching focus on how to maintain the unity in the ELCT was the issue of Lutheran worship. As indicated earlier in this chapter, several institutions in the ELCT such as schools, hospitals, hotels, and universities, are important signs of the structural unity of the church. These institutions are run by the ELCT as a result of a common interest and a shared commitment for maintaining the unity of the church regardless of the geographical location of the institutions as such. However, as Msafiri Mbilu pointed out in his presentation, an even stronger factor for ecclesial unity in the ELCT is Christian worship, through which people gathered and were brought together on all levels of the church in the whole country. The fact that the pastors were in charge of leading worship in the localities and were responsible for its future structure, content, and style, were matters that were considered to be of great importance at the national meeting in Dodoma.

Given the present situation in the ELCT, with its "many new ways of teaching" confusing its members, Mbilu claimed that the links between teaching, worship, and unity were more crucial than ever before to address.⁴³⁴ The way

⁴³³ Lugazia, "The Church and the Revival," 17.

⁴³⁴ Mbilu, "Worship and the Unity," 1.

Lutheran worship is performed and structured, he argued, is a clear expression of what the ELCT believes and teaches. As such it is an identity marker for what it might mean to be Lutheran. His speech, which in part had the character of providing detailed instructions, was crystal clear when dealing with the sermon in the worship service. To diligently prepare the sermon beforehand is key as well as to carefully assess who is given access to the pulpit. Mbilu advocated that wherever Lutherans gather for a service they should refer to and follow the same order of service as the liturgy itself is seen as a manifestation of the unity of the church and its teaching. He eagerly declared:

It is necessary for us to have a liturgical order that is clearly the same in every Lutheran worship service, in order for people to recognise that we are Lutheran, marked by unity, specialising in a clear teaching [of] the Word of God. Our church has a clear order or system, and this should be used to create unity in all matters of the liturgy.⁴³⁵

As noted, Mbilu's arguments coincide with many of my informants' descriptions of Lutheran worship sketched above and are fully in line with how the worship course at Makumira was structured and taught. With the help of officially recognised documents, such as the ELCT Constitution and the Lutheran hymnal, he advocated a homogenisation of the Christian worship in the ELCT for the sake of the denominational identity and of the structural unity of the church.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter shows that the discourse on theological education is closely related to my informants' perceptions of the ELCT and its missionary task; the ambition to adequately address the adherents, the eagerness to reach out, to serve, and contribute to society more broadly. Being a Lutheran Christian, living and practising faith side by side with other religious communities generates new sets of questions for the church to deal with, not least regarding denominational identity, theology, and spirituality. The informants framed these challenges both as threats and opportunities as regards the teaching and practices of the ELCT. Out of contesting claims and practices grows a strong emphasis on the ministry of teaching in order to delineate a solid Lutheran response.

It goes without saying that the ordained pastor has a pivotal and multifaceted role to play in the life of the local congregation. As shown, the informants expected the ordained ministry in the ELCT to be well equipped, and it is through diverse forms of theological training that the fabrication of pastors

⁴³⁵ Mbilu, "Worship and the Unity," 1.

primarily takes place. This chapter identifies the following roles of a pastor in the ELCT when analysing the discourse on theological education.

First, a Lutheran pastor has an educational and fostering responsibility in the church. To promote and encourage reflection and learning is crucial, not least in light of the broad range of social and diaconal engagements in which the ELCT takes part. More specifically, when it comes to the ministry of teaching or what the church doctrinally teaches and believes, the pastor is depicted as an instructor, a teacher, and a role model. At the pastors' conference in Dodoma, the pastor was referred to as the representative of "the proper teaching of God's Word" and as "the theological expert in the parish".⁴³⁶ The pastor, therefore, is in need of continuous theological schooling when offering his/her knowledge and expertise.⁴³⁷ As an official representative of the church, the pastor is expected to offer a correct interpretation of its doctrine and stand-points. Therefore, following a similar line of thought, the clergy is advised not to outsource the theological and pastoral responsibility for Christian education to anyone else, but instead actively take part in its practical implementation, be it in primary and secondary schools or in the congregational milieus.

Second, a Lutheran pastor is theologically trained and liturgically ordained in order to lead the worship service in the local congregation. Regardless of where the service is performed, be it in a local church, at a hospital, or as part of a spiritual meeting, the pastor is supposed to lead, supervise, and assist. That is not to diminish the role and function of the multitude of lay-preachers and volunteers actively participating in the ELCT but the role of a Lutheran pastor is closely linked to the obligation to preach the Word and to administer the Sacraments. As noted, what the church theologically and doctrinally held true is expressed through its worship and its diverse rituals and distinct liturgical language. In this regard the pastor has to bridge and connect the ministry of teaching with the different forms of worship within the ELCT.

Third, the pastor is primarily seen as a representative of the ELCT and its holistic mission and not of his/her own personal interests and preferences. As this chapter has shown, despite many of the pitfalls and theologically unsound teachings that come with the charismatic renewal of the church, it is important for the ELCT to accommodate charismatic experiences and expressions within their own communities. Properly addressed, it was argued, these could be seen as manifestations of the imagined Lutheran holistic mission. In his keynote address, Keshomshahara explicitly outlined a vision for the future:

Let us be in the forefront of visiting the sick ones; let us have large spiritual meetings and public preaching in special services at least three times a year in every district or parish. Let us care about and visit the elderly and disabled and integrate the lay people in the church and its leadership.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ Kileo, "The Pastor," 7.

⁴³⁷ Kileo, "The Pastor," 11.

⁴³⁸ Keshomshahara, "500 years of Reformation," 10.

Clearly, it is crucial for the ELCT to publically legitimise, structurally as well as theologically, those aspects of charismatic teaching that are in line with Lutheran doctrine more broadly. Keshomshahara called the church to proactively engage with its members in new ways by visiting those in physical and spiritual need, organising specially designed meetings and services, and incorporating the lay people in the church leadership. In other words, his own encounter with the Pentecostal pastor at the hospital ward indicates that Lutherans and Pentecostals might differ in teaching and pastoral practice but not necessarily when it comes to basic strategies of how the church should best convey its message. Similarly, while elaborating a pneumatology for the ELCT, Lugazia advocated the establishment of specially designed ‘institutions’ or ‘spiritual healing centres’ where the gifts of the Spirit could be made available to those in need.⁴³⁹ Again, fields such as mission, education, and the ordained ministry are closely interlinked. Guiding and motivating the pastors through further studies, of various lengths and levels, is thus crucial when directing the church on its way forward.

⁴³⁹ Lugazia, “The Church and the Revival,” 18.

9. Theological Education and Ministerial Formation as an Art of Government

In this concluding chapter, I intend to return to the research questions posed in the introductory part of the thesis and to further discuss some of the findings of the study. At the core of the chapter stands the discourse of theological education and ministerial formation in one of the largest and fastest growing Lutheran churches in the world. Theological education has been a hotly debated issue for decades and continues to engage as the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania seeks its way for the future. As this study demonstrates, it cannot be emphasised enough that the educational and theological enterprise in the ELCT is high on the agenda. The field involves a broad range of actors in all levels of the church including many global partners, all with certain claims, agendas, and expectations of what theological education entails.

This qualitative study, which draws heavily upon interviews with Lutheran bishops and theological educators in Tanzania, identifies leading motives and ideas behind their current engagements in the field of ministerial studies. More specifically, it shows how the informants reflect, argue and negotiate their perceptions of higher theological education. It demonstrates by what means, techniques, technologies, and practices they claim to govern, guide, and form the students in theology. Formal ministerial studies are not carried out in a vacuum but in and through certain institutions, appropriately designed to serve their purposes. In order to gain academic accreditation and recognition and to oversee the processes of quality assurance, these institutions cultivate links with relevant institutions in society, such as the TCU or with other educational institutions in Tanzania. Even the global networks and connections, such as other Lutheran churches and missionary organisations abroad, play a significant role in this regard. Drawing inspiration from governmentality studies and the notion of governmentality, this study focuses on ‘how’ questions; it examines how theological education is envisioned and structured, how the interviewees calculate, strategise, or respond to certain problems linked to the multiple forms and models of theological training. As such, the study focuses on how government operates, and examines what claims, hopes, and visions the informants have in mind when educating a new generation of clergy in the ELCT.

Importantly however, as clearly outlined in chapter 2, such an analysis is not the same thing as undertaking an empirical study on “how various people

or agents in positions of authority rule”.⁴⁴⁰ Rather, an analytics of government is concerned with thought concerning forms of knowledge, practices, and techniques through which individuals govern and are governed. This study claims therefore to do what Mitchell Dean calls “an analysis in the plural” taking into account the different assemblages of regimes of government. Foucault criticised the traditional notion of power – associated with hierarchical top-down models, or seen as an instrument of domination, coercion, and repression. Power is not to be identified in a certain place, position, and person. Instead, he argued that power is productive and performative in character, always relational and thus seen as being everywhere. As noted in this study, theological education is about governing the self and others at the same time. Government thus not only involves exercising authority over others but also governing the self and actively participating in regulating one’s own conduct.

This study suggests that there are three legitimising components that constitute pastoral authority in the ELCT; theological education and teaching, ordination, and moral character. These factors impact every single pastor regardless of when and where he or she is carrying out the ordained ministry. These factors play a pivotal role in the informants’ understanding and descriptions of pastoral formation and theological training, when reasoning about the educational institutions, or when trying to elaborate upon the role and message of the ELCT in Tanzania in general.

Formal theological studies are not only a prerequisite for pastoral ordination but impact the understanding of what pastoral ministry as a lifelong commitment in the ELCT entails. The vice-chancellor’s speech at the Graduation Ceremony of the Tumaini University Makumira, referred to at the beginning of the thesis, in which he declared that “education has no end” and that further studies fuel and promote societal change, echoes the overall departure point among the informants. As noted, the ordination rite and oath in the ELCT shows what is at stake, namely that the church requires obedience and expects loyalty from its entire clergy. Having said that, the fact that relatively few pastors in the ELCT undergo theological studies at a more advanced level is not only challenging the general assumption that higher theological education is key when training and equipping Lutheran pastors but also demands that the actors involved engage in further reflection and problematisation.

Governing Ministerial Students

This study shows that the discourse of theological education is loaded with high expectations and far-reaching demands for both individuals and collectivities. The informants talked about and referred to theological education and ministerial formation interchangeably. Hence they pointed to the overall intention of the educational enterprise: to train, shape, and equip individuals for

⁴⁴⁰ Dean, *Governmentality*, 28.

the ordained ministry in the ELCT. Through theological studies, the students are to be academically trained and, at the same time, spiritually formed.

As noted, one of the informants referred to a medical clinic or to a hospital ward as a metaphor when describing the learning activities and assignments carried out in the university chapel. With Miller and Rose, arguing that government is about ‘making-up’ people, one could say that the ministerial students are drawn into processes of change, adaptation and normalisation.⁴⁴¹ The theoretical and practical aspects of teaching and learning are tightly knit together. New insights both complement and challenge their existing views or their way of thinking and acting. The informants’ outlook is crucial; what they consider problematic and in need of change has direct implications for their way of reflecting upon teaching and how to organise space and time. The idea of following a daily rhythm with set times and routines for worship services, lectures, meals, and practical assignments is crucial. Even in their spare time, the students spend much time together when living and participating in different activities together at the university area. The individual student shapes the community, it was argued, and the life of the community impacts the individual. The classroom, the chapel, or the internship in a local congregation are places thought of as greenhouses or laboratories in which the students learn, grow, and mature over time. There, they are diagnosed, taught and refined by theological experts – bishops, professors, lecturers, and pastors – in order to become and belong to an educated and powerful ecclesiastical elite themselves.

As shown, the students are scrutinised, selected, and rejected by different people on different levels in the ELCT, before, while attending, and after coming to Makumira for further studies. Crucial pieces of data about the students, distributed in oral or written form, are put together in order to make adequate judgements concerning ethical, theological, and educational matters. However, the processes around the discernment of the individual’s calling and personal vocation to the priesthood start in the local congregation. Those representing these milieus – by participating in committees, councils, and boards on the congregational or district levels – thus become influential gatekeepers for the students on their way towards entering the ordained ministry. Similarly, even the dioceses and the institutions in charge of ministerial training are all closely linked to one another when facilitating the processes around recruitment, education, and formation. Thus a steady flow of personal information concerning the students constantly circulating between the local congregations, church districts, and the dioceses, between the dioceses and the educational institutions, and between the different dioceses in the ELCT in general. As shown, even the Lutheran Mission Cooperation is highly involved in monitoring the progress of the ministerial students in order to secure and supply funding for their studies.

⁴⁴¹ Miller and Rose, *Governing the Present*, 8-10.

But being chosen and destined for the ordained ministry is neither a guarantee for academic progression nor for theological and spiritual maturity. To be a degree holder in theology is not the same thing as being an ordained Lutheran pastor. Some students, those transgressing the borders of accepted behaviour or expected study progress, are requested either to terminate or, if eligible, to prolong their studies. Some of the narratives put forward by the informants when commenting upon students deviating from the 'normal' or 'expected' route are discussed in public and are therefore known to a wider audience. As such, these stories are delivered with a message and become self-regulating, not only for the ministerial students but for pastors in the ELCT in general. The Prospectus of the Tumaini University Makumira addresses issues related to lifestyle, personal behaviour, and the importance of following the dress code, illustrated by colourful photos.

A similar self-disciplining power applies to the coursework at the university campus. We saw, for instance, how the teachers mentor the students in the chapel; requesting them to refine and restructure their sermons so that the preaching from the pulpit coincides with the official teaching of the ELCT. Similarly, their liturgical and practical actions before the altar have to be in tune with the overall understanding of what it might mean to be Lutheran in Tanzania. Moreover, the teachers provide the students with a set of research questions, requesting them to conduct participant observations in local congregations. The different assignments are designed and carried out with an underlying agenda in mind: to promote critical and theological reflection and to set an example of how to do things right. Or, as Adrienne S. Chambon points out: "Professional supervision mirrors the self-knowledge expected from clients."⁴⁴² The students are thus under constant surveillance, which underlines the fostering task of the institution: to regulate the behaviour and way of thinking of the students.

One has to bear in mind however, that the identity formation of the students may not be a result of only the many instructions and assignments from supervisors, bishops, and teachers; through their active engagement in the study processes, the students themselves contribute to the constitution of their own identity. The fact that the students are under constant surveillance and scrutiny promotes self-discipline. The students monitor each other and compare each other's actions, ways of reasoning, and ways of living. The already ordained students mentor and instruct the rest of the student group. Knowing what the ordination oath prescribes, so the argument goes, the ministerial students are well aware of what the church expects in terms of personal commitment and moral obligations. In the act of priestly ordination in the ELCT, the ministerial candidates willingly promise to "un-tirelessly have a worship habit", to "be ready to control [their] moral behavior" and to "be ready to work wherever

⁴⁴² Chambon, "Foucault's Approach," 69.

[they] will be sent”.⁴⁴³ Again, with reference to Chambon, mechanisms like “self-control” and “self-change” are absolutely necessary components of the educational milieus and institutions that the interviewees strive to develop.⁴⁴⁴

Governing Institutions

Another aspect of how the informants reason, problematise, or strategise the field of theological education is linked to the development of the institutions themselves, which can thus be seen as crucial instruments and means for government. The present marketisation of the higher education sector in Tanzania even impacts the discourse of theological education and how it is envisioned, structured, and implemented in the life of the church. The fact that there is a broad range of programmes and models of ministerial training in the ELCT today is far from new but the conditions under which they operate have totally changed and have challenged the whole field. The enhancement of professionalisation and formalisation of the educational institutions clearly show what is at stake: theological seminaries become universities and Bible schools are transformed into colleges. Theological and ministerial studies are no longer exclusively carried out at seminaries but at colleges or universities, now accompanied by a broad range of other academic disciplines. For Tumaini University Makumira, which is accredited and chartered by the TCU, this significant shift is a quality marker and a sign of academic recognition in Tanzania and beyond. The prominent position of the English language is key, even a requirement, when studying and teaching at university level, or when building global academic networks, and structures for scholarly exchange.

The idea of promoting formal theological studies is closely linked to the self-understanding of the ELCT in the past and present. Establishing one major centre for Lutheran theological schooling that educates and trains clergy from across the country was early on a crucial factor for structural and theological unity. Makumira has always, throughout its institutional history, been seen as a node, a meeting place for joint efforts and expression of concerns by the different dioceses and units of the ELCT, often in collaboration with a wider, global Lutheran community. As shown earlier, the Western and missionary export from Lutheran churches and missionary agencies in Europe and the United States, in the middle of the twentieth century onwards, gave rise to a whole set of academic and theological ideals, traditions, and practices. The legacy of the institution, the fact that Makumira with time has become part of ‘our tradition’, as one of the informants argued when elaborating upon the

⁴⁴³ The quotations are taken from the ordination oath that is further described in Chapter 4 of the thesis.

⁴⁴⁴ Chambon, “Foucault’s Approach,” 68.

history and development of the ELCT, is crucial when critically reflecting upon the current challenges.⁴⁴⁵

As we have seen, the different institutions for ministerial training in the ELCT grow and develop over time, always backed up by Lutheran churches and missionary agencies abroad. Moreover, their participation in different ecumenical networks and regional alliances further cultivate a broader and global outlook. The Lutheran Mission Cooperation is the single most significant platform for cooperation when governing the joint efforts in the ELCT related to theological education. The present system, with its multiple models and programmes of theological training, shows that one could qualify for the ordained ministry in different ways and yet be working in the church across the diocesan borders. Despite the fact that the dioceses are autonomous, each with differing constitutions, regulations, and theological traditions, they all recognise the ordained ministry as one and the same for the whole church. Nevertheless, the priorities put forward by the LMC clearly mark which institutions for ministerial training the ELCT and its global partners have jointly decided to promote and support; Tumaini University Makumira for higher theological education (studies at bachelor's level and beyond) and the three zonal colleges for ministerial studies at a lower academic level – Kidugala Lutheran Seminary, Lutheran Bible College Nyakato, and Mwika Lutheran Bible and Theological College (offering courses at certificate and diploma levels).

The distribution of the financial resources available is a crucial factor when governing the discourse of theological education. As shown, a fundamental idea behind the Bachelor of Divinity Fund and the newly launched Theological Education Fund is to enable all the dioceses in the church to benefit from the allocated money on equal terms. However, despite the fact that there are financial resources available, the dioceses face difficulties in recruiting students that are sufficiently qualified and motivated to embark on theological studies at university level. Furthermore, the gender aspect is another area of common concern. The LMC has persistently noted that the number of female students at Makumira is far too small and has therefore decided to introduce incitements for the recruitment of more female ministerial candidates. The longstanding effects of the newly introduced 'two-for-one deal' are yet to be evaluated.

However, the sustainability of these types of scholarships is totally dependent on the financial ability and the priorities of the LMC. As noticed in this study, the financial dependency on partners abroad makes the educational infrastructure and the different initiatives highly vulnerable. One might argue however, that the informants have good reasons for their way of reasoning and acting in this regard. The fact that Makumira is offering theological education at bachelor's level and beyond makes it possible for the zonal colleges to further develop ministerial studies at a lower academic level. While the total

⁴⁴⁵ Informant V, 2017, 1.

number of BD students at Makumira is relatively limited in scope, it is reasonable to believe that the students applying for studies at the zonal colleges will continue to increase. The discrepancies between the different institutions and the fact that they are targeting different types of ministerial students in the ELCT fuel the idea that Makumira is educating a theological and academic elite. In its capacity as a private, Christ-centred, accredited, and fully-fledged university, the Tumaini University Makumira offers something that the zonal colleges do not. At the same time, given the shortage of ordained pastors in the ELCT the differing models for theological training are greatly needed.

But, as this study demonstrates, the current discourse of theological education even involves other actors and initiatives than those mentioned above. Dioceses in charge of residential and non-residential ministerial courses and programmes have mobilised significantly over the last decades. Through regional networks and in cooperation with churches and missionary agencies outside Tanzania they have become active players in the field of education, ministerial studies included. While encompassing the plurality of forms and models of ministerial training, some informants had reservations about the actual effects of such training on the life of the church. There is no doubt that the manifoldness of courses and programmes enable the diocesan constituencies to make theological training more flexible and accessible for a broad spectrum of students, both locally and regionally. Nevertheless, the present situation paves the way for tensions and contestations. The competitive element cannot be ignored as all institutions for ministerial training are constantly searching for funding and new students. Far more problematic however, is the lack of transparency when it comes to the actual content and standard of the ministerial training offered at some of the institutions. As noted, the example from the SELVD, which is running its own institution for ministerial training with support from a partner abroad with which the ELCT neither is in Eucharistic fellowship nor in agreement on the ordained ministry, generates new and intriguing questions for the future. Again, the idea of theological and structural unity in the ELCT is crucial but also challenged by the present situation. Despite the fact that the ordained ministry is fully acknowledged across the diocesan borders, one of the informants frankly declared that there was ‘no way that pastors trained in the SELVD automatically will be serving in my diocese without further theological studies’.⁴⁴⁶

To sum up, how the different institutions are described and envisioned, organised and funded, what kind of theological training they offer, and with whom the dioceses and the ELCT cooperate are all crucial parameters for the informants when reflecting on how to best serve the primary purpose of theological education.

⁴⁴⁶ Field notes, December 2, 2017.

Governing the Future

An underlying aspect of the informants' intentions with theological education is linked to the issue of the future prospects of the ELCT. The informants' perceptions of ministerial formation say something about their expectations of the ordained clergy and how to influence, direct, and guide the church in the decades to come. In other words, governing the present implies governing the future. The discourse of theological education is not only a question of how to educate a new generation of Lutheran pastors in Tanzania. A key issue is to what extent the ELCT is able to adequately address its approximately 6.5 million members in the decades to come. For the interviewees, these two issues were clearly interlinked, even though the latter goes far beyond the field of theological education and the concern for leadership training.

As noted, many different forces are at work and impact the situation. The ELCT is steadily growing and is establishing new dioceses in order to serve its members more effectively. It is navigating in a multi-religious landscape, constantly negotiating its message and self-understanding when encountering the myriad of contesting practices, claims, and teachings. While some of the interviewees depict the rapid rise of Pentecostalism and the presence of different charismatic movements and teachings as 'a poison' or 'a threat' that have to be defeated, others call upon the ELCT to accommodate these expressions of Christianity and adapt to the new roadmap. Furthermore, the informants describe the ELCT as being a church in mission, which constantly has to define its message anew. Establishing and developing schools, hospitals, and universities, or being highly involved in the field of sustainable development, go hand in hand with missionary campaigns and outdoor worship services. The church acts and engages in the public sphere, positioning itself as an advocate for justice and peace, most recently in the widely discussed Easter Message from the bishops in the ELCT in 2018.⁴⁴⁷

We have already seen that the Constitution of the ELCT regulates the obligation of the church in relation to the field of theological education, that is its obligation to call, educate, ordain, and to oversee the moral conduct of Lutheran pastors. Similarly, the constitutional documents from the time when Makumira was founded underline the importance of having a major centre for theological education that serves the whole church. Inevitably, the establishment of Makumira had and still has a unifying effect on the ELCT. Importantly however, the discourse of theological education is not a fixed concept prescribing a given meaning, form, or content. It has changed and continues to change over time. The current mix of courses and programmes, all labelled under the umbrella term 'theological education', differ significantly, dependent on their length and academic level, and at which institution, and in which context they are carried out. A similar plurality is noticeable among the

⁴⁴⁷ "Our Nation, Our Peace." Easter Message from the Bishops' Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT). 2018. See: <http://cct-tz.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Pastoral-Letter-ELCT-2018-Easter-Message.pdf> (accessed August 2, 2018).

students. The study shows that the educational background of the students – in terms of schooling, prior knowledge, and working experience – varies greatly. The fact that the ministerial students come from different dioceses and draw upon diverse traditions and practices in the ELCT is highly valued. At the same time, the study demonstrates numerous examples of how the informants claim to govern and guide the ministerial students towards greater homogeneity with clear norms and ideals shaping their knowledge, behaviour, and attitudes. But to what extent the ministerial students, seen as ‘products of Makumira’ as the informants put it, de facto are adequately trained for the multitude of complex duties and expectations that await them in the local congregations may be questioned. As the earlier quoted informant forcefully argued, the present ‘universitised’ system feeds conformity and rigidity instead of a well-needed creativity in the ELCT.

While ecumenical cooperation is vital to the ELCT, the discourse of theological education is mainly structured and talked about along the lines of denominational affiliation. The engagement in the Christian Council of Tanzania, the relationship to the Tanzania Episcopal Conference, and the diverse local or regional links with other churches and Christian networks are of great importance when the informants elaborate upon the history and present identity of the ELCT. Even the field of inter-religious relations, primarily between Christians and Muslims, is crucial but not further addressed by the informants even though some pastors in the ELCT, as part of their theological schooling, have undertaken further studies at places such as St. Paul’s University, Kenya. Nevertheless, in line with the current overall trend in sub-Saharan Africa with the tremendous proliferation and growth of institutions for theological education, most churches build their own institutions for ministerial training. So does the ELCT, eagerly advocating its Lutheran identity.

The current conversation on denominational identity – whether the ELCT is described as historical mainline, charismatic, or Pentecostal, or as a combination of these stereotypes – shows that the ELCT is at a crossroads. The rationalities underpinning the informants’ arguments and their perceptions of theological education touch their visions, expectations, and aspirations for the future. The informant referred to in an earlier chapter, who frankly declared that ‘a Lutheran pastor chanting the liturgy on a Sunday would soon be history’, has to be taken seriously. What tools are needed for the local pastor to be able to minister in a relevant and meaningful way? Beneath and beyond the binary and polarised descriptions of Lutheran identity referred to in this thesis lies the critical question of the actual relevance and adequacy of ministerial studies. To what extent are the institutions for theological education able to dialogue and keep pace with a rapidly changing and globalised society? What can be offered to the pastors in the ELCT as appropriate tools for their encounter with the multitude of “health-seeking nomads”, a term coined by Lotta Gammelin when referring to people that are constantly on the move in search

of healing, comfort, and advice for their afflictions?⁴⁴⁸ The quest for relevance and accountability is key. One has to bear in mind, however, that the call for adaptation and change does not merely come from the ‘outside’, i.e. from the surrounding society with its diverse socio-political, economic, and religious challenges. This study shows that the informants are constantly negotiating and wrestling with the influx of ideas and practices from the ‘inside’, i.e. from dynamic Lutheran pastors in charge of charismatic and flourishing congregations across the country. Even the ministerial students, some of whom are brought up and fostered in these types of milieus, further the discussions on how to face the situation appropriately. Similarly, leading Lutheran theologians in the ELCT are given the floor to speak and act on these pressing issues at conventions and meetings for clergy. Though highly critical of what these impulses may bring forth, the informants indicated that the ELCT has to actively engage in the conversation. To what extent the ELCT is capable of coping with the situation adequately, and even governing the institutions for theological education in that direction remains open.

We have seen how the informants defined the role and function of a Lutheran ordained pastor in terms of a teaching, fostering, curing, and caring ministry. A Lutheran pastor in Tanzania is theologically trained and liturgically ordained in order to administer the Word and Sacraments. The pastor is a public figure, often being depicted as an instructor and a role model. Furthermore, this study indicates that the notion of a holistic approach to anthropology, creation, and salvation is key. While they had some difficulties in explaining or describing the current contours of Lutheran identity in Tanzania, the interviewees eagerly told how they crafted a Lutheran pastor in practice. In other words, with their diverse descriptions of how they educated and shaped pastors came claims of what it might mean to be Lutheran or to belong to a Lutheran tradition. What they claimed to do or how they described what they did reveal, in one way or the other, ideals, practices, and thought forms that they labelled or identified as Lutheran. Even the way they talked about specific institutions of theological and ministerial schooling had a similar function.

The discourse of theological education encapsulates the above stated challenges and demands for the future. However, it is not the only factor to consider, when prospecting and strategising for the years and decades to come. However, as this study suggests, unpacking the many layers of how we think and talk about government is crucial when critically and constructively conducting theological education and ministerial formation today, and will continue to be so in the future.

⁴⁴⁸ Gammelín, “Health-Seeking Nomads,” 245-264.

10. Jumlisho katika Kiswahili

Yafuatayo ni jumlisho fupi la tasnifu ya udaktari ya Johannes Habib Zeiler, Kuunda Viongozi Walutheri kwenye Tanzania. Mawazo kuhusu Masomo ya Theolojia na Utengenezaji wa Wachungaji katika Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri ya Tanzania (World Christianity and Interreligious Studies, Faculty of Theology, Uppsala University, Sweden. 2018).

Kiini cha tasnifu hiyo ni majadiliano juu ya elimu ya thiolojia na utengenezaji wa wachungaji katika kanisa la KKKT, ambalo miongoni mwa makanisa ya Kilutheri ni kubwa na la kuongezeka kwa haraka sana kuliko mengine. Mambo hayo yamejadiliwa sana kwa miaka kadhaa, na bado ni muhimu KKKT linapotafuta njia zake kwa nyakati za mbele. Hakuna mashaka hata kidogo ya kuwa kazi ya kuelimisha kitheolojia ni juu katika ajenda ya kanisa hili. Wanaohusu ni wengi katika kila kiwango cha kanisa, pamoja na washiriki wa kimataifa; wote wana masharti, ajenda na matarajio yao kuhusu masomo ya theolojia.

Uchunguzi wa tasnifu hii ilifanyika miaka 2015 hadi 2018. Lengo lilikuwa kuona na kufahamu zaidi mawazo na nia za waongozi hawa kuhusu eneo la masomo ya kiuchungaji (*qualitative study*). Mahususi zaidi, tasnifu inaonyesha jinsi wasailiwa hufikiri na kutafuta utambuzi wao juu ya masomo ya juu ya theolojia. Inadhihirisha jinsi wasailiwa wanavyotafakari kwa njia, mbinu, teknolojia na utekelezaji gani wanataka kuongoza na kutengeneza wanafunzi wa theolojia.

Masomo ya kiuchungaji hayafanyiki hewani, bali kwenye vyuo maalum, vilivyoanzishwa kwa kusudi hili. Ili vipate sifa ya kuwa katika kiwango cha kitaaluma na kuhakikisha hali hii, vyuo hivi vya theolojia hujenga mahusiano na taasisi nyingine katika jamii, kama Tanzania Commission for Universities au asasi zingine za elimu nchini. Hata mahusiano ya kimataifa, kama mahusiano na makanisa mengine ya Kilutheri na vyama vya umissioni, ni ya maana sana katika eneo hili.

Kwa mwongozo wa utafiti na nadharia ya kutawala (*governmentality*) uchunguzi huu hukasa maswali ya "jinsi gani" ("*how*" *questions*). Nimechunguza jinsi wasailiwa wafahamavyo elimu ya theolojia, pamoja na jinsi wanavyojibu matatizo mbalimbali yanayohusu wingi wa njia na modeli za kuelimisha wanatheolojia. Utafiti huo huchunguza utawala pamoja na maoni na matazamio ya wasailiwa katika kazi yao kuelimisha kizazi kipyacha wachungaji wa KKKT.

Nilivyoonyesha kwenye ml. 2, uchambuzi wa namna hii si sawa na kutafuta ufahamu kwa kupima na majaribio (*empirical study*), k.m. kuangalia kwa

mbinu gani viongozi wanavyoongoza wengine.⁴⁴⁹ Badala yake nimechunguza hasa fikra zao, aina za ujuzi, mazoea na mbinu, ambazo wanazitumia katika kutawala ama kutawaliwa. Yaani, ni uchunguzi wa ustadi wa utawala, ustadi wenye matawi mengi na uchambuzi tofauti (*analysis in the plural*).

Foucault alikosoia dhana ya kawaida kuhusu enzi, yaani kulifahamu kama chombo cha nguvu, shurutisho na unyamazishaji tu, kutoka mkuu dhidi ya raia. Lakini enzi si tendo la nguvu linalotoka mahali, cheo ama ukuu maalum, bali ni uhusiano na ushirikiano kati ya watu. Ni kutawala, kutawaliwa – na kujitawala, lakini kwa ukubaliano wa wote. Ni kutoa mamlaka pamoja na kupokea mamlaka kwa hiari – hata katika chuo cha theolojia.

Kuhusu mamlaka kanisani, naona kuna sababu tatu zinazompa mchungaji mamlaka katika KKKT: elimu ya kitheolojia, kubarikiwa kuwa mchungaji, na maadili yake. Kila mchungaji huathirika nazo katika huduma yake kila wakati na mahali anapofanya kazi kanisani. Tena ni sababu muhimu kwa wasailiwa wa uchunguzi huu, jinsi wanavyofahamu na kueleza masomo ya theolojia pamoja na ”malezi” ya kiuchungaji, pia wanapojadiliana juu ya vyuo tofauti vya kuelimisha wachungaji, na juu ya nafasi na ujumbe wa KKKT katika Tanzania.

Elimu maalum ya theolojia kwa muda ya miaka kadhaa ni sharti la kubarikiwa, lakini inaendelea kuathiri jinsi wachungaji na wengine wanavyofahamu huduma ya kiuchungaji kama kazi ya maisha yote katika KKKT. Tulipoangalia juu ya kuwa kubarikiwa mchungaji pamoja na kula kiapo cha mchungaji ni wasi kwamba kanisa hudai utii na kutamani uaminifu kutoka wachungaji wake wote.

Katika hotuba yake katika Mahafali ya mwaka 2017 Mkuu wa Tumaini University Makumira alikasa ya kuwa ”elimu haina mwisho”. Yaani, jamii na kanisa yote mawili yatafaidika wakiendelea masomo ya juu kitheolojia. Wasailiwa wangu wangekubali sana – kwao elimu ya theolojia ya kiwango cha juu ni muhimu sana. Ingawa msimamo huo, wachungaji walioendelea kujifunza theolojia mpaka kiwango cha juu si wengi sana. Hali hii inaleta maswali kuhusu umuhimu wa masomo ya juu kwa wachungaji wa kilutheri. Pia ni changamoto ya kuyatafakari mambo hayo kwa bidii zaidi.

Kutawala wanafunzi wa uchungaji

Utafiti huu unaonyesha ya kwamba mazungumzo marefu kuhusu elimu ya theolojia yanabeba matarajio makubwa na matakwa mengi, kwa watu wa binafsi na watu mbalimbali wa jamii na wa kanisa. Wasailiwa wanasema na wanataja ”elimu ya theolojia” na ”utengenezaji wa wachungaji” kwa kubadilishana. Wanakaza kusudi ya elimu kijumla: kufundisha, kuongoza na kuandaa watu kwa kubarikiwa kuwa wachungaji wa KKKT. Kwa njia ya

⁴⁴⁹ Dean, *Governmentality*, 28.

masomo ya theolojia wanafunzi wa uchungaji waandaliwe kitaaluma na kiroho kwa wakati mmoja.

Msailiwa mmoja anatumia wadi wa hospitali kama picha anapoeleza njia za kutimiza wajibu wao katika darasa na katika kanisa la chuo. Miller na Rose wanahoji ya kwamba kutawala ni sawa ya "kutengeneza" watu, hivyo itawezekana kusema ya kwamba wanafunzi wa uchungaji huvutwa katika mabadiliko mengi.⁴⁵⁰ Katika mafunzo yao upande wa kinadharia na upande wa utendaji zote mbili zinakwenda pamoja kabisa. Utambuzi mpya watimiza maoni waliyonayo na kubishana nayo, na kubadilisha jinsi wanavyofikiri na wanavyotenda.

Mandhari ya wasailiwa ni muhimu sana hapa; waliyoyaona yaleta shida na yahitaji mabadiliko yanaathiri wanavyotafakari juu taratibu ya maisha ya kila siku katika maisha ya wanafunzi. Kufuata mpango wa kila siku mwenye masaa na utaratibu kamili wa sala, masomo, chakula na kazi ya mikono ni muhimu. Hata muda huru wanafunzi wanaishi pamoja, wanakaa na kushiriki katika shughuli mbalimbali pamoja katika eneo la chuo kikuu. Kila mwanafunzi anajenga jamii na jamii ina maana kwa mwanafunzi. Darasa, kanisa au kazi katika usharika, haya yote yanafikiriwa kuwa mahali pa kujifunza, kukua na kuiva kwa wanafunzi. Pale wapimwa, wafundishwa na wastaarabishwa na wabingwa wa theolojia – maaskofu, maprofesa, wahadhiri na wachungaji, ili wawe watu wa cheo cha juu kanisani, wataalamu wenye mamlaka.

Wanafunzi wachunguzwa, kuteuliwa na kukataliwa na bodi mbalimbali za KKKT kabla ya kufika Makumira kwa masomo. Ripoti za wanafunzi kimdomo na kimwandiko kuhusu matokeo ya mwanafunzi zimekusanywa ili viongozi wapate kupata kumjua kwa upande wa maadili, na wa mambo ya kitheolojia na kielimu. Lakini njia ya kutambua mwito na moyo wa mtu anayetaka kuwa mchungaji inaanza zaidi, yaani katika usharika wa mtu anayehusika. Kwa hiyo wakili wa halmashauri, baraza na bodi za aina mbalimbali za sharika na majimbo ni mabawabu wenye mamlaka kwa wanafunzi njiani kubarikiwa kuwa wachungaji. Vilevile dayosisi na vyuo vinavyotoa mazoezi ya uchungaji zinasaidiana sana katika wajibu wa kuendesha mambo ya kuandikishwa, kuelimisha na kuunda wanafunzi. Habari zinazohusika wanafunzi huvumishwa mara kwa mara kati ya sharika, jimbo na dayosisi, kati ya dayosisi na vyuo vya elimu, na kati ya dayosisi na KKKT nzima. Kama tumeona hata Lutheran Mission Cooperation inahusishwa sana katika wajibu wa kuangalia jinsi wanafunzi wa uchungaji wanaendelea ili kuhakikisha na kutoa fedha kwa masomo yao.

Lakini mwanafunzi ambaye amechaguliwa kwa uchungaji hana dhamana ya kuendelea kitaaluma wala ya upevu wa kitheolojia na kiroho. Kuwa na shahada ya theolojia si sawa na kubarikiwa kuwa mchungaji wa Kilutheri. Baadhi ya wanafunzi ambao wana mwenendo yasiofaa au maendeleo yasiyotazamiwa katika mafunzo yao, wanaombwa kuacha chuo au,

⁴⁵⁰ Miller and Rose, *Governing the Present*, 8-10.

ikiwezekana, kurudi masomoni baadaye. Wasailiwa wanapotoa taarifa ya wanafunzi wanaohitilafiana na mwenendo "wa kawaida" au "unaotazamiwa", yaliyomo ya ripoti yanazungumzwa wazi, na hivyo yanajulikana kwa watu wengi. Kwa sababu habari hizi zinatolewa pamoja na ujumbe zinadhibiti si wanafunzi wa uchungaji tu, bali wachungaji wote wa KKKT. Zaidi ya hayo, Prospectus ya Tumaini University Makumira inatoa uongozi wa jinsi ya kuishi, mwenendo wa binafsi na uhuhimu wa kuvaa inavyofaa, kama inaonyeshwa katika picha za rangi.

Nguvu ya kujiadilisha ni ile ile kwa kazi ya taaluma katika chuo kikuu. Kwa mfano tuliona jinsi waalimu walisimamia wanafunzi katika mazoezi kanisani; waliwaomba kufanya nzuri zaidi na kurekebisha hotuba zao ili zipatane na mafundisho rasmi ya KKKT. Vile vile matendo yao mbele ya madhabahu ni sharti yalingane na ufahamu wa kanisa zima maana ya kuwa Mlutheri katika Tanzania.

Aidha waalimu wanawapa wanafunzi maswali ya utafiti na wanadai wanafunzi washiriki na waangalie kwa uaminifu hali ilivyo katika usharia wanapokaa. Kazi zote mbalimbali zina kusudi moja tu: kufundisha wanafunzi kujiuliza na kutafakari kitheolojia na kutoa mfano wa kutenda mambo yote vizuri. Au kama Adrienne S. Chambon anasema: "Usimamizi wa kitaalamu ni kioo kinachoakisi kujitazamia kwa wanaohusika".⁴⁵¹ Basi, wanafunzi wanasimamizwa kila saa kama msingi kwa wajibu wa chuo kulea wanafunzi: kurekebisha tabia na wanavyofikiri wanafunzi.

Walakini tukumbuke ya kwamba utambulisho (*identity*) ya mwanafunzi si matokeo ya mafunzo mengi na kazi zinazotoa wasimamizi, maaskofu na waalimu. Kwa sababu wanafunzi wanashugulika sana katika maendeleo yao ya elimu wao wenyewe wanashiriki kabisa katika kujenga utambulisho wao. Kwa sababu wanafunzi wanasimamizwa na wanachunguzwa muda mzima wamezoea kujizuia (*self-discipline*). Wanafunzi wanaangaliana na wanalinganisha jinsi wenzao wanavyotenda, wanavyofikiri na wanavyoishi.

Wameshabarikiwa huwaongoza na kuwaelimisha wanafunzi wengine. Wanafunzi wa uchungaji wanajua vizuri amuru ya kiapo cha kubarikiwa na matazamio ya kanisa kuhusu ahadi na masharti ya maadili. Katika ibada ya kubarikiwa atakayekuwa mchungaji anathibitisha kwa hiari ya "kuwa na tabia ya kusali bila kuchoka," "kuwa tayari kutawala mwenendo wake kiadili," na "kuwa tayari kufanya kazi popote anapotumwa". Kama anavyosema Chambon, "kutawala nafsi" (*self-control*) na "kubadilisha nafsi" (*self-change*) ni mambo muhimu kabisa, na wasailiwa wanajitahidi kuendeleza mazingira ya kielimu na vyuo vyeneyewe.

⁴⁵¹ Chambon, "Foucault's Approach," 69.

Kutawala asasi

Sura nyingine ya wanavyofikiri na wanavyohoji wasailiwa au wanavyopanga elimu ya theolojia inakwenda pamoja na maendeleo ya taasisi zenyewe, kwa sababu hizi ni vyombo muhimu sana kwa kutawala.

Miaka ya mwisho sekta ya vyuo vikuu katika Tanzania imeongezeka sana, na watu wanaotaka kujielimisha wana nafasi ya kuchagua mahali wanapopenda kujifunza. Hali hii ina maana kwa elimu ya theolojia pia na jinsi inavyofikiriwa, inavyopangwa na inavyotekelezwa katika maisha ya kanisa. Hali hii ya kuwa na mipango na njia nyingi kwa kuandaa watakaokuwa wachungaji wa KKKT si mpya, lakini jinsi ya kufanya kazi imebadilika kabisa na inachanga moto katika eneo zima. Ongezeko la kitaalamu na utaratibu wa kanuni taasisi inaonyesha vizuri maelekeo haya: semina za theolojia zinakuwa vyuo vikuu na shule za Biblia zinabadilika kuwa vyuo. Masomo ya theolojia na uchungaji hayafanyiki tena katika semina tu, lakini katika vyuo na vyuo vikuu ambavyo vina masomo mengi mengine ya taasisi. Tumaini University Makumira kimekubaliwa na kimepewa hati rasmi ya Tanzania Commission for Universities, na tendo hili ni mabadiliko makubwa yenye maana kubwa, na pia ni alama ya sifa bora na uthibitisho wa taasisi katika Tanzania na hata nje Tanzania. Kujua kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza ni ya lazima ukitaka kusoma au kufundisha katika chuo kikuu au kujenga uhusiano wa taasisi na kushiriki katika ubadilifu wa wasomi wengine katika nchi zingine.

Wazo wa kuendeleza masomo ya theolojia linaungana na jinsi KKKT linavyojifahamu, zamani na siku hizi. Kuanzisha centa moja ya Kilutheri itakayofundisha na kueleleisha wachungaji kutoka pande zote za Tanzania ilikuwa ya umuhimu sana katika jambo la kujenga umoja wa theolojia tangu mwanzo. Tangu mwanzo wa historia yake na mpaka siku hizi Makumira imefikiriwa kuwa centa, mahali pa kukutana na kujitahidi pamoja ndani ya dayosisi na katikati ya dayosisi mbalimbali na idara za KKKT. Mara nyingie makanisa ya Kilutheri kutoka nje yameshiriki katika mikutano hii. Tumeona ya kwamba msaada kutoka wakala wa misioni wa makanisa ya Kilutheri katika Ulaya na Marekani tangu karne ya ishiringi na kuendelea umeleta seti ya mifano bora ya kitaasisi na kitheolojia na utendaji. Urithi wa taasisi, ukweli ya kuwa Makumira sasa imekuwa sehemu ya mapokeo yetu ni muhimu tukifikiri kwa uangalifu changa moto kwa siku hizi.

Tuliona jinsi taasisi mbalimbali ya mafunzo ya uchungaji katika KKKT zimekuwa na zimetawisha muda kwa muda, na kila saa makanisa na nyakala za misioni zimeunga mkono. Aidha ushiriki wao katika miungano tofauti ya umoja wa makanisa yote (*ecumenical work*) umeendelea wanavyoona na wanavyofikiri uchungaji. Lutheran Mission Cooperation ni jukwaa la pekee kwa ushirikiano wa kazi zote za KKKT kuhusu elimu ya theolojia.

Utaratibu wa siku hizi, ambao una njia na mipango mingi kujifunza theolojia inaonyesha ya kuwa inewezekana kustahili kubarikiwa kuwa mchungaji katika njia mbalimbali na hata hivyo kufanya kazi kapnisan kupitia mipaka ya dayosisi. Ingawa kila dayosisi ina makatiba, sheria na urithi

wa theolojia zake, dayosisi zote zinakubali uchungaji moja tu kwa kanisa zima.

Hata hivyo vitaumbele vya LMC vinadhirisha ni taasisi zipi za theolojia ambazo KKKT na wabia lao kutoka nje wameamua kuimarisha na kusaidia. Ni Tumaini University Makumira kwa elimu ya juu (kiwango cha Bachelor na juu zaidi), na vyuo vya kanda vitatu kwa masomo ya theolojia kwa kiwango cha chini yaani Kidugala Lutheran Seminary, Lutheran Bible College Nyakato, na Mwika Lutheran Bible and Theological College (inayotoa masomo ya Cheti na Diploma).

Kugawa fedha zinazopatikana ni jambo muhimu kwa kutawala elimu ya theolojia. Tumeona ya kwamba wazo la msingi la Bachelor of Divinity Fund na Theological Education Fund iliyoanzishwa hivi karibuni, ni kupa dayosisi zote za kanisa kufaidia fedha kwa hali sawa. Lakini ingawa fedha zapatikana, dayosisi zina matatizo kuandikisha wanafunzi ambao wanastahili na wana hamasa kuanza masomo katika kiwango cha chuo kikuu. Pamoja na haya jinsia ni jambo lingine la kufikiria. Tangu miaka LMC imeona tena na tena ya kuwa idadi ya wanafunzi wa uchungaji wa kike ni wachache mno. Kwa hiyo wameamua kuingiza vichocheo ili wanafunzi wa kike wengi zaidi wajiandikishe. Matokeo ya sera mpya "wavili kwa mmoja" (*"two-for-one-deal"*) haijapimwa bado.

Lakini ustahamilivu wa "scholarship" za namna hii unategemea kabisa jumla ya fedha zinazopatikana na vipaumbele vya LMC. Kama tunavyoona katika tasnifu hii utegemeo wa kifedha kutoka wabia wa nje unafanya eneo hili la elimu kudhurika kwa urahisi. Kwa sababu Makumira inatoa elimu ya theolojia ya kiwango cha Bachelor na zaidi, vyuo vya kanda vina nafasi kuendeleza masomo ya uchungaji ya kiwango cha chini. Kwa sababu idadi ya wanafunzi wa BD ni wachache kiasi, yamkini wanafunzi wanaotaka kujiandikisha katika vyuo vya kanda itaendelea kuongezeka.

Hali ya kwamba taasisi mbalimbali ni tofauti na zinalenga aina tofauti ya wanafunzi katika KKKT, inadhirisha kwamba Makumira ni chuo ambacho kinaelimisha wanafunzi wachungaji wa kiwango cha juu tu. Makumira ni chuo kikuu cha binafsi na cha Kikristo kinachothibitishwa kikamilifu na kutoa mafundisho ambayo vyuo vya kanda vinashindwa kutoa. Kwa upande mwingine, kwa sababu kuna upungufu wa wachungaji katika KKKT, njia mbalimbali za kufundisha theolojia zinahitajika sana.

Lakini kama uchunguzi huu unaonyesha, mazungumzo ya sasa kuhusu elimu ya theolojia yamefungua mlango kwa watendaji wenye moyo wa kufanya mambo mapya zaidi ya waliotajwa hapo juu. Miaka iliyopita dayosisi fulani zimeanzisha kozi nyingi za uchungaji kwa wanafunzi wanaokaa na wasiokaa. Kwa ushirikiano wa karibuni na wa mbali pamoja na makanisa na wakala wa misioni nje ya Tanzania dayosisi zimeingia katika eneo la elimu ya theolojia pia. Ingawa wasailiwa wanakubali wingi wa taratibu za elimu, baadhi wao walikuwa na wasiwasi kuhusu athari kwa maisha ya kanisa. Bila shaka kwa wingi za taratibu na mipango dayosisi zimepewa nafasi kufanya

njia za kuandaa wanaotaka kuwa wachungaji rahisi zaidi kwa wengi zaidi wa namna tofauti.

Kwa upande mwingine, hali ilivyo siku hizi inaandalia njia kwa ugomvi na mabishano. Haiwezekani kuachia mbali mabishano huo hata kidogo, kwa maana taasisi zote za uchungaji daima zinatafuta fedha na wanafunzi wapya. Tatizo kubwa zaidi, lakini, ni ukosefu wa uangavu kuhusu yaliyomo na kiwango cha mafundisho kwenye baadhi ya taasisi. Kwa mfano, SELVD inaendesha taasisi ya uchungaji yake ya pekee kwa msaada kutoka wabia wa nje. KKKT halikubaliani na wabia hawa kuhusu Chakula cha Bwana na kubarikiwa wachungaji, na hali hii italeta maswali magumu sana kwa wakati wa mbele. Wazo la umoja wa theolojia na muundo katika KKKT ni muhimu sana lakini linachanga moto kwa hali ya siku hizi. Ingawa kubarikiwa kuwa mchungaji kunakubaliwa kupitia mipaka ya dayosisi, msailiwa mmoja alisema kwa nguvu: "wachungaji waliosoma katika mtindo wa SELVD hawatapata nafasi hata kidogo kuhudumu katika dayosisi yangu bila kupata elimu zaidi".

Kujumlisha, jinsi asasi za theolojia zinavyofikiriwa, zinavyopangwa na zinavyopata fedha, aina za elimu zinazotolewa ni ya umuhimu mkubwa. Dayosisi na KKKT wanashiriki na akina nani ni parameta nyingine muhimu wasailiwa wanapofikiri juu ya jinsi ya kukamilisha madhumuni ya kwanza ya elimu ya theolojia vizuri inawezekanavyo.

Kutawala wakati ujao

Kutawala mambo ya sasa kunahusisha kutawala wakati ujao. Yaani maono ya wasailiwa juu ya kuunda wachungaji yahusisha matarajio yao kuhusu wachungaji na njia za kuliathiri na kuliongoza kanisa la miaka ya mbele. Pia, kutafakari elimu ya kitheolojia si suala tu la kuelimisha kizazi kipya cha wachungaji wa Kilutheri Tanzania. Suala kubwa zaidi ni kiasi cha uwezo wa KKKT kujishughulisha kwa njia inayofaa na kusemea vizuri washarika wake milioni sita na nusu kwa miaka ya mbele. Kwa wasailiwa suala hizi mbili zinaenda pamoja, hata kama suala la pili inapita sana eneo la elimu ya kitheolojia na shughuli ya uongozi.

Kuna nguvu nyingi zinazoathiri mambo hayo. KKKT linakua kwa haraka, na dayosisi mpya zinaanzishwa kuwahudimia washarika vema zaidi. Kuna mandhari ya dini nyingi pamoja na madhehebu mengi ya kikristo, zinazoathiri kanisa kupanua na kutafsiri ujumbe wake na kwa njia mpya na kujifafanua likikutana na wingi wa mazoea, matakwa na mafundisho. Wasailiwa fulani hutaja ukuaji wa haraka wa Wapentekoste pamoja na vikundi na mafundisho ya kikirismatiki "sumu" ama "kitisho", ambavyo ni lazima kuviangamiza, wengine wanapoita Kanisa la KKKT kukaribisha njia hizi za Ukristo na kuwapa Wakristo hawa nafasi pamoja na mazoea yao, na kujizoea na ramani mpya.

Zaidi ya hayo, wasailiwa hueleza KKKT kuwa kanisa la misheni, ambalo halina budi kuainisha ujumbe wake tena na tena. Kuanzisha na kuendeleza mashule, hospitali, vyuo, ama kufanya bidii katika eneo la maendeleo yanayoweza kusarifika, yote huenda bega kwa bega na kampeni za misioni na kufanya ibada za hadhara. Kanisa lashughulika katika huduma za jamii, kama mteteaji wa haki na amani, k.m. kwa njia ya ujumbe wa maaskofu uliojadiliwa sana, Ujumbe wa Pasaka 2018.⁴⁵²

Tulivyoona, kuna kanuni katika katiba ya KKKT inayoweka sharti la kanisa kuhusu elimu ya theolojia, yaani kuwaita, kuwaelimisha, na kuwabariki wachungaji wa Kilutheri, pamoja na kusimamia maadili yao. Vilevile, mkataba wa asili wa chuo cha Makumira unakaza ya kuwa ni muhimu kuwa na chuo kikuu kwa elimu ya kitheolojia, kinachohudumia kanisa zima. Kuanzisha Makumira kuliunganisha kanisa na bado kunaendelea kuunganisha KKKT.

Hata hivyo ni muhimu kukumbuka ya kwamba elimu ya kitheolojia si dhana moja tu, wazo lenye maana, umbo ama yaliyomo thabiti daima. Elimu hii imebadilika na kuendelea kubadilika. Leo kuna mitaala na mipango mingi chini ya mwavuli wa "elimu ya kitheolojia", ambayo inatofautiana sana kuhusu muda na kivango cha taaluma, katika chuo gani na mazingira yake. Vilevile, wanafunzi watofautiana sana kwa upande wa elimu, miaka shuleni na kazini.

Wanafunzi wa uchungaji hutoka dayosisi tofauti, zenye mapokeo na mazoea tofauti katika KKKT, na hali hii ni ya maana na ya thamani sana. Wakati uleule tumeona katika uchunguzi huo ya kuwa wasailiwa fulani wanakaza ya kwamba wanaongoza wanafunzi wao wa uchungaji kwenda upande wa mfanano, kwa njia ya kutumia kanuni na mifano bora kuunda ufahamu, msimamo na maadili ya wachungaji wanafunzi. Lakini ingewezekana kushuku kadiri ya wanafunzi wa uchungaji, "mazao ya Makumira" wanavyosema wasailiwa, kweli hupata ujuzi na mazoezi ya kutosha kwa wingi wa wajibu na matarajio watakaokuta kwenye sharia. Alivyohoji msailiwa mmoja kwa nguvu, mfumo wa leo wa kufanya masomo ya uchungaji kuwa ya kitaaluma mno na huzaa utiifu na ugumu badala ya ubunifu unaohitajika sana katika KKKT.

Ingawa ushirikiano wa makanisa yote ni muhimu kwa KKKT, mada ya elimu ya theolojia inapangwa na kufikiriwa kwa kufuatana ya maoni ya kanisa la msemaji. Hata hivyo ushirikiano katika Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT), uhusiano na Catholic Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC), pamoja na uhusinao na makanisa na mitandao ya kikristo ni muhimu kwa wasailiwa wanapofikiria utambulisho (*identity*) wa KKKT, wa kale na wa leo.

Suala la uhusiano na dini nyingine, hasa Uislamu, lina uzito wake, lakini halielezwi sana na wasailiwa. Wachungaji fulani wa KKKT wamejifunza

⁴⁵² "Our Nation, Our Peace." Easter Message from the Bishops' Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT). 2018. Angalia: <http://cct-tz.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Pastoral-Letter-ELCT-2018-Easter-Message.pdf> (ulisomewa Agosti 2, 2018).

mambo hayo zaidi kama sehemu moja ya mafunzo ya theolojia, k.m. katika vyuo kama St. Paul's University, Kenya. Lakini, kama makanisa mengi katika nchi za kusini ya Sahara yenye vituo vingi sana vya elimu ya theolojia, KKKT hujenga vyuo vyake binafsi, lakitetea kwa nguvu utambulisho wake wa Kilutheri.

Mazungumzo ya siku hizi kuhusu utambulisho wa kimadhehebu – swali la KKKT kuwa kanisa la aina ya historia (*mainline church*), ama kikarismatiki, ama kipentekoste, ama mchanganyiko wa hizi zote – yaonyesha ya kuwa KKKT liko katika njia panda. Sababu za msingi za majadiliano ya wasailiwa na jinsi wanavyotafakiri elimu ya theolojia zinagusa njozi, matarajio na matumaini yao. Msemo wa msailiwa mmoja usikilizwe kwa dhiti, aliyesema kwamba mchungaji wa Kilutheri anayeimba liturjia kanisani Jumapili atakuwa historia mnamo wa miaka michache.

Vyombo vipi vitahitajika kwa mchungaji wa usharia kumfanya mwenye uwezo wa kusoma kutafakari, kufafanua, na kukutana na hali ya dunia leo kwa njia ya maana inayofaa kwa watu wa siku hizi? Pamoja ya maoni mengi yapambanayo kuhusu utambulisho wa Kilutheri, labaki suala la utoshelevu wa masomo ya uchungaji. Kwa kadiri gani vituo vya elimu ya theolojia vyaweza kuzungumza na kwenda sambamba na jamii yetu ya utandawizi inayobadilika kwa haraka sana? Kwa njia gani kuwapa wachungaji wa KKKT vyombo vitakavyofaa kukutana na wingi wa "wahamamahaji watafutao afya" ("*health-seeking nomads*")⁴⁵³ – msemo wa Lotta Gammelin anaporejea watu ambao daima watembelea kutafuta uzima, faraja, na mashauri kwenye masikitiko yao.

Tukumbuke, lakini, ya kuwa ombi la marekebisho na mabadiliko katika kanisa halitoki kutoka "nje" tu, yaani kutoka mazingira ya kanisa yenye changamoto ya aina nyingi kisiasa, kifedha na kidini. Uchunguzi huo umeonyesha kwamba wasailiwa husumbuka na kushughulikia kila siku na mawazo na mazoe kutoka "ndani", yaani kutoka wachungaji wa Kilutheri wenye bidii wanaochunga sharia zao kikarismatiki zinazostawi katika nchi nzima. Wanafunzi wa uchungaji waliotelewa na kukua katika sharia za namna hii pia huendeleza majadiliano kuhusu kukutana na mazoea ya kikarismatiki. Vilevile, wataalamu wa Kilutheri katika theolojia wa KKKT hupewa nafasi kutoa hotuba na mapendekezo juu ya masuala muhimu katika mikutano ya wachungaji. Ingawa wasailiwa wakosoa matunda ya matokeo hayo, wanakubali ya kuwa kanisa sharti lijishughulishie majadiliano hayo. Bado hakuna jibu kwa swali kwa kadiri gani KKKT litaweza kukutana na hali ilivyo kwa njia inayofaa, au kukubali kutawala vituo vya theolojia kuelekea upande ule.

Tumeona jinsi ya wasailiwa wanavyobainisha wajibu na kazi ya mtu aliyebanikiwa kuwa mchungaji wa Kilutheri kwa kigezo cha huduma ya kufundisha, kulea, kuponya na kutunza. Mchungaji wa Kilutheri katika Tanzania amepata mafunzo ya kitheolojia pamoja na kubanikiwa, ili asimamie

⁴⁵³ Gammelin, "Health-Seeking Nomads," 245–264.

Neno na Sakramenti. Mchungaji ni mtu wa hadhara, mwalimu na mfano bora. Msimamo wa kujumuisha ufahamu mzima wa kitheolojia kuhusu utu, umbo na wokovu una maana sana.

Hali ilivyo leo si rahisi kueleza yaliyomo ama mipaka ya utambulisho (*identity*) wa Kilutheri katika Tanzania; lakini wasailiwa waliambia kwa bidii jinsi walivyotengeneza mchungaji wa Kilutheri kiutendaji. Kwa maneno mengine, pamoja na maelezo yao ya jinsi walivyowaelimisha na kuwatekeleza wachungaji tunakutana na matamko na maoni thabiti kuhusu maana ya kuwa Mlutheri ama mwanachama wa mapokeo ya Kilutheri. Kwa njia ya kueleza wanavyotimiza uongozi wao, waonyesha njozi, mazoea na fikira ambazo wasailiwa waona ni za Kilutheri. Vilevile na maoni yao kuhusu vyuo vinavyotoa elimu ya theolojia.

Changamoto na matakwa yote kwa wakati ujao yanapatikana kwenye mazungumzo juu ya elimu ya theolojia. Si sawa ya kusema kwamba ni kipengele cha pekee, wala muhimu ya pekee, tukitafuta njia za kwenda mbele katika miaka ifuatayo. Lakini, unavyodokeza tasnifu hiyo, kutatua matabaka mengi ya utawala ni muhimu tunapojaribu kutafakari kwa kukosoa, na kunena sawa pamoja na ”kutenda” elimu ya theolojia na utengenezaji wa kiuchungaji, leo na wakati ujao.

Appendix - Bachelor of Divinity Programme

Bachelor of Divinity Programme, Tumaini University Makumira

Programme Course Summary as of *Prospectus 2015-2018, Tumaini University Makumira*

Courses	Credits
Semester I	BD 1
Greek I	4
Communication Skills and Study Methods I	3
Information Technology I	2
Current Issues in Development Studies I	2
Introduction to Ministry	4
Introduction to the Bible (Old Testament and New Testament)	4
Semester II	BD 1
Greek II	4
Methods of Biblical Exegesis (Old Testament and New Testament)	4
Communication Skills and Study Methods II	3
Information Technology II	2
Introduction to Theology, Creeds, and Confessions	4
Hymnology and Liturgy	2
African Religions	3
Semester III	BD 2
New Testament Exegesis and Theology I (Synoptic Gospels and Acts)	4
Ancient and Medieval Church History	3
Worship	3
Philosophy	2
Sociology	4
Hebrew I or Music I	4
Semester IV	BD 2
Old Testament Exegesis and Theology I (The Pentateuch)	3
Reformation and Modern Church History	3
Pastoral Care and Counselling	3
Philosophy in relation to Theology	3
Psychology	4
Introduction to Christian Education	4
Hebrew II or Music II	4

Semester V	BD 3	
Old Testament Exegesis and Theology II (The Prophets)		4
New Testament Exegesis and Theology II (The Johannine Literature)		n/a
Homiletics I		3
Church and HIV/AIDS		3
Dogmatic I		3
African Christian Theology		4
Semester VI	BD 3	
Old Testament Exegesis and Theology III (The Writings)		4
Research Methods		3
Homiletics II		3
Dogmatic II		3
Ethics		4
Family Law or Church and Society		3
Internship year	BD 4	
Ten sermons		10
Ten translations of New Testament Greek into English		10
Two Progress Reports		10
Two Book Reports		4
Attendance of Seminar		6
Semester VII	BD 5	
History of the Church in Africa		4
Research Seminar		4
Project Planning and Management		4
Current Issues in Christian Education		4
New Testament Exegesis and Theology III (The Letters)		4
Hebrew III (for those who have taken Hebrew as core subject)		3
Semester VIII	BD 5	
Missiology and Ecumenism		4
Stewardship and Church Administration		4
Christianity and Other Faiths		4
Research Thesis		8

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