



Paxton, Steven Edward (2025) *Imani na Maisha (Faith and Life): Faith Encounters with four individuals from a rural Pentecostal community in Tanzania*. DPT thesis.

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/85241/>

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission from the author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

Imani na Maisha (Faith and Life): Faith Encounters with four individuals from a rural
Pentecostal community in Tanzania

Steven Edward Paxton

MA (hons), MSc, MBA, MSc

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Practical Theology

School of Critical Studies

Department of Theology and Religious Studies

University of Glasgow

July 2024

Abstract

This Thesis explores how four individuals in a rural Pentecostal community in Tanzania recounted their journeys to faith, their understanding of God, their own calling in the church, approach to mission and how they perceive the challenges around them, including the Covid-19 pandemic. It does so by drawing upon the accounts of my encounter with them through ‘hanging out’, that is through ‘intensive informal and interpersonal interactions’ (Rodgers 2004, page 48) as we shared faith together and journeyed through the Covid-19 Pandemic together in 2020-21. My ‘hanging out’ approach (set out further in Chapter Two), builds on the Pentecostal practice in Tanzania of believers sharing with others, in day-to-day conversation, their experiences of God. My research aims to enrich our understanding of Pentecostal expression in Tanzania.

Much of the literature on Tanzanian Pentecostalism focusses on what is described as Pentecostal churches and charismatic movements established in the 1980s and 1990s and situated in urban areas such as Dar es Salaam. It tends to explore, in the context of rural to urban migration and social and economic change, the ‘prosperity gospel’, how expressions of urban Pentecostalism resonate with older concerns around witchcraft and how other Christian denominations such as the Evangelical Lutheran Church and Roman Catholic Church have responded to Pentecostal and charismatic renewal movements.

Most Tanzanians, however, live in rural areas and Pentecostal churches there have been active since the 1950s. The research is also in a setting, community, and church (the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania) which have been relatively under researched.

The research had been planned to take place in person, in Tanzania, over the summer of 2020 but as the Covid-19 pandemic prohibited travel, the research took place over 2020 and 2021 by means of telephone calls, WhatsApp calls and correspondence.

Key features of my encounters included interlocutors articulating a Christian as opposed to uniquely Pentecostal identity; the church as the locus of community; and continuous, persistent prayer as the foundation for their Christian life. God's presence was felt through their encounter with the Holy Spirit and in their experience of God's healing. Giving to the church brought blessings but these were not necessarily financial and the routes out of poverty were hard work and entrepreneurship. The interlocutors had ambivalent views about Covid-19 and sickness – it had demonic as well as viral causes. Covid-19 was a sign of the end of the age, but environmental changes were not.

Preface: The Quest that Claimed Me

Why did I choose to explore how four individuals in a rural Pentecostal community in Tanzania recounted their journeys to faith, their understanding of God, their own calling in the church, approach to mission and how they perceive the challenges around them? How has this research claimed me? This preface sets the context for that question.

I was looking for something different to do in the summer of 2003 and my great aunt, Mrs Mary Macfarlane, suggested that I apply to undertake a short time missionary exploration journey with Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF). She was a regular supporter of MAF and her brother, my great uncle, Matthew, had served with them as Manager for Scotland until his retiral. After passing a series of interviews and tests, at MAF UK in Folkstone, I set out for Dodoma, Tanzania, part of a short-term mission team with Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF) in the summer of 2003. On our second Sunday in Tanzania, a long serving MAF missionary (the Airstrip Development Manager), took us to what he termed the ‘bush church’, the International Evangelism Church, a small Pentecostal church in Ipagala, a suburb of Dodoma. Despite its now semi urban and middle-class location, it had been very much a rural location in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

I could hear the church before I could see it. The building seemed rather dull inside, made more so by the low roof and supporting beams, in contrast to the bright African morning I had left at the door. My eyes, however, got used to the subdued light and I became aware of the large number of people in the building, men and women, standing in separate parts of the church, singing. I sat, however, along with other members of the team, as a guest of honour on white plastic garden chairs on a raised platform in front of a backdrop of brightly coloured

curtains behind the pulpit at the front of the church. This was my first experience of an African Pentecostal church.

The MAF Airstrip Development Manager translated for us, as during the service, people came forward to thank God for day-to-day miracles. These included a job secured, safe arrival after a long journey, an ailment cured, the safe birth of a baby, while others talked of God's closeness and His healing and restorative power in their families. They described themselves as Christian and as born again and saved (*Mimi ni Mkristo* and *Nimeokoka*). It seemed to me that, for them, God was the vital God, in the midst of the day-to-day struggles, tears and joys of life and the miracle of healing. This contrasted with my own perceptions of a rather distant, sin-and-redemption focussed God, shaped in part, by my own spiritual formation in the Church of Scotland, evening services at the Church of the Nazarene as a teenager and latterly at the Glasgow University Christian Union as an undergraduate in the late 1980s. That sunny Sunday morning I left wanting to talk more with the people who had stood up and given witness to that strong, close-to-life and healing God. Yet I was frustrated by my lack of Kiswahili at that time and the constraints of being part of an organised team under the auspices of a Western missionary organisation, with set activities and a schedule to follow. Words from the Book of Ruth spoke into my feelings. *'Don't urge me to leave you or to turn back from you. Where you go, I will go, and where you stay, I will stay. Your people will be my people and your God my God.'* (Ruth 1:16)

I met my wife, Shani, on that first trip to Tanzania. She worked for the Airstrip Development Manager at MAF and had worshipped at the International Evangelism Church since her arrival in Dodoma, from the village of Sanjaranda in September 1998. We married in that church in August 2008, having embarked on a journey to learn each other's language. In

Sanjaranda, she had worked for Danish Pentecostal Missionaries, attached to the Free
V

Pentecostal Church of Tanzania (FPCT), and it was through her that I was introduced to them and the FPCT worshipping communities in the village and its environs.

Following my first visit, I volunteered at the Diocese of Central Tanganyika as a primary school teacher based in Dodoma and then volunteered through Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) (based in Zanzibar at the Aga Khan Foundation's NGO Resource Centre) making regular trips to head office in Dar es Salaam. Latterly, I worked for VSO based in the city. It was there that I was struck by the church building boom going on. These were sizable, well-appointed buildings, unlike the FPCT churches I had attended in Zanzibar, Dodoma, Sanjaranda or even Dar es Salaam. Later, having purchased a television, and living in Dar es Salaam, I would watch the broadcasts of vibrant urban based Pentecostal preachers. Later still, at home in Glasgow, with a Smart TV, I watched Christopher Mwakasege's Mana Ministry Seminars and other urban based preachers such as Robert Sumbe on You Tube.

After my time with VSO Tanzania, I returned to Glasgow, initially working for a charity and then the Scottish Government as a civil servant. Years later, we returned to Tanzania to visit my sister-in-law who lives in a village near Sanjaranda, around 150 Kilometres (93 miles) west of Dodoma, at an elevation of 1,300 meters (over 4,200 feet) above sea level. By 6:30 pm the air, especially in June and July, would get noticeably cooler as the sun set rapidly. I also got the chance to worship with the local community and 'hang out' with wider family and church members.

It was night, with the firmament displayed magnificently for us in the African night sky, free of light pollution. The moon looked bigger and brighter and, through my binoculars and, enveloped by the night and its sounds, I could see its crater marked face and around it the stars, stretching to unimaginable infinity. I pointed out to my then seven-year-old son the Belt

of Orion. I was aware of God's omnipotence – *'Can you bind the beautiful Pleiades? Can you loose the cords of Orion? Can you bring forth the constellations in their seasons or lead out the bear with its cubs?'* (Job 38, 31 and 32) What I could see, of the constellations, however, was just a tiny fraction of what was there. Astronomy tells of dark matter and that much is hidden from us, not immediately obvious, but shapes the world around us.

Inside the house, I was reminded of God's reassuring presence. On the wall was a framed Bible passage in Kiswahili *'Be strong and courageous. Do not be terrified: do not be discouraged, for the Lord your God will be with you wherever you go.'* (Joshua 1:9). The themes of God's presence and of not being afraid were to be recurring ones in my encounters. God was there as the food was prepared, sodas bought, as we prayed and gave thanks before eating, when we talked about the price of bottled gas, a young person's engagement, the price of cattle, concerns about children's employment prospects, caring for elderly parents, the everyday and expected miracle of healing, our life in Scotland, and the changes we all noticed in the environment. I sensed a much more community-rooted, earthy, confident faith than I experienced in Glasgow. I sensed there was another side to Pentecostalism in Tanzania which did not match what I had seen on television in Dar es Salaam or come across on YouTube in Glasgow. I wanted to know more about 'the faith that sustains grassroots people.'

(Isasi-Diaz 2002, page 5)

During my research and as I was preparing to travel to Tanzania, the Covid-19 pandemic engulfed the world. This demanded a rethink of how I would work to address my research questions, which I have set out in Chapter Two. The pandemic and its limitations on travel provided the opportunity for a telephone-based encounter with four individuals at a rural pentecostal church near the village of Sanjaranda as we journeyed through the Pandemic together sharing our faith.



Be Strong and Courageous – Joshua 1:9, a wall mounted picture in a house near Sanjaranda

The late Kenyan theologian, John Mbiti, urges me to be ‘a participant’ in my theological engagement in Tanzania. (*Mbiti 1971, page 2*) Diane Stinton, citing the late Kenyan Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu, encourages me to pay attention to the unwritten local theology of the ‘fields, village church...and uttered prayers before going to bed.’ (*Stinton 2004, page 16*) For me, that unwritten theology is also found in my encounter with people in their day-to-day. This redacted and anonymised version of the Thesis seeks to articulate that.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors at the University of Glasgow, Julie Clague and Dr Anna Fisk (to 2020) together with Professor Heather Walton, for their guidance, encouragement, and critically constructive comments as the Thesis took shape over the last three years, especially considering the impact of Covid-19 on research plans; my fellow Doctor of Practical Theology Students, Sheena, Scott, Alistair, and David for their words of wisdom and encouragement; Professor John Briggs (retired) and Professor Paul Garside, Dean for Global Engagement for Africa, and the Middle East, University of Glasgow for facilitating my relationship with the University of Dodoma; Professor Flora Fabian and Dr Happiness Jackson, University of Dodoma for their help and hospitality in allowing me to plan to be based as a researcher at the University, in keeping with conditions required for a researcher Visa issued by the Tanzanian Commission for Science and Technology, although I never got the opportunity to avail myself of this as Covid-19 curtailed international travel; Dr Geoffrey Majule, Dodoma for forwarding reading material in Kiswahili relating to the history of the Tanzania Assemblies of God; the four individuals worshipping at the FPCT in a rural community near Sanjaranda , as we ‘hung out’ and shared our faith, by mobile phone and WhatsApp, and postal correspondence; a relative for the provision of accommodation during my research scoping trip in March and early April 2019; Jean Munro, Queen’s Park Baptist Church, Glasgow, for introducing me to the practice of Lectio in February 2020; Shani, my wife and William, my son for their patience, support, and encouragement over the last eight years (part time) of the Doctor of Practical Theology Programme and Shani for checking and correcting my use of Kiswahili in the field and in the quotes cited and translated; Mrs Mary Macfarlane (1928 – 2023), my great aunt, who was instrumental in getting me to take my first trip to Tanzania in 2003 and who encouraged me through my research; Gareth Allan (retired),

Claire Jamieson and Debbie Browett, my line managers and colleagues at the Scottish Government, my employer, for granting annual and unpaid leave to enable me to undertake pre research piloting, research, writing up and correcting; and UKRI for their financial support in the final year of the research, which took place during the Covid-19 Pandemic.

Author's Declaration

‘I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.’

Printed Name: ____STEVEN EDWARD PAXTON_____

Signature: Steven Paxton

Contents

Abstract	II
Preface: The Quest that Claimed Me	IV
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Author’s Declaration.....	xi
Chapter One: What do we know about Pentecostalism in Tanzania?	16
The Structure of this Chapter	16
My Research Question	16
Why this Research is Important	16
How I will address my research question.....	17
Tanzania: Historical Overview.....	17
Christianity in Tanzania	21
What are Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal Movements?	25
Pentecostalism in Tanzania: Statistics.....	27
Understanding Tanzanian Pentecostalism.....	28
What the Scholars tell us about Pentecostalism in Tanzania	30
Spiritual Warfare and Healing.....	33
A Prosperity Gospel and Economic Success.....	36
Pentecostalism and charismatic movements as a challenge to the theological identity of traditional churches.....	38
A Summary of Research and Gaps in the Literature.....	39

How I will answer my research question	41
Chapter Two: Research Objectives, Locus, Method, and Methodology	42
Introduction	42
Research Objectives	42
The Locus of the Research: Topography, Economy, and People Group	43
The Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania at Sanjaranda	46
Preparing for the research	51
The Covid-19 Global Pandemic	52
Changing my plans	54
A phased ‘hanging out’	55
What is ‘hanging out’?	56
‘Hanging out’: my method in practice	57
Practical Theology, ‘hanging out’ and informal conversations about God.	59
Alternatives to ‘hanging out’ and why they are not suitable for my research	64
‘Hanging out’ on the Road to Emmaus	66
Methodological Concerns: Can I ‘hang out’ by phone?	67
Practical Issues	69
Mitigations	69
Why I undertook the research in the way I did: My Methodology	72
Me as the Researcher: An Insider and Outsider Practical Theologian	74

My Research Paradigms: ‘An Endarkened Feminist Epistemology’	78
Can a white male embrace an endarkened feminist epistemology in theological research?	79
Chapter Three: Research Findings and Analysis	82
Overview of Findings.....	83
The Four Interlocutors: Biographies	85
Pastor Christopher Mwezi	85
Jane Shaba	87
Robert Jones	89
Mama David	91
My own story	92
Four Encounters: Reflection and Analysis.....	98
The Interlocuter’s journey to faith: key events and individuals and identity	99
How did the interlocutors see God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit?	107
How did the interlocutors read the Bible? Were there certain Biblical figures or narratives that attracted them and why?	109
How did the interlocutors pray and what for?	112
How did the interlocutors feel God’s presence?.....	120
How did their faith shape their approach to growth of the local church?	127
How did they view their giving to the church?	133
How did they perceive the challenges around them?	134
Chapter Four: Reflections on the Research Process	141
Uncovering insights into the ordinary lives of rural Pentecostal Christians	141
Relationship.....	142

Reverence	144
Reflexivity	145
Recommendations for Future Research	147
Appendix One: Summary of Literature	150
Appendix Two: Conversation Reminders.....	174
Appendix Three: Topics and themes from the four encounters (Names are Pseudonyms)...	182
Appendix Four: Extracts from transcripts of my hangouts with the Interlocutors	193
Pastor Christopher	193
Jane Shaba	195
Robert Jones	197
Mama David	199
Bibliography	203

Chapter One: What do we know about Pentecostalism in Tanzania?

The Structure of this Chapter

In this Chapter I will pose my research question and why I believe it is important; introduce my research method; provide an historical overview of Tanzania and an overview of the growth of Christianity in Tanzania; explore the features of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements; present statistical evidence on Pentecostalism in Tanzania and its limitations; discuss how we may seek to understand Pentecostalism in Tanzania; and explore how Pentecostalism in Tanzania is presented in the literature, the approach taken by scholars to researching it and where there are gaps in our knowledge.

My Research Question

How do four individuals in a rural Pentecostal community at Tanzania recount their journeys to faith, what is their understanding of God, how do they perceive their own calling in the church, their approach to mission and how do they perceive the challenges around them.

Why this Research is Important

My research is important because Pentecostalism matters in global and Tanzanian Christianity. Elle Hardy in her 2021 book entitled *Beyond Belief* contends that Pentecostalism is increasingly defining global Christianity. It is also, as I will set out later in this Chapter, increasingly significant in Tanzania. It is, therefore, important, given its growing influence, that we understand its rural as well as urban expressions and gain insight into its connectedness with other expressions of Christianity in the country. My research is also important as there has been limited scholarly engagement on rural expressions of Pentecostalism in Tanzania. An exploration of rural expressions of Pentecostalism is largely

missing in the scholarly literature which tends to have an urban focus and has been undertaken by scholars from a sociological and anthropological background and not from a starting point of practical theology. I will discuss my different locus and approach further in Chapter Two.

How I will address my research question

I am addressing my research question through accounts of my encounters with four individuals through ‘hanging out’ with them as we shared faith and journeyed through the Covid-19 Pandemic together in 2020-21. In doing this, I also researched the history of the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania (FPCT) church in in Sanjaranda to situate these encounters within the community setting. In Chapter Two, I will set out the history of the church there, explain my method and its suitability to my research questions and my methodological foundations.

I had originally planned to undertake my research by physically locating myself in the community for a month and ‘hanging out’ with the individuals and wider church community as they went about their daily tasks and worshipped. Due to Covid-19, however, none of that was possible, which forced me to use telephone, WhatsApp and SMS messages as my way of ‘hanging out’. I will further explain in Chapter Two how this worked in practice and how I addressed my lack of physical presence and will further reflect on this in Chapter Four.

Tanzania: Historical Overview

In this section I will introduce Tanzania and provide a history of Christianity and the rise of Pentecostalism, in the context of the country’s social and economic history. It does not claim to be an exhaustive social, economic, or ecclesial history of the country. It is provided to further set the context for my research.

The United Republic of Tanzania is in East Africa, bordered by Kenya and Uganda to the North, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo to the West, Zambia to the South-West and Mozambique to the South. The 2022 census recorded a population of 61.7 million. (United Republic of Tanzania 2023) The country has over 120 tribal groupings, but the nation's principal languages are Kiswahili and English. (BBC 2022)

Tanzania was established in 1964 after the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. It rejected Western Capitalism and Soviet style Communism. The country's first President, Julius Nyerere, in rejecting the Marxist notion of class war, promoted a 'people centred' approach, focusing on an 'extended family' or community (*ujamaa*). This entailed the establishment of a one-party system, nationalisation of housing and industry, the villagisation of local agricultural production, the provision of free education and an emphasis on community and national self-reliance and nationhood (rather than tribal loyalties) underpinned by using Kiswahili as the national language. Ujamaa, as set out in the Arusha Declaration (1961) was articulated by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the ruling party, which sought to build a self-sufficient community.

To build that self-sufficiency, Ujamaa emphasised the importance of *ubuntu*. The basis of *ubuntu* is that 'human identity' is 'an identity in community and communication – I am because we are'. (Stückelberger 2009, page 330) This idea of African identity in community was the inspiration for Tanzania's support for continental liberation struggles in Rhodesia and South Africa. For Julius Nyerere, society existed for the good of all. David Westerlund in his 1980 journal article on *Christianity and Socialism in Tanzania* suggested that Ujamaa resonated with Roman Catholic Church statements in, for example, *Populorum Progressio* (1967) promoting the values of human dignity, freedom, and equality. (Westerlund 1980) It was during this period that Sanjaranda was designated an Ujamaa village. This meant that the

18

village was re-configured around the principles of agricultural self-sufficiency. It was surrounded by communal farming areas, families given land for domestic use, schools built, and a local party office established. TANU also encouraged people from other parts of Tanzania to settle in the new Ujamaa village.

Michael Hodd in the opening chapters of his 1988 book, *Tanzania after Nyerere*, sets out Tanzania's post-independence gains in education and health. (Hodd 1988) Economic performance, however, especially after the mid-1970s, in the wake of the global oil price shock was poor. The state became increasingly centralised with local government abolished in 1972. (*Likwelile, 2018, page 6*). Dodoma had been designated the nation's capital city but government ministries, until 2019, remained mainly concentrated in Dar es Salaam. As Tanzania's foreign reserves declined, it received loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and food aid from the international community in 1975. State owned industries were inefficient and poorly managed and there were shortages of basic goods. (*Coulson 2013, pages 227 - 243*) (*Edwards 2014, pages 95 - 115*) Attempts at East African regional integration were abandoned in 1977 with the demise of the East African Community and a war with Uganda in 1979, which exacerbated the already poor economic situation. Julius Nyerere admitted that the country 'was poorer' in 1981 than it had been 'in 1972'. (*Meredith 2006, page 258*)

President Nyerere retired from politics in 1985. Tanzania's new President, Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1985 – 95) introduced market reforms aimed at encouraging private enterprise. Tanzania, at the behest of the World Bank and IMF, adopted the then prevailing Western grand narrative of the primacy of markets. The Zanzibar Declaration (1991) reversed the 1967 Arusha Declaration and multi-party elections were introduced in 1995 together with further economic reforms through Structural Adjustment Programmes. (SAPs) These

19

included the liberalisation of exchange rates (allowing the import of previously deficit goods), simplifying trade tariffs, reducing taxes, privatising state-owned industries (including hospitals), introducing performance contracts, and allowing the private sector to compete against the state sector. In addition, the broadcasting sector was liberalised and opened to competition. These economic changes had a profound impact on the religious life of the country by effectively deregulating religious expression and opening the possibilities of competing churches and, indeed, other religious groups running their own radio and TV stations. (Ng'atigwa 2014, page 233) In 1999, SAPs were replaced by a series of National Strategies for Growth and Poverty Reduction (*Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini* Tanzania (MKUKUTA) for Tanzania Mainland and *Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini* Zanzibar (MKUZA) for Zanzibar). The strategies again emphasised market led economic growth as the answer to Tanzania's economy. According to this approach, Tanzanians were no longer comrades (*ndugu*) as they were under Ujamaa, they were now agents in the free market, freed from the restraints of socialism and tradition, and could take control of their own destinies. Despite Tanzania now being described as a 'middle-income country' by the World Bank (Battaile 2020, page 1) rapid population growth has caused an increase in the absolute number of people living in poverty. Poverty rates have also increased since 2019 due to the economic shock caused by Covid-19 (see Okou, Saldarriaga et al. 2021). This has been further exacerbated by the global cost of living crisis.

The World Bank/IMF inspired reforms of the late 1980s, designed to alleviate poverty in fact increased it and exacerbated migration from rural areas to towns and cities. Falling government health and education expenditure resulted in fewer children enrolling at school, a decline in literacy rates and reduced access to health services in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Many Tanzanians were compelled to work in the informal economy, undertaking

small business (*biashara*) projects simply to get by. Njeri Mwaura (2011) in her analysis of the effects of globalisation in Kenya, entitled *Women Lost in the Global Maze: Women and Religion in East Africa Under Globalisation*, highlighted the impact of the market reforms on women in terms of the feminisation of poverty. The burdens of social reproduction were on women as state services contracted, and families were excluded from formal health and education services. (Mwaura 2011) Marie-Aude Fouéré in her 2014 study of Tanzania's economic policies since independence entitled *Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa and Political Morality in Contemporary Tanzania*, contends that the effects on women in Tanzania were no different, resulting in increasing inequality and disillusionment. (Fouéré 2014)

During the 1980s and 1990s Tanzania experienced a major public health crisis associated with HIV/AIDS, which continues to impact the country. In 2020, for example, there were between 1.7 and 1.9 million people living with HIV in the country and between 28,000 and 39,000 deaths from an AIDS related illness.

The first Covid-19 case was recorded in Tanzania in March 2020 from a traveller returning from Europe. (Tarimu and Wu 2020, page 1) In Chapter Two, I will explain more about Covid-19's entrance to the country and how I adapted my research method to address the challenges it presented.

Christianity in Tanzania

This section does not set out to provide a comprehensive, uncritical history of Christianity in Tanzania. Its purpose is to further set the context for my research.

Western missionary activity started in Tanzania in the nineteenth century after the Berlin Conference 1884 – 1885, at which the European powers agreed to divide Africa amongst

themselves as part of the 'Scramble for Africa'. Western missionary endeavour in Africa insisted on a convert's break with the past and a rejection of African religion and culture. It demanded that converts embrace a Western lifestyle as part of the imperial exercise. (*Bosch, 2011, page 317*) Christianity remained a minority religion in late 19th century Africa, with its structures and intellectual outlook largely shaped by European thinking. (*Bosch 2011, pages 309 - 320*) Missionary preaching and practice, however, was at odds with the lives of ordinary people who took elements of Christianity and mixed it with their indigenous beliefs. John Iliffe (1979) refers to a process of African 'disengagement' and 'disillusionment' from mission churches 'which were increasingly integrated with colonial society', after the First World War. (*Iliffe 1979, page 358*) This found expression in the rise of African Independent Churches and revivalism. I will take these two in turn.

The African Independent Churches that flourished on Tanganyika's borders tended to use a vernacular Bible with some embracing African practices such as polygamy. These churches, established by Africans, rejected the colonial structures and offered an alternative expression of Christianity rooted in the daily experiences, hopes, fears and aspirations of Africans. (*Meyer 2004, page 456 - 457*)

Revivalism was typified in the Balokole Movement (the Saved Ones), part of the wider East African Revival, which originated in what is now Rwanda, on the eve of the Second World War. (*Moon, 2017, page 204*) Wandering preachers proclaimed the Gospel and demanded a public confession of sins. The Balokole tended to remain in mission churches meeting for prayer and testimony. (*Kalu 2008, pages 96 - 97*) They emphasised the personal experience of cleansing and of being filled with the Holy Spirit. An early form of ethnic radicalism with no racial or tribal segregation marked Balokole communities as different tribes worshipped together.

At the same time as the Balokole Movement, the first Western Pentecostal missionaries began to establish themselves in Tanzania. Although there had been Pentecostal missionaries in Tanzania at the time of the First World War, the first concerted Western Pentecostal missionary activity took place in the 1930s and 1940s with the arrival of the Swedish Free Mission and Finnish Free Foreign Mission. (*Garrard 2009, page 240*) The *Umoja wa Makinisa ya Pentekoste Katika Tanzania*, for example, had its origins in the Swedish Free Mission and now operates Radio Habari Maalum, based in Arusha. The Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania, similarly, had its origins in Danish and Swedish missionary activities in the 1940s and 1950s. In the 1950s, American, Canadian, and other European missionaries, some from the then British colonial territory of Kenya, followed the Scandinavian missionaries. During this period, churches such as the Tanzanian Assemblies of God were established, as was the Pentecostal Evangelistic Fellowship of Africa (PEFA). (*Mwakimage 2014*) The Fellowship had its origins in American missionary activity in the 1950s and has its worldwide headquarters in New York. (*Fischer 2011, page 101*)

After the Second World War, Christianity grew rapidly in Tanganyika. The 1957 census recorded adherence to Christianity at '25 per cent (17 per cent Roman Catholic and 8 per cent Protestant)'. (*Iliffe 1979, page 543*) The 1960s witnessed a global charismatic renewal, which unlike the earlier Pentecostal outpourings, did not result in new churches but rather, the adoption of Pentecostal practices in mainstream churches and the establishment of inter-denominational ministries. The charismaticisation of the mainstream churches in Tanzania (uamsho) had its roots in the Balokole movement in East Africa. (*Sendoro 2000*) By the late 1960s mainstream churches were increasingly alarmed as members embraced charismatic practices such as full immersion baptism (*maji memgi*) and tried to quash the movement. Despite this, mainstream churches increasingly embraced charismatic practices.

The Mana Ministry, for example, founded by Teacher (Mwalimu) Christopher Mwakasege (an economist by profession), with its roots in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania, can be described as a contemporary charismatic ministry working across denominations in Tanzania. (*Fischer 2011*) Moritz Fischer, in his 2011 study of the charismaticisation of the Lutheran Church in Tanzania, cites the Ministry which now has its own YouTube Channel. Christopher Mwakasege preaches and regularly thanks those who pray for him and his wife, Diana, and who support the Ministry from around the world. Katherina Wilkens in her 2011 study of the Dar es Salaam based Marian Healing Ministry notes a similar process in the Roman Catholic Church.

The most recent phase in the country's economic and social history, is the rapid change from socialism to a free-market economy and an accompanying increase in rural to urban migration. Some scholars have pointed out that this has coincided with a proliferation of Tanzanian initiated Pentecostal ministries and churches. (*Dilger 2007*) (*Fischer 2011*) These contemporary churches are marked by their diversity and by their founding and leadership by Tanzanians, not foreign missionaries.



Poster promoting Christopher Mwakasege, Mana Ministry, Dodoma, (photographed in March 2019)

There are large fellowships like the Full Gospel Bible Fellowship Church, founded by Bishop Zacharia Kakobe (with 400 branches), Mlima wa Moto (Mountain of Fire), Mikocheni B Assemblies of God, founded by the late Dr Gertrude Rwakatare, the Efatha Ministry, founded by Apostle and Prophet Josephat Elias Mwingira (with 200 congregations in Tanzania and 15 overseas), the Glory Church of Tanzania, founded by Josephat Gwajima (with over 70,000 members), the Reality of Christ Church (led by Pastor Sunbella) and Boniface Mwamposa (Apostle Bulldozer), all headquartered in Dar es Salaam. There are other newer churches based in other cities in Tanzania such as the Arusha based Robert Sumbe, whose ministry also now has a major online presence on You Tube; its international outlook facilitated by a translator. There are also numerous small churches, many with names including phrases like ‘international’ or ‘global’. These recent, urban based expressions of Pentecostalism have set the context for much of the literature on contemporary Pentecostalism in Tanzania.

In 1994, there was an attempt to coordinate the work of all the Pentecostal Churches in Tanzania with the foundation of the Pentecostal Council of Tanzania, but this only resulted in discord and a further splintering of the Pentecostal movement in Tanzania.

What are Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal Movements?

Allan Anderson reminds us of the complexity and ‘great diversity within Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches’ as they unfolded and continue to unfold. (*Anderson 2014, page 2*) In light of this, rather than giving a definition of Pentecostal and charismatic movements, it is helpful to set out their broad distinguishing features and how these continue to evolve.

Pentecostalism as a movement within Christianity takes its name from the ‘outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the followers of Jesus at the feast of Pentecost’. (*Bridges 2005, page 909*) In

Luke's account in Chapter Two of the Book of Acts, the Disciples, gathered in Jerusalem, experienced the power of the Holy Spirit and 'began to speak in other tongues.' The multi-ethnic crowd in the City heard the Disciples preach to them with power and authority about Jesus Christ in a language they understood.

The contemporary Pentecostal movement has multiple points of origin, including the 19th Century Holiness movement and revivalist movements around the world. Its first expressions were in the early 20th century in the United States, United Kingdom, India, Russia and Southern and Eastern Africa. The Azusa Street Revival, 1906 was one of the many early expressions of the Pentecostal movement. These early adherents saw the breaking down of racial and social divisions, and the miraculous healings which marked these first expressions, as a sign of the latter rain, that is the return in the last days of the lost power of the Holy Spirit. Early believers also expected the immanent 'second coming' of Christ and the necessity of global evangelisation through missionary activity to prepare the way for this. (*Anderson 2014, page 60*) Accordingly, missionaries from Pentecostal churches established in the US, UK and Scandinavia journeyed overseas to undertake missionary work and establish churches. The Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania, for example, traces its origins to Scandinavian missionary activities in the early 1950s. These earlier, 1950s Tanzanian expressions, exhibited the following distinguishing features: repentance of sin and acceptance of Jesus as Saviour; full immersion baptism, which signifies the believer's new life in Christ; the necessity of a second baptism of the Holy Spirit; the receiving and use of spiritual gifts, for example, healing; the practice glossolalia, that is speaking in tongues; and an expectation of the immanent return of Jesus. (*adapted from Woodhead 2009, page 228*) and (*Land 1993, page 6*) In Chapter Three, I will explore, to what extent these identifiers were to the fore in my encounter with the four interlocutors.

Whereas early Tanzanian expressions were led by white missionaries, newer expressions of Pentecostalism in Tanzania, which emerged in the late 1980s and 1990s, were led by Tanzanians. These newer expressions embraced the tenets of earlier Pentecostal movements but, in addition, emphasised material prosperity as a sign of God's blessing.

The 1960s witnessed a global Charismatic renewal in the US, UK, Canada, Western Europe, India, and Africa. (*Laurentin 1977 pages 132 - 147*) After the fall of communism in the early 1990s, the movement spread to Eastern Europe. Unlike the earlier Pentecostal outpourings, the charismatic movement did not result in new churches but rather the adoption of Pentecostal practices in Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran Churches. These charismatic movements highlight the person and work of the Holy Spirit, the 'baptism in the Holy Spirit', healing and the use of 'spiritual gifts' in the church. (*Anderson 2014, page 157*) *Uamsho* (awaking) has been a key feature of Tanzanian scholarly interest in the charismaticisation of the Lutheran Church. (*Munga 1998*) (*Sendoro 2000*) (*Lugazia 2010*)

Pentecostalism in Tanzania: Statistics

Earlier in this Chapter, I explained that one of the reasons my research is important is the growing influence of Pentecostalism in Tanzania. Elle Hardy (2021) claims that globally there are currently 'some 600 million Pentecostals and counting', and it is the fastest growing religious denomination on earth. (*Hardy 2021, page xi*) Todd Johnson and Gina Zurlo similarly claim that in 2020 there were over 635 million Pentecostals and Charismatics, 86% of whom live in the Global South. (*Johnson and Zurlo 2020*) In Tanzania, a Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Report cites religious affiliation as '30 percent Christian, 35 percent, Muslim, and 35 percent traditional religions' (*Zandt 2011, page 6*) while the *World Atlas of Christianity* (2017) study of religion in Tanzania claims that approximately 58 percent of the

population are Christian. (Roman Catholic: 31 percent and Protestant, including Pentecostals: 27 percent). (*Sen Nag 2022, page 1*) The *World Atlas of Christianity* further claims that what it describes as Pentecostalism in Tanzanian is set to grow by 238% by 2050 from its present estimated number of around 6.4 million.

These statistics on the growth of Pentecostalism worldwide and religious affiliation in Tanzania, are, however, beset with methodological issues. They may be over inflated and not capture the extent to which Tanzanians adhere to traditional religious practices or the extent to which they may also be members of Roman Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran churches. There are also issues around categorisation and classification.

It is, therefore, not possible to assert, with confidence, notwithstanding definitional issues, exact numbers of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians nor their projected growth. All that can be said is that Pentecostalism in Tanzania is diverse and is growing. (*Fischer, 2011, page 100*)

Understanding Tanzanian Pentecostalism

The history of Christianity in Tanzania challenges attempts by some Western scholars to frame Pentecostalism and Charismatic movements as part of a single world-wide movement and trace global developments back to an origin point in the USA. (*Maltese, Bachmann et al. 2019*) Vinson Synan, an American scholar, for example, in his 2004 article entitled *The Pentecostal Movement in America and Beyond*, categorises Pentecostalism as developing in three broad waves. His first wave was after the Azusa Street Revival 1906, which saw Pentecostal churches established in the US, UK Canada, and Scandinavia and the first missionary activities from the First World War onwards. His second wave relates to

charismatic renewal movements which took place from the 1960s and 1970s onwards in mainstream churches and his third wave relates to the recent growth of urban Neo-Pentecostal movements from the mid-1980s onwards. (*Synan 2004*) Moritz Fischer, a German theologian, has proposed four waves adding African Initiated Churches between the establishment of Pentecostal churches after the Asuza Street Revival and charismatic movements. (*Fischer 2011, page 100*) Other scholars, for example, Kingsley Larbi, a Ghanaian theologian, has, however, in his 2002 journal article entitled *African Pentecostalism in the Context of Global Pentecostal Ecumenical Fraternity: Challenges and Opportunities*, contended that not all African Initiated Churches may be described as Pentecostal or charismatic, citing differences in theology and doctrine. (*Larbi 2002*)

Johnson and Zurlo concede that the Pentecostal movement started at the beginning of the last century with multiple movements in Asia, North America, and Latin America. That said, they too, suggest global categorisations whereby Pentecostal churches and movements can be fitted into categories - Pentecostal, Charismatic and Independent Charismatic.

Trying to slot historical and indeed contemporary Tanzanian churches and movements into a framework or categorisation produced by Western scholars from a Western perspective is problematic for several reasons. Firstly, global frameworks, are inflexible when applied to the African context. The East African Balokole Movement, for example, emphasised the personal experience of cleansing, being filled with the Holy Spirit and was marked by an early radicalism abolishing racial and tribal barriers. Using a global framework would not accommodate this and indeed other regional movements. Secondly, there is the danger of endorsing a US origin point for Pentecostalism, by locating it exclusively in the 1906 Azusa Street Revival as this ignores other Pentecostal outpourings, for example in India. (*Maltese, Bachmann et al. 2019*) Thirdly, one of the findings of my research was that frameworks and

29

the labels attached to them, for example, Classical Pentecostal, Charismatic and Neo-Pentecostal, are not how Pentecostals on the ground in Tanzania describe themselves. They described themselves simply as Christians: '*Mimi ni Mkristo*' (I am Christian) and their fellow believers as '*Wakristo*' (Christians) rather than attaching the Classical or in most cases even a Pentecostal label. Moreover, my role as a researcher was not to force my interlocutors 'to define their own identity within this (western) framework'. (*Bergunder 2014, page 277*) I had to let the interlocutors speak for themselves.

This means that to further understand Pentecostalism in Tanzania, a different, more locally contextualised approach which 'recognises multiple entanglements' and 'local histories and global links' is required. (*Haustein and Wilkinson 2023, page 6*) Therefore, as a researcher, I need to situate myself in the community and get alongside people as they 'live' their lives. I need to be part of the 'complex entanglements' in their lives. (*Haustein and Wilkinson 2023, page 10*). In Chapter Two, I will set out what this move means for my research method and how it accords with my methodology as a practical theologian.

What the Scholars tell us about Pentecostalism in Tanzania

In this section, I relate what scholars tell us about Tanzanian Pentecostalism and what methods they have used to undertake their research. I will conclude by explaining what I believe is missing in their accounts and why, therefore, my research in rural Tanzania is valuable.

To understand what has been written about Tanzanian Pentecostalism, I undertook a search of the ATLA and JSTOR databases using the following search terms: Tanzania; Pentecostalism; and Rural. This was supplemented by searches on Scottish Government Knowledge and Evidence database, Google, and Google Scholar using the same criteria. Having reviewed

these sources, I followed up any literature references mentioned by the scholars. At the same time, I reached out to one of my scholarly contacts and one serving missionary seeking any local literature they were aware of. I was referred to Tanzanian scholars, who had published in Kiswahili, and added these to the literature.

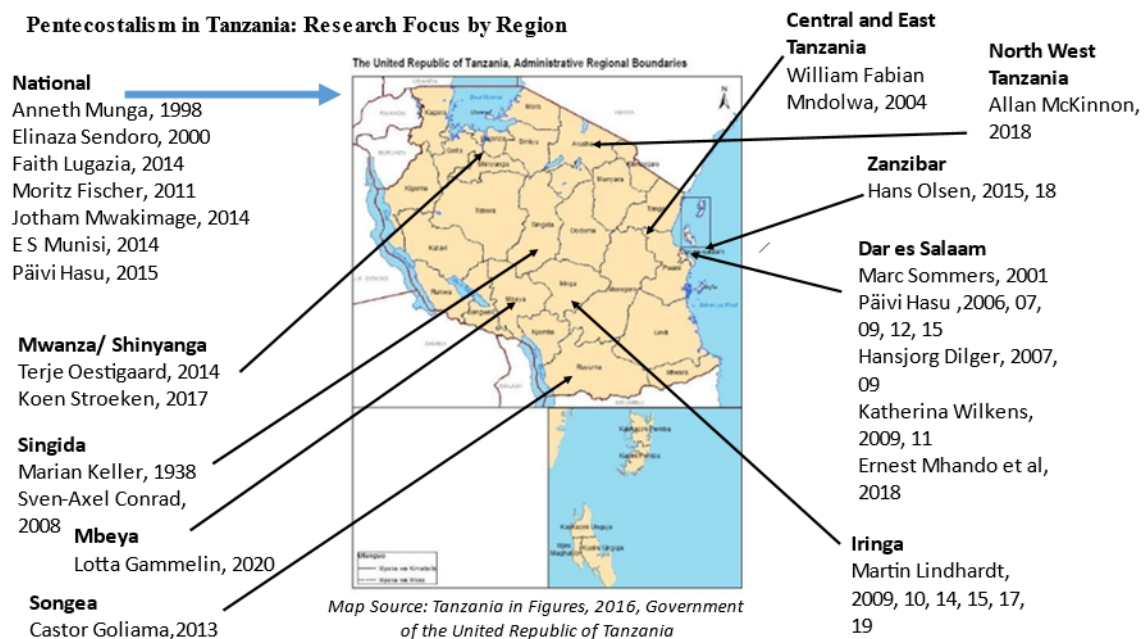
It is helpful to understand where the scholars came from, their disciplines, how they collected their findings and the geographical focus of their studies, whether the study was on one church or several and what themes they identified. This understanding helps me situate my own research within current research and contrast their approaches with mine.

The scholars who have researched Tanzanian Pentecostal and Charismatic movements are from Denmark (Martin Lindhardt), Finland (Päivi Hasu and Gammelín Lotta), Germany (Moritz Fischer, Hansjorg Dilger and Katherina Wilkens), Belgium (Koen Stroeken), Sweden (Terje Oestigaard and Hans Olsson), the US (Marc Somers), the UK (Allan McKinnon) and Tanzania (Anneth Munga, Elinaza Sendoro, Faith Lugazia, Castor Goliama, Jotham Mwakimage E Munisi, William Faben Mndolwa, and Ernest Mhando et al (in collaboration with German and South African colleagues).

Most of the Western academics are from anthropology, development studies or sociology backgrounds while the Tanzanian scholars tend to have a theological background. They have approached their work using, in the main, interviews, participant observation - that is where the researcher 'listens in' on a practical activity rather than participating in it (*Nair, 2021, page 1310*), informal conversations, life story interviews and, in the case of Lindhardt, 'hanging out' with research participants. The method of 'hanging out' involves gaining knowledge through 'informal, interpersonal and 'everyday' types of encounters' (*Rodgers 2004, page 41*) The focus of the scholars was, in the main, in urban communities. Martin

Lindhardt's focus was the City of Iringa and the charismatic renewal ministries originating in the Lutheran Church; Päivi Hasu and Hansjorg Dilger and Ernest Mhando looked at a range of churches of in Dar es Salaam, Marc Sommers focused on the Pentecostal Church Association in the City and Lotta Gammelin on the Gospel Miracle Church for All People in Mbeya. Hans Olsson focuses on the City Christian Centre in Zanzibar.

Moritz Fischer, Faith Lugazia, Elinaza Sondoro and Anneth Munga focus on the charismatic renewal movement in the Lutheran Church while William Fabian Mndolwa, explores its impact on the Anglican Church. Katherina Wilkin's research is on the Marian Faith Healing Ministry while Castor Goliama examines the growth of Pentecostal churches in Songea and its impact on the Roman Catholic Church. Jotham Mwakimage and E Munisi provide a Kiswahili history of the Tanzania Assemblies of God. Allan McKinnon's research is on the Open Brethren. (*Kanisa la Biblia*) Koen Stroeken and Terje Oestigaard refer to Pentecostal churches near to Lake Victoria. Figure Two sets out the geographic focus of the scholars.



There are three main themes in the literature on Tanzanian Pentecostalism. These are: spiritual warfare and healing; a prosperity gospel and economic success; and Pentecostalism and Charismatic movements as a challenge to the theological identity of traditional churches. I will now look at each of these in turn.

Spiritual Warfare and Healing

Several scholars have written about spiritual warfare and healing within a Tanzanian Pentecostal context. The first to do so was Hansjorg Dilger (2007), a German anthropologist based at the Free University of Berlin. He researched the Full Gospel Bible Fellowship (FGBF) in Dar es Salaam, founded by Bishop Zacharia Kakobe. Dilger sets his work within the context of macro-economic reforms, urban migration, and the resulting fragmentation of the health care provision in Tanzania. He highlights the continuity of the Fellowship's approach to HIV/AIDS with traditional African views of illness as having spiritual as well as biological causes and contrasts the FGBF's approaches to HIV/AIDS with that of the Mikocheni B Assemblies of God, founded by the late Dr Gertrude Rwakatare, based in Dar es Salaam. The FGBF is marked by a focus on spiritual warfare and healing while the latter seeks to provide community-based services for those living with HIV/AIDs and their families. Effective community networks for worshippers are a key feature of the churches. (Dilger 2007) Marc Sommers, an American researcher, in his 2001 study of Pentecostal Networks in Dar es Salaam, entitled *Young, Male and Pentecostal in Dar es Salaam*, also notes the efficacy of networks in providing routes to employment, in the absence of family connections, for newcomers to the city, in this case, Burundian refugees. (Sommers 2001)

Dilger was also the first to highlight the different social classes attending the recently founded Mikocheni B Assemblies of God and the FGBF. The former attracts a more middle-

class congregation than the FGBF. (Dilger 2009) Päivi Hasu (2006 and 2009), a Finnish development studies scholar based at the University of Helsinki, further develops Dilger's class distinctions by comparing churches focusing on spiritual warfare and those focussing on the acquisition of wealth. She contrasts the Glory of Christ Church, founded by Pastor Gwajima, Dar es Salaam with its focus on spiritual warfare with the Efatha Church, also in Dar es Salaam founded by Prophet and Apostle Josephat Mwingira with its message of wealth acquisition. Pastor Gwajima was elected to the Tanzanian Parliament in October 2020 as the successful *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) candidate, for the Kawe and Ubungo constituency in Dar es Salaam. Hasu, like Dilger, situates the work of both churches in the context of economic change and urban migration. For Hasu, Pastor Gwajima has translated traditional fears about spirit possession into an urban context and the work of the church resonates with the insecurities of rural economic migrants, especially those at the economic and social margins of society. In highlighting the church's work in 'rescuing zombies' (that is young migrant women captured by a witch (typically an older female) and forced to work for little or no remuneration), she focusses on the gendered nature of economic change in contemporary Tanzania (many of the church worshippers work as house servants) and of the Pastor's use of practices such as the shaving of hair of those released from zombie bondage. She highlights their resonance with the traditional healing practices, especially those from the Pastors' own tribal group, the Sukuma Tribe. (Hasu 2006, Hasu 2009) Gwajima's success, she contends, is associated with his open acknowledgement of the presence of witchcraft and magic, which Terje Oestigaard contends is part of the grassroots experiences of Tanzanians. (Oestigaard 2014) Lotta Gammelín, a Finnish scholar at Felm (Suomen Lähetysseura) takes up the issue of the gendered nature of healing and deliverance in her study of the Gospel Miracle Church for all People, in Mbeya. (Gammelín 2020) The issue of gender in relation to female church leaders is also explored by Ernest Mhando, a Tanzanian scholar based at the

University of Dar es Salaam and his German and South African colleagues in a case study of the Holy Ghost Power Assemblies, Dar es Salaam. (*Nandera, Maseno et al. 2018*)

Päivi Hasu further observes that the Efatha Church, in contrast to the Glory Church of Tanzania, attracts a more middle-class adherent and focusses on the creation of wealth, with the Church even having its own banking service. Hasu also explores the theme of Pentecostalism's opposition to traditional religion, extending this to Freemasonry, a relatively recent arrival in the country. She explores popular media stories in the Pentecostal and wider Christian media about an alleged global Masonic conspiracy to take over the world, satanic rituals performed by Freemasons to increase wealth, their connections with the rich and powerful and an alleged Masonic conspiracy to destroy Pentecostal Christianity from within, through its pastors. She contends that the pursuit of wealth and influence through Freemasonry is seen as akin to witchcraft. (*Hasu 2015*)

Martin Lindhardt (2010), a Danish cultural sociologist, based at the University of Southern Denmark, further takes up the theme of urban migration. He suggests that contemporary urban Tanzanian Pentecostal Christianity provides the opportunity for a new, powerful expression of masculine identity as victor and spiritual warrior. He argues that, rather than breaking with family ties, the urban Pentecostal has the ability to improve relationships with their unconverted family members so that they too may embrace Pentecostal Christianity. (*Lindhardt 2015 (a)*) (*Lindhardt 2015 (b)*) He further suggests that coastal to urban migration has helped to reshape notions of spiritual warfare amongst Pentecostals in Tanzania. Martin Lindhardt contends these are entangled with popular Islamic notions of spirit possession from coastal Tanzania. For Lindhardt, Islamic notions, more than traditional concerns around witchcraft have increasingly become the focus of Pentecostal concerns around witchcraft and spiritual warfare. (*Lindhardt 2019*) Hans Olsson (2015, 2018), a Swedish researcher also

looks at a migration theme, examining the role of the City Centre Christian Centre in Zanzibar in maintaining the religious identity of migrant workers from Tanzania mainland (connected with expansion of the tourist industry on the Isles) in the context of perceived spiritual warfare in mostly Islamic Zanzibar. (*Olsson 2015, Olsson 2018*) Castor Goliama relates the growth of Pentecostal movements in Songea to economic migration in connection with the growing mining industry. (*Goliama, pages 164 – 165*)

A Prosperity Gospel and Economic Success

Several scholars have examined what has been termed as the Prosperity or Faith Gospel within an African context. Having its origins in the USA, the Prosperity or Faith Gospel asserts that born again believers can claim health and wealth, and this is achieved through sacrificial gifting, that is giving more through tithing, together with thrift, hard work and a reformed personal moral code. Päivi Hasu (2006) was, however, the first to set this within a Tanzanian context in her study of the Mana Ministry, established by Christopher Mwakasege, a Charismatic Ministry with its origins in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ECLT). She sets out the central role of gifting to the Mana Ministry through *sadaka* (offerings) as a form of investment, in anticipation of God returning investment as a financial blessing. Moritz Fischer (2011), a German Lutheran theologian, further observes that Mwakasege has also helped to set up a network of charismatic and Pentecostal churches in Tanzania to further his missionary work. (*Fischer 2011*) Spiritual warfare is a part of the Ministry's activities but it takes second place to practical financial advice such as saving, investing, and changing personal behaviour. (*Hasu 2006*) Practical financial advice and focussing on personal behaviour change also underpin the Ephata Ministry in Dar es Salaam. Influenced by Mensa Otabil, a Ghanaian religious leader, the church emphasises the ability of

36

Tanzanians to develop their own country and address the human, rather than demonic causes of poverty. She contends that Ephata's founder, Prophet and Apostle Josephat Mwingira, has adapted the Ghanaian Pentecostal, Mesa Otabil's message on nurturing personal behaviours that facilitate wealth creation to a Tanzanian setting and thus shaped Ephata's appeal to the emerging entrepreneurial class. For Hasu, contemporary Pentecostal Churches, whether focussing on spiritual warfare or wealth creation in post-structural adjustment Tanzania, help their adherents negotiate the complexities of the new market economy. (*Hasu 2012*)

Economic success, especially in the context of economic liberalisation, is also reliant upon protecting and promoting business interests, which are seen as vulnerable to spiritual attack. Martin Lindhardt explores, as Päivi Hasu (2006) has done, the workings of the 'gift economy' but expands on this in his studies of the New Life Church, Iringa. Iringa is a city in mid-Tanzania, south of Dodoma. He explores the continuity and discontinuity between Tanzanian Pentecostalism and African traditional healing practices, this time within the context of protecting small businesses in Iringa. He recognises the local and global factors which have shaped Pentecostal practice in Iringa. He contends that Pentecostals in the city have reformulated traditional healing practices, seen as demonic, in Christian terms to protect their businesses (mostly market stalls). The *nguvu* (or strength) associated with traditional healing and protection is now associated with the blood of Jesus and can equally be applied to businesses and indeed money itself, protecting the former and cleansing the latter of evil powers it may have acquired through business transactions. Lindhardt also explains that some of 'the older prosperity ministries are losing membership to 'unscrupulous preachers' seeking to enrich themselves' and that the adherents and converts to these new ministries are more interested in wealth acquisition than the message of salvation. (*Lindhardt 2014, page 154*)

Pentecostalism and charismatic movements as a challenge to the theological identity of traditional churches

Charismatic movements (*Uamsho*) are challenging and reshaping the theological identity of traditional churches. Moritz Fischer (2011) explored how the Mana Ministry, established, and led by Christopher Mwakasege, a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania (ELCT), is attracting adherents not just from the wider Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania but from other Pentecostal Churches. Anneth Munga and Faith Lugazia, Tanzanian Lutheran theologians, and William Fabian Mndolwa, a Tanzanian Anglican priest, explain the attraction of Pentecostal churches in Tanzania in addressing grassroots needs of healing and making a living in challenging economic times. They conclude that the *Uamsho* movement, led by Tanzanians, has led to a growing charismaticisation of the Lutheran Church and Anglican Church. They argue that this has necessitated a revision to the pneumatology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT) and Anglican Church as a response. Hitherto, the both churches had a very limited emphasis on the person and work of the Holy Spirit and its effect on personal morality, the use of spiritual gifts and the public confession of faith. (*Munga 1998*) (*Lugazia 2010*)

The *Uamsho* movement has also affected the Open Brethren Churches in Tanzania. Allan McKinnon, a Scottish Brethren theologian, explored the interaction of the Open Brethren (*Kanisa la Bibilia*) and Pentecostal movements in Northern Tanzania. He concluded that this is reshaping the Open Brethren churches in Northern Tanzania and has created a new rising African Christianity that has been defined as ‘Pentecostal evangelicalism’ that is not denominational but rather akin to revivalist movements. (*McKinnon 2018, page 293*)

In the Roman Catholic Church, the origins of the charismatic movement can be traced back to an international meeting of approximately eighty people from South Africa, Holland, and Tanzania under the banner of 'Baptism in the Spirit and Healing' at the town of Mzumbe, Morogoro in 1981. (*Wilkens 2011*) Despite early opposition and fears by the Church that the movement undermined the sacraments and that the increased emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit diminished the role of Mary and the Saints, the movement grew rapidly. According to Wilkens, the movement was 'institutionalised in order not to lose members to the popular Pentecostal churches.' (*Wilkens 2011, page 29*) The Cardinal of Tanzania, Polycarp Pengo, remains supportive of the movement which has seen the Church organise large Pentecostal style prayer meetings and missionary activities. The movement is focussed on healing and is centred at the Agape and Mbagala Centres in Dar es Salaam. It is now established across the country in small church groups which either meet after Sunday mass or at other times through the week. Although Mary and the Saints are acknowledged, they 'play a subsidiary role to the Holy Spirit.' (*Wilkens 2011, page 30*) The Roman Catholic Church has also adopted charismatic practices, for example in its worship style, in response to the appeal of Pentecostal churches and movements. (*Goliama 2013, page 136*)

A Summary of Research and Gaps in the Literature

All the scholars agree on the diversity and rapid growth of Pentecostalism in Tanzania. The literature focuses on several interconnected themes: Pentecostalism in the context of rural/coastal to urban migration and economic change; Pentecostal churches as offering a new community for believers, who are often migrants; Pentecostal churches as embracing spiritual warfare and as the locus for healing; Pentecostalism's opposition to traditional religion and witchcraft; the Tanzanian expression of the 'prosperity gospel'; and the response of traditional churches, particularly the Lutheran Church, to Pentecostalism's rise.

That said, there is a lack of engagement with churches outwith the most recent expressions of Pentecostalism and Charismatic movements. Where there is engagement with these, they tend to be historical accounts of those churches, established in the wake of Western missionary endeavour written by Tanzanians. The history of the Tanzania Assemblies of God (TAG) was written by Jotham Mwakimage (2014) and provides a factual account of the church's development and theology while Rev Munisi (2014) sets out (in Kiswahili) the TAG's origins in the Asuza Street Revival, the work of American and other Western missionaries and the growth of the Church. (Mwakimage 2014) (Munisi, Kimeme et al. 2014) Keller (1933) and Conrad (2008) provide, by means of biography, an account of missionary activity in relation to the activities the first Western Pentecostal missionaries in the country.

Despite the country's growing population and urbanisation, around two thirds of Tanzanians still live in the countryside. Much of the literature, however, focusses on urban expressions focusing on Dar es Salaam, Iringa, and Mbeya. In terms of people groups, the research to date engages with Wahehe, Wakinga, Wachanga, Wabena and Sukuma Tribes and migrant groups but there is limited engagement with other people groups.

There is, except for the Tanzanian scholars cited by Fischer, 2011, namely Munga 1998 and Sendoro, 2000 and, in addition, Mndolwa (2014) limited theological engagement with Tanzanian Pentecostalism. As I have outlined above, Western scholars have engaged with Tanzanian Pentecostalism as anthropologists (for example, Hansjorg Dilger 2009), sociologists (for example Martin Lindhardt) or through the lens of development studies (for example, Päivi Hasu).

My research seeks to address our gap in knowledge about the lived faith of a rural community worshipping in a Pentecostal church which was established prior to the 1980s. I am also

working with a people group, the Wanyaturu Tribe, with whom there has been limited academic theological research engagement.

How I will answer my research question

In Chapter Two I will introduce the church community, set out the approach to my research, that is accounts of my encounters with the four interlocutors through ‘hanging out’ with them and the methodology underpinning it.

Chapter Two: Research Objectives, Locus, Method, and Methodology

Introduction

In this Chapter I will set out my research objectives; introduce the locus of my research, the Free Pentecostal Church at a settlement near Sanjaranda; provide a historical background to the church at Sanjaranda and why I selected the settlement close to it as the locus of my research; set out how I practically went about the research, laying out my process; explain what I mean by ‘hanging out’ with the individuals at the settlement and contrast this with other approaches used by the scholars set out in Chapter One; explain why my ‘hanging out’ is best suited to addressing my research questions and how it accords with the methodological demands of practical theology; and set out my methodology.

Research Objectives

In Chapter One, I set out my research question. ‘How do four individuals in a rural Pentecostal community in Tanzania recount their journeys to faith, what is their understanding of God, how do they perceive their own calling in the church, their approach to mission and how do they perceive the challenges around them?’

In Chapter One, I also explained that scholarly research on Pentecostalism in Tanzania focusses on recent urban expressions of Pentecostalism and the impact of charismatic movements on established churches, and that it is limited in its engagement with churches established prior to the 1980s and 1990s and with Pentecostal churches in rural communities where most of the country’s population lives. My research, which focusses on the Christian lives and identities of attendees at a long-established Pentecostal church in a rural part of Tanzania, will add to our knowledge of Pentecostal churchgoers in Tanzania. My research,

therefore, seeks to learn about: (a) the journeys to faith of my four research participants – were there key events or key individuals on that journey? (b) how did they see God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit? (c) how did they read the Bible? were there certain Biblical figures or narratives that attracted them and why? (d) how did they pray and what for? (e) how did they feel God’s presence? (f) how did their faith shape their approach to growth of the local church? (g) how did they view their giving to the church? and (h) how did they see the challenges around them?

The Locus of the Research: Topography, Economy, and People Group

The settlement where I undertook my research is in in the vicinity of the village of Sanjaranda, a rural community in Singida Region, Manyoni District, near the town of Itigi. The village of Sanjaranda sits at an altitude of around 1,306 meters (around 4,288 feet) above sea level. (*United Republic of Tanzania, 2018, page 1*). It is situated around 145 kilometres (around 90 miles) from Dodoma, the capital city of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Singida Region has a population of 1.6 million with an inter census (2002 – 2012) growth rate of 2.3 percent. The population of Manyoni District is 296,763 with an annual growth rate of 3.7 percent. The population of Sanjaranda is 8,828, growing at 4 percent a year. Life expectancy in Singida Region is 59.8 years for men and 63.7 years for women compared with 62.6 years for men and 68.9 years for women for Tanzania as a whole. 90.6 percent of the population aged 5 and above have completed primary level education, which is comparable to Tanzania as a whole. (*United Republic of Tanzania 2013*) Further break down of the 2022 census is, at the time of writing, still to be published.

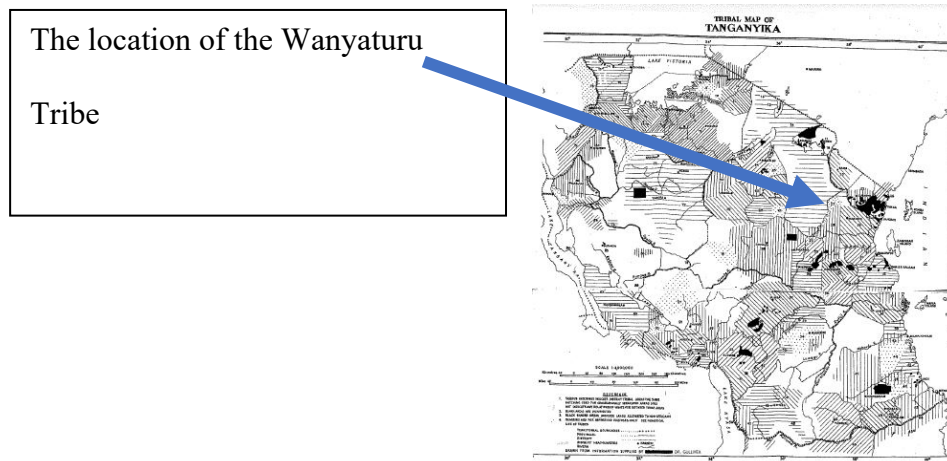
In terms of topography, Manyoni District forms part of the semi-arid central zone of Tanzania and its climate is described as inland equatorial ‘modified by the effects of altitude

and distance from the equator'. (*Makundi and Lyimo 2015, page 14*) It has a unimodal rainfall pattern, which influences farming practice with planting starting around November and harvesting taking place from May to July. These unimodal or 'seasonal rains' are sometimes referred to as *masika*. Rainfall averages 500– 650 mm per year, but inter-annual fluctuations are common. 2020, for example, was marked by very heavy rains in January and early February. Manyoni District is also marked by droughts, but there is good agricultural production when rainfall is plentiful. November tends to be the warmest month at around 22 degrees Celsius while July is the coolest, with mean temperatures around 19.3 degrees Celsius.

The main economic activity of Manyoni District is agriculture with two thirds of the working age population employed in livestock rearing and farming. (*United Republic of Tanzania, 2018, page 1*) Major crops are maize, green grams, groundnuts, sesame, and sunflower, while livestock keeping is also an important economic activity. Livestock rearing also provides much needed farmyard manure as this adds organic matter to soil to improve its fertility and water holding capacity. Agricultural production is, however, limited by labour and production techniques. Poorer households tend to use hand hoes (*jembe*), whereas better off households use ox ploughs for cultivation to transport manure from homestead to field. The use of ox ploughs allows those better off households to cultivate areas up to fifteen times larger than the poorest households. Men and women are engaged in all aspects of agricultural production and most households use family labour for farm work. Farmers tend not to use chemical fertilisers. (*United Republic of Tanzania 2018, page 2*) Households in Manyoni District, however, engage in more than one economic activity and these 'include crop trading and small business activities.' (*Sawe, Mung'ong'o et al. 2018, pages 325 - 326*)

The climate in Sanjaranda, as in Tanzania as a whole, is changing. Between 1981 and 2013, there were noticeable ‘reductions in rainfall, increases in temperature and more incidences of drought.’ (*Makundi and Lyimo 2015, page 14*) These environmental changes have resulted in lower crop yields, increased incidences of pests, a reduction in crop varieties and species, reduced water sources and decreasing soil fertility. (*Sawe, Mung'ong'o et al. 2018, page 332*) Local farmers have tried to address these challenges by changing farming practices. These have included ‘changing the cropping calendar, soil management practices and applying more farmyard manure to fields.’ (*Makundi and Lyimo 2015, page 21*)

Harold Schneider in his studies of the Turu Tribe in the 1960s explains that Sanjaranda is predominantly home to the Wanyaturu tribe and the numerically much smaller Wataturu tribe. (*Schneider 1966, 1968*) Sven Axel Conrad (2008) contends that the Wanyaturu have their ethnic origins in Southern Sudan or ‘Western Ethiopia’ and that they are related to the neighbouring Iramba, Rangi and Gogo Tribes. (*Conrad 2008, page 13*) That said, the geographical location of tribes has become much less fixed since *Ujamma* in the 1970s and the significant population migration to urban centres in the wake of Structural Adjustment in the 1980s. The local language Rimi (or Kinyaturu), belongs to the Bantu/Bantoid group of languages, in the Benue-Congo branch of Niger-Congo. (*Haspelmath, Dryer et al. 2005, page 20*) (*Asher, Moseley et al. 2007, page 342*)



The location of the Wanyaturu Tribe in Tanzania (*Gulliver 1959, page 69*)

The Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania at Sanjaranda

The Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania (FPCT) has more than 5,000 branches across the country and, according to Conrad, over half a million members. (Conrad, 2008, page 31)

The Church has its origins in the wider work of Scandinavian Pentecostal missionaries from the 1930s onwards. After independence in 1961, these Churches then associated with the Swedish Free Mission were grouped together as the Pentecostal Churches Social Association in Tanzania (PCSAT) and in 2000 changed name to the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania (FPCT).

The development of the Church is informed by a Ten-Year Strategic Plan 2014 – 24 which, according to the Church's web site, has been distributed to all church branches and departments. FPCT also has a range of departments and offers social, educational, and medical services in Tanzania. (*Malmberg 2015, page 2*)

It is helpful to provide a short historical background to the development of the churches at Sanjaranda and as it sets the context for the ongoing relationship and entanglement between the FPCT in Sanjaranda and Danish missionaries.

Marian Keller, a Canadian Pentecostal missionary, in her book *Twenty Years in Africa*, published in 1933, writes that the earliest non-Catholic missionary activity in Sanjaranda took place before the First World War with her arrival together with her then husband Karl Wittich, and an associate, Clarence Grothaus from Canada. She further explains that conditions, however, were harsh in Sanjaranda and Grothaus and Wittich died within three months of arriving in the village. (*see Keller 1933*) (*Anderson 2014, page 125*) (*Fischer, page 101*) Keller, herself, later remarried and served as a missionary in what is now Kenya.

There was, however, no concerted Pentecostal missionary presence in Sanjaranda until the arrival of the Conrads, a Danish missionary family, in the early 1950s. Sven-Axel Conrad, in his book entitled *Bitter Kaffe og Sode Dadle*, explains that, in 1953, Robert Conrad (1912 – 55) established a small Pentecostal mission in rural Sanjaranda, Manyoni District in what was then Tanganyika. Robert and his wife, Erna, had been Pentecostal missionaries in China during the Second World War and following the Communist Revolution were unable to return to that country.

Delegates at a national pastors meeting in Copenhagen in 1951 asked Erna and Robert Conrad to investigate future mission fields. There was no needs analysis or operational plan based on local data sources to guide the establishment of the Mission, but rather the Conrads relied on their sense of God's calling. Alfred Jensen, who would later serve in Tanzania, reports that Erna and Robert Conrad felt led by the Holy Spirit to travel to Tanganyika. (*Jensen 2007, page 2*) Sven- Axel Conrad, one of Robert's sons relates how his father selected Sanjaranda as the location for the mission. His father had been researching with a veteran Swedish missionary, Erland Dahlqvist (who worked for the Swedish Free Mission), and while passing through Itigi, related how they spoke with some local people asking them what religion they had. Two men, from the Wanyaturu tribe, replied 'we have no religion, we

47

are only human beings.’ (*Conrad 2008, page 10*) From this encounter, Robert and Erna Conrad were convinced that the mission should be established near Itigi in Manyoni District. Following negotiations with the British Colonial Authorities, they received ten acres of bush land in Sanjaranda, and the mission established in 1953.



The Conrad's House in Sanjaranda (photographed in July 2017)

Robert Conrad, however, suffered a heart attack while collecting water from the nearby town of Itigi and died in October 1955. He was interred at the Mission. After Robert's death, his wife Erna continued the work of the mission, despite a reduction in financial support from Denmark. At that time, eighteen people attended the mission church. In Denmark, Axel Jensen, a Danish missionary who had worked in China with the Conrads, felt called to travel to Tanganyika to work with Erna Conrad. The Jensen family arrived in Dar es Salaam in February 1956 where Erland Dalquest and Erna Conrad and her youngest son, Knud Erik Conrad, met them. Later in the month, they arrived in Sanjaranda and held their first outreach service. Erna Conrad served in African for another thirty years, focusing on preaching and teaching especially on women's issues. During her tenure, a small dispensary was established.

The mission continued to have close relations with other Scandinavian missions and missionaries. The Jensens invited Anne-Lise and Peter Madsen to join them in Sanjaranda while he and his wife worked in Singida. The Jensens also invited Inger and Gudbrand Sandvold, Norwegian missionaries who had worked in Kenya, to work at Sanjaranda together with a few married couples from Denmark.

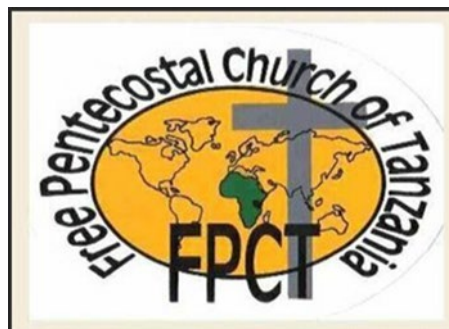


A road in Sanjaranda named after the founder of the mission, Robert Conrad (photographed in August 2022)

In 1984, the Pentecostal Churches Social Association in Tanzania (PCSAT), the precursor to the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania, which now ran the mission, asked for assistance from Danish Missionaries to reinvigorate the Bible School, which faced financial difficulties. Sven –Axel Conrad and his wife Erin together with Jens and Elin Haslund Thomsen arrived in April 1985.

Sven –Axel Conrad narrates that Jens focussed on developing a Rural Training College while his wife, Elin, who had been in Tanzania as a youth missionary in the late 1970s, worked on

‘teaching and preaching.’ (Conrad 2008, page 31) The two missionary families served in Sanjaranda until 1996. The current Danish missionary couple, Verner and Margaret Masden worked at the Mission from 1991 – 95, initially as part of a Danish Overseas Development Agency (DANIDA) government funded agricultural project. The couple then served in Somaliland (2001–02) and returned to Tanzania in 2002. The revitalised Bible School, attached to the Rural Training College, opened in 1997. One of the first students at the school, Yohanna Mkulanje, went on to further study in Denmark and is now the Pastor of the Free Pentecostal Church in Sanjaranda. These two facilities, along with the original church and a further building opened in 2004, form the Free Pentecostal Church’s centre in the village. As of early February 2023, there were over three hundred and thirty worshippers at the main Church.



The logo of the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania

The Church at the settlement close to Sanjaranda was established in 2004, with 13 members to serve the growing community there. As of early November 2021, it has 76 adult members. The church is focussed on fund raising activities for a new church building and internal fittings, as its original building is no longer fit for purpose. As of November 2021, the church had established another branch at an adjacent local settlement.

I selected the church at that settlement rather than Sanjaranda because my wife Shani and her wider family had worshipped at Sanjaranda. She had also worked for the son of the founder of the Mission at Sanjaranda, Alan Conrad, who went on to work as Airstrip Development Manager at Mission Aviation Fellowship. I had also been introduced to the community at Sanjaranda through Alan Conrad in 2006. Selecting the church at a settlement close by would distance me from these entanglements and the possibility that interlocutors would ‘hang out’ with me based on those relationships and perhaps not fully engage with me because of those.

Preparing for the research

My first stage in preparing for the research was to secure ethical permission for that research. This was in two parts. Firstly, in 2019, securing the necessary ethical approval from the University of Glasgow. As part of this, I explained, in the consent form (subsequently signed by the interlocutors and returned to me by post), that all names and other material likely to identify individuals will be anonymised. The anonymised material may, however, be used in future publications, both print and online. Accordingly, in this published version of the Thesis, the names of the participants which could identify them have been anonymised through the use of pseudonyms for both people and the location, which is referred to as a settlement near to the village of Sanjaranda. In securing ethical permission for the research, I also undertook to treat all material as confidential and to keep it in secure storage. All the data underpinning this research was stored in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation), which came into force on 25 May 2018, the University’s Regulations on data storage. A Data Management Plan was developed to support the research.

Secondly, in order to undertake in person research in Tanzania, I secured permission to do so from the Tanzanian Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), the national

research regulatory. I had planned to collect the paperwork associated with this from COSTECH's office in Dar es Salaam on my arrival in the county in the summer of 2020.

To prepare for what I had anticipated would be field research in the summer of 2020, I visited Sanjaranda for a short time in March and early April 2019. During that visit, I worshipped at the church at the settlement, met with the Pastor and worshipers, and explored the environs of by foot.

I explained my research to the Pastor, and put myself in his hands, asking him to reach out to others in the church I could meet with. I made it clear to the Pastor that, just as I had become friends with him and shared my faith and experiences, I wanted to befriend the interlocutors and share my faith and experience with them. I stipulated, however, that the participants, should be adults from both sexes and reflect the age profile of the church. The Pastor helped me, through a process of snowballing, whereby he reached to his immediate contacts and they in turn recommended others who could talk with me and with whom I could spend time over the summer of 2020. Snowballing is a way of 'finding research subjects where one subject gives the researcher the name of another, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on [.....] In this method, the sample group grows like a rolling snowball.' (*Cohen and Tamar 2011, page 244*) This resulted in a total of five people from the church with whom I could 'hang out' in the summer of 2020: three women and two men, including the Pastor.

The Covid-19 Global Pandemic

I had planned to undertake my research, in country, in the summer of 2020 and had obtained the necessary ethical approval from the University of Glasgow and permissions from the Tanzanian Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), the national research regulatory body to do so. My plan for in-country research, however, was not possible. The

Covid-19 pandemic affected the world, straining healthcare systems with countries imposing lockdown measures and severe travel restrictions. The Coronavirus was declared a Public Health Emergency on 30 January 2020 by the WHO and in March 2020 named Covid-19 a global pandemic.

The first Covid-19 case in Tanzania was in March 2020, a returning national who had visited Europe. (*Tarimu and Wu 2020, page 1*) The Tanzanian Government suspended all international flights on 11 April 2020, but these resumed the following month. At the same time, the Tanzanian Government closed universities, schools, and colleges but mosques, churches, and places of worship remained open. President Dr John Magafuli, a devout Catholic, described the virus as a *shetani* (demon) that could not live 'in the body of Christ'. He called for three days of national prayer (across all faiths) to tackle the virus. In October 2020, Tanzania went to the polls in parliamentary and presidential elections with President Dr John Pombe Magafuli, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) elected for a further five-year term. The President, however, passed away on 17 March 2021 and was succeeded by his Vice President, Samia Suluhu Hassan, who established a Covid-19 Committee to advise on tackling the pandemic, started to release statistics on the pandemic, re-iterated public health measures to combat the spread of the virus and joined the Covax scheme to obtain vaccines for the country to initiate a national vaccine roll out. During this period, UK Governments imposed severe restrictions on international travel, with Tanzania latterly appearing on the Red List of countries which would have entailed costly quarantine arrangements should I have gone to Tanzania.

Changing my plans

Therefore, I needed to either postpone my research for an indefinite period or undertake it by telephone, phasing our conversations like calling a close friend or family member. I chose the latter. Each of the four encounters necessitated around eight telephone calls and the purchase of over thirty half- hour 'Talk Home' international calling cards. I also made use, where possible of 'WhatsApp', an internet communication app. All the conversations were recorded, and I also took extensive notes and wrote my own personal reflections on those in my journal. This became my 'object' and my 'possession', something I enjoyed writing. It was where I could reflect and get the space to think. (*Bolton and Delderfield 2018, page 191*)

I had originally planned to create a quiet place for 'hanging out' together at a venue and time suitable for the interlocutors. This could be at the church, or on the front porch of their home. I now, as I was confined to Glasgow and a telephone, had to find other ways of creating a quiet, intimate place for conversations. I did this by after each encounter, arranging to talk again and set a time and date to do so, much as I did with family members during Covid restrictions.

Rather than situating myself in the community and physically 'hanging out' with research participants as we shared and talked about our faith, my 'hanging out' had to be by telephone. Therefore, I had to rely on multiple telephone calls and the limited use of WhatsApp. Only one of my research participants had access to a smart phone with WhatsApp throughout our 'hanging out' (the shopkeeper's wife), while another acquired a smart phone as we were agreeing on the quotes I could use in the Thesis (the night-watchman/herder). One of the other interlocutors (the mother) borrowed a neighbour's smart phone and we were able to 'hang out' in private using WhatsApp. My 'hangout' with the Pastor was facilitated through

an analogue mobile and occasionally, again in private, using his son's smart phone. Smart phones would have facilitated the use of WhatsApp allowing longer messages and even recordings to be sent to me. That said, WhatsApp usage was limited as the telephone signal supporting mobile internet and smart phones in the village was weak. The nearest mast was in the town of Itigi, several miles away. To take forward the research during the period of travel restrictions, I had, therefore, to rely, in the main, on telephone calls to analogue handsets. All respondents used pre-paid top-up cards to put credit in their phones. None had mobile phone contracts, and none had email addresses. These limitations meant that I had to rely on the postal service to send out the summary of our encounter and agree the quotes I have referred to in Chapter Three. My research, therefore, took place between April 2020 and November 2021 by phone and WhatsApp (a voice over IP service).

A phased 'hanging out'

My first 'hang out' was with the Pastor, which I commenced in April 2020. I was then advised that two of the female participants on the Pastor's list were unable to participate. The Pastor advised of a further female participant, Mama David, who in turn recommended another female participant, her daughter-in-law. She was, however, also unable to participate as she was expecting a baby and withdrew in January 2021. It was through the Pastor's suggestions that I settled on 'hanging out' with four people – two men (the Pastor, Christopher Mwezi and Herder/Nightwatchman, Robert Jones) and two women (the Shopkeeper's wife, Jane Shaba and the mother, Mama David). The phasing of the 'hanging out' through telephone conversations was as follows: (a) with the Pastor Christopher between April and early July 2020 by telephone, 'WhatsApp' calls, recorded messages, and SMS; (b) with Mama David between late August 2020 and March 2021 through a series of telephone conversations; (c) with Jane Shaba between March and June 2021 through a series of

telephone conversations, 'WhatsApp' calls and SMS messages; and (d) with Robert Jones between April and early July 2021 by initially by telephone and SMS messages but latterly by WhatsApp, as he had bought a smart phone.

What is 'hanging out'?

Before proceeding with the practicalities of how I undertook the research, it is important to define what I mean by 'hanging out'. Later in this Chapter, I will explain why this approach was much more suited to my research.

Deepak Nair (2021) defines 'hanging out' as a 'sociable, informal [...] engagement with members of a community.' (*Nair, 2021, page 10*). The key feature of 'hanging out' is an informal, everyday social interaction with interlocutors. (*Rodgers 2004, page 41*). 'Hanging out' required that I immersed myself in the lives of the interlocutors. I developed long term relationships with them which have endured well beyond the period of the research. Post research, we continue to connect by WhatsApp, sharing updates on what we are up to, our families, photographs or where we have been.

'Hanging out', therefore, means that relationship is the starting point for research. I became part of their 'everyday practices'. (*Pols, 2023, page 710*). This meant that a phone call with me to talk about our faith is part of their daily phone calls and WhatsApp messages with family and friends about their faith. It meant making 'a connection with them'. (*Banks Wallace 2002, page 411*)

In Chapter One, I set out my research topic, but 'hanging out' 'focuses less immediately on the research topic itself, but instead engages with the situations at hand' (*Pols, 2023, page 711*) 'Hanging out' meant that my key task was how to be a part of the world of the

interlocutors, understanding their lives, struggles and frustrations. I became part of their world through regular telephone conversations. Doing this entailed sharing the seemingly mundane, for example, how my day had been as well as the significant moments in my life. ‘Hanging out’ demanded that I had to avert my gaze from focussing on the research goals and not fall into the trap of proceeding with a set of questions to be answered. The approach required me to place faith in the unfolding conversations as our relationship developed. For that, I needed to be sure of my own experiences and share them with the interlocutors. Later in this Chapter I’ll explain the role of my own personal journal in this.

Later in this Chapter, I will set out my own position as a Christian practical theologian and my research setting as an encounter between two Christians. In that setting, ‘hanging out’ offered them the opportunity, through their interaction with me, to inform my own faith. It gave them opportunity to speak of their own experience of God to someone outwith their immediate community in the knowledge that in doing so they were enriching my own faith. Equally, the interlocutors heard about my own faith and day to life experiences which were very different from their own.

‘Hanging out’: my method in practice

At the beginning of our encounter, I emphasised the conversational nature of our encounter and that this would include us talking about and sharing our experiences of God. I advised them that I would take notes and recordings to help me write about our encounter. I informed them that I would send them a summary of our encounter and include draft quotes of their words in Kiswahili that I would use in my account for them to read and agree. I also assured them of their anonymity in the final published version of the Thesis and this was also set out

in the consent document I have referred to as part of the ethical approval process for this research. All our conversations took place in Kiswahili.

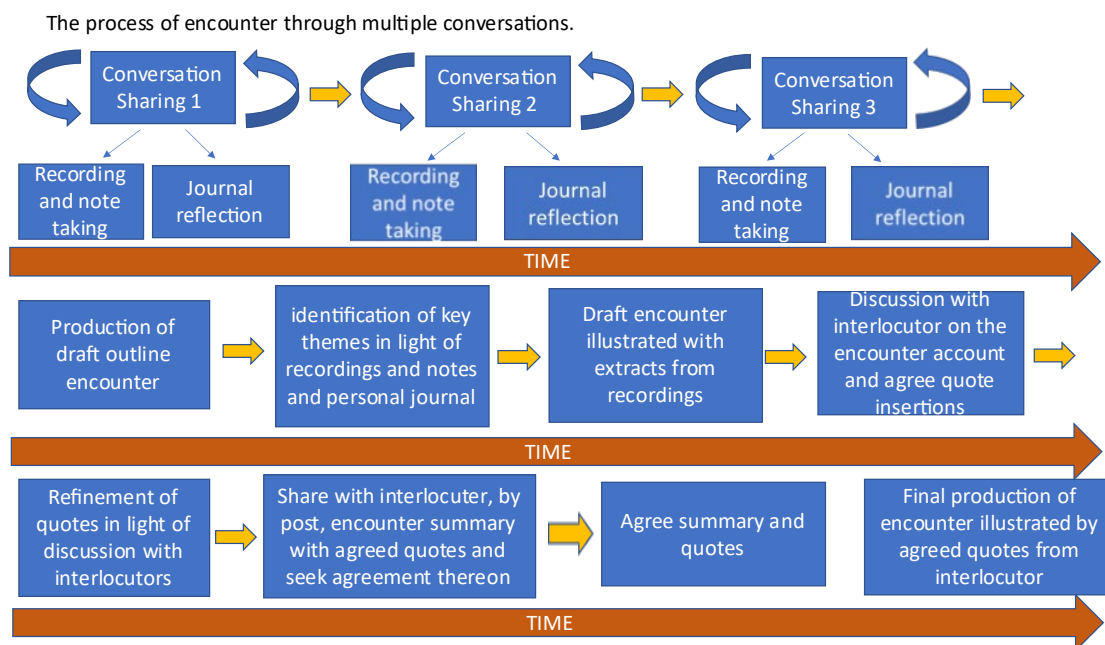
After each conversation I made an appointment when we could talk again undisturbed, in a similar way in which, during Covid, I would call my sister or a close friend saying that we would talk again soon. After each encounter, I wrote down my reactions and feelings in my journal and produced, based on my notes and recordings and those journal entries, the first iteration of encounter.

At our next conversation, we would rehearse and agree the key points from our previous conversation and then either further develop some of these or start to explore new material introduced by them or by me sharing my own experiences. This process continued until we had covered and explored everything we wanted to share.

Oftentimes, between calls, I would send a SMS or WhatsApp simply to ask how they were keeping and say that I was praying for them. At the beginning of our time together, for example, I shared with them my day at work, largely focussed on my work Covid-19 guidance, the challenge of school held online or my experience of the then solely online worship at church in Glasgow. By doing this, I underscored that I was a fellow believer with challenges in life wanting to hear about their experiences of God and share my own.

I also kept a personal journal through the process of my encounters in which I recorded my own thoughts on what we shared, my own reactions and feelings, my own theological reflection and things going on at the same time in my life. The recordings of my encounters were not transcribed in their entirety but rather I transcribed and translated what I felt were key quotes as part of our encounter.

I arranged for a summary of each of the encounters, illustrated with quotes from the interlocutors, to be sent to them by post to get their agreement for me to use the words in my account. I then made appointments to speak with them by phone and go through the summary account and quotes, to check their credibility, accuracy and make the changes required. It was during those conversations that participants raised other issues, for example, when I discussed my own baptism, that some had changed their names on baptism. I was then able to complete the account of my encounters and include the agreed quotes from interlocutors.



The Research Process

Practical Theology, ‘hanging out’ and informal conversations about God.

This approach to my research is suitable as it aligns with my status as a practical theologian, my experience on the ground in Tanzania and it helps me achieve my research goals. Let me deal with these in turn.

I approached this research as a practical theologian not as an anthropologist. Practical theology ‘locates itself within the diversity of human experience, making its home in the complex web of relationship and experiences that form the fabric of all that we know’. (*Swinton and Mowat 2013, page 3*) I contend that my ‘hanging out’ approach is not only suited to my own status as practical theological researcher in that I am also making my home in the complex web of experiences and relationships and seek to be on a conversational, ‘contextual’, journey with my interlocutors, but it is also aligned with how people talk about their faith in Tanzania. (*Bennett, Graham et al. 2018, page 82*) In Tanzania, as in Sub-Saharan African as a whole, there is no distinction between the ‘religious and secular’, no distinction between life and faith. (*Magesa 1997, page 70*) Life and faith, like the fabric of space-time, are interwoven. ‘Every encounter (with God) is understood in its temporal or material sense as well as its religious or supernatural sense.’ (*Waruta 1991, page 57*) The experience of God in the day-to-day of life is not a one-off event in Africa but continuous and ongoing, woven into the fabric of daily life. (*see Hartman 2017*) Talking about God in informal conversation around a meal or simply in the day-to-day is a practice I have encountered first-hand with Christians at FPCT churches in Sanjaranda and Zanzibar. It was one of the first things I noticed when I visited the International Evangelism Church in Dodoma in August 2003 and talked with people after the service, albeit through a translator at that time. Talking about God either with friends, family through informal conversations or in spoken testimonies or proverbs is a daily part of life in Africa and Tanzania. (*see Healey and Sybertz 1996*) This informal talking about God, where believers share their own experience of their journey to faith, how God has been with them through illness or financial challenge, bears witness to a person’s relationship with God and the development of their faith.

Given this reality in Tanzania, ‘hanging out’ better facilitates my research for several reasons.

Firstly, it allows space and time for listening. Swinton and Mowat (2006) citing Stephen Pattison (1989), assert that ‘participation implies a willingness to listen and be attentive to other participants.... conversations allow participants to discover things about their interlocutors which they never knew before; all participants end up seeing themselves and others from new angles and in a different light’. (*Pattison 1989, page 5*) Secondly, an informal conversation allows participants to express what they see as ‘meaningful from their experiences’ and reflect on it. (*Bishop 2005, page 109*) ‘Hanging out’ creates the space for this to happen and allows me to develop understandings in non-Western terms. It allows for knowledge to be acquired ‘through dialogue.’ (*Nadar, 2014, page 25*) Thirdly, ‘hanging out’ allows for me to be in relationship with the interlocutors rather than aloof from them.

Greeting each other and asking how they and their families are doing facilitates an environment in which participants are more at ease and willing to share more. For me it meant ‘taking the time to listen’. (*Liming 2023, page 204*) Being in relationship, however, has implications for me as a researcher. In the preface to this Thesis, I set out how this research has claimed me. There, I explained that the research became a ‘vocation’ through my ‘complex conscious’ and ‘unconscious’ ties to the work. (*Romanyshyn 2010, page 275*) This relationship demanded that I could not bracket myself out of the research process. On the contrary, I was the research instrument and that meant I had to bring myself and my complex identity to the research process and share this. I am a Christian, researcher, musician, civil servant, and father. I was brought up in Glasgow, Scotland and the place of my initial spiritual formation was the Church of Scotland with influences from the Church of the Nazarene. I have lived, worked, and married in Tanzania and, while there, worshipped in Pentecostal churches. My wife and I have a house in Dodoma and refer to this as our second home. I currently worship at Queens Park Baptist Church in Glasgow and play in the worship

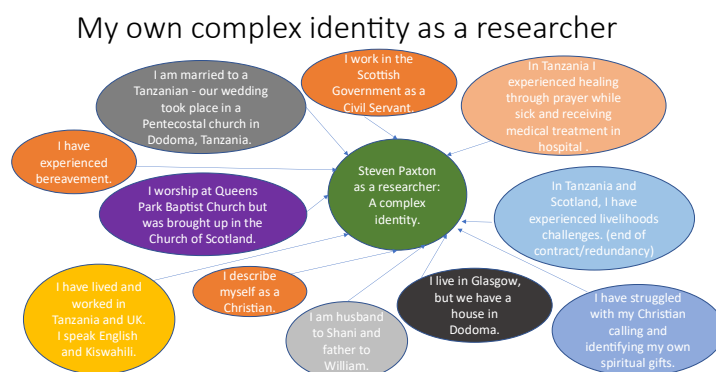
band there. I cannot be divorced from the sources of my own spiritual, emotional, and intellectual formation and need to bring what Hans-Georg Gadamar calls my own ‘preunderstandings’ to the encounter process. (*Geanellos 2000, page 238*) Rather than bracketing them, I need to embrace them as a researcher and bring them to the research process.

When I shared my own life and faith, I made myself open ‘to difference and vulnerable to awkwardness’ with the interlocutors on our journey together and in doing so my own faith is changed by the process of research. (*Bevans and Schroeder 2006, page 8*) Fourthly, in this type of relationship, participants are respected as equal partners as we journey together in the exploration of faith and our experience of God. In my approach I am ‘taking them seriously’ and acknowledging and sharing in their ‘contextual realities’. (*Weber 2022, page 60*) I became part of their everyday phone calls and text messages, just as they did with their own friends and family.

In Chapter Three, I expand upon, and I draw upon my own complex identity as I reflect and analyse my four encounters.

In contrast to interviewing, ‘hanging out’ provides participants with the opportunity to bring in new topics to the conversation which the researcher had not envisaged. A conversational approach between equals can also help bring to the surface issues that have been kept silent and ‘challenge power relationships that help maintain that silence.’ (*Horsfall and Titchen 2011, page 239*) One of the interlocutors, for example, discussed at length Gender-Based Violence and the need for the church to help such women while another talked at length about tradition wedding practices. The topic of Gender-Based Violence is unlikely to be talked about in front of the congregation at church. I conversed in Kiswahili as my working

language and this allowed me to reduce, but never to fully eliminate, the distance between me and what I am researching and the people I am engaged with.



Fifthly, Susan Chase (2005) reminds us that personal narratives are ‘socially situated interactive performances’ and will be different in the context in which they are being narrated. (*Chase 2005, page 657*) The unfolding story of God and faith told to me in the quietness of a personal conversation will be very different to that of a public testimony. Each of the interlocutors had done a lot of testimony in the church. Indeed, during my 2019 visit I listened attentively to these and the testimonies of others. Participant observation at the same time as my ‘hanging out’ would have enabled me to witness these things but this option was not available to me during the pandemic. An informal conversation can identify elements of faith which are not articulated in public testimony. The relationship of one of the interlocutors with his girlfriend had recently ended. This was something he would not likely share with a congregation. In our conversation, however, he talked about it and reaffirmed God’s sovereignty over the situation. Finally, my approach differentiates me from the approaches taken by the scholars of Pentecostalism in Tanzania. In Chapter One, I set out that they came from predominately sociological and anthropological backgrounds and qualitative approaches used by scholars in researching Tanzanian Pentecostalism were, in the main, interviews and/or participant observation. While these are valid for anthropological research

and the production of ethnographies, I am not seeking to produce an ethnographical study but rather through reflections on conversations be in a place of encounter where I learn about their faith.

By being vulnerable my relationship with the interlocutors was one of equals. This relationship of equals, through ‘hanging out’ facilitated a deeper relationship with the interlocutors than a qualitative interview setting, where questions are asked, and answers sought. Conversational engagement through ‘hanging out’ also opened an appreciation of the interconnectedness and complexity of the lives of both the researcher and the interlocutors as we both have complex, evolving and multiple identities. The approach allowed for understanding ‘to be configured in more locally intelligible terms’ (*Rodgers 2004, page 41*) This means that our understanding of each other is based on our mutual exchange, informed by our openness to each other and anchored in shared experiences. As we were sharing on a more intimate basis, the travel limitations imposed by Covid, which necessitated the use of phone calls did not limit our exchanges.

Alternatives to ‘hanging out’ and why they are not suitable for my research

It is, however, important that I make clear the differences between this approach and a structured qualitative interview and qualitative semi structured interviews as they further highlight the reasons for my chosen approach. A structured qualitative interview is ‘based on a questionnaire with a sequence of questions, asked in the same order and the same way of all subjects of the research, with little flexibility available to the researcher.’ (*Edwards and Holland 2013, page 13*) That approach would not facilitate the kind of relationship with the interlocutors I sought, would not allow me as the researcher to fully engage in the research process, nor is it suitable for the small numbers in my research.

Semi-structured and unstructured interviews are, potentially, another suitable approach for my research, given the small numbers involved. At first this approach seemed attractive, and I even prepared question prompts to help in this process. These are attached at Appendix Two. I resolved not to use these as intended but rather drew upon them, together with my own personal journal, to serve as a reminder to myself about my own faith experiences.

Semi-structured and unstructured interviews have several key features in common. These are (a) the interactional exchange of dialogue (between two or more participants, in face-to-face or other contexts; and (b) a thematic, topic-centred, biographical, or narrative approach where the researcher has topics, themes, or issues they wish to cover, but with a fluid and flexible structure. A perspective regarding knowledge as situated and contextual, requiring the researcher to ensure that relevant contexts are brought into focus so that the situated knowledge can be produced. Meanings and understandings are created in an interaction, which is effectively a co-production, involving the ‘construction or reconstruction of knowledge’. (adapted from Mason 2002, page 62)

As Deepak Nair, however, has pointed out the lines ‘between ‘hanging out’ and semi structured interviews are blurred.’ (*Nair 2021, page 11*) It is important to be clear as to the differences between the two. Both are verbal exchanges; both have points of entrance and exit, and both involve conversation. There are, however, important differences. A qualitative semi structured or unstructured interview is still an interview in that it is arranged for the purposes of exploring a topic set by the interviewer. The qualitative interview is, however, still based on the ‘researcher’s agenda.’ (*Creswell 2013, page 173*) ‘Hanging out’, however, is less formal and the topic is not defined by the interviewer. In qualitative semi structured interviews, questioning techniques are used to keep a conversation going. In ‘hanging out’,

however, I am sharing my experiences and faith, not using question prompts to keep the conversation going.

‘Hanging out’ on the Road to Emmaus

It is the story of the Road to Emmaus (*Luke 24, 13:35*), where Jesus joined the Disciples, in conversation as they journeyed to Emmaus, which provided a reference point for my own approach to encounter. The Road to Emmaus was one of the first Bible passages I read in public. I recall, as a young man, reading William Barclay’s Daily Study Bible commentary -a present from my parents-on that portion of the Gospel of Luke, ‘then Jesus came and talked with them (on the way)’. William Barclay explained that Jesus awaited the Disciples’ ‘invitation to come in’ and they recognised Him as he broke bread. (*Barclay 1975, page 295*) The Disciples’ conversation with the resurrected Jesus amid the complexities and challenges of their lives became the place for renewed encounter with Him. Accordingly, I had to ‘block out time and dedicate it to the work of interacting with other people.’ (*Liming 2023, page x*)

The road to Emmaus is the story of the disciples encounter with the resurrected Christ and while I do not seek to draw direct parallels in my research with how that unfolds in Scripture, the theme of walking together and listening served as an important point of reference. It was through our journeying together in the midst of our daily tasks, sharing our faith, our challenges and doubts and listening to each other that I believe we both encountered Christ. By doing this, I reflected that Christ was in the midst of our encounters.

As I journeyed together with the interlocutors, I wrote down my reactions and responses to our discussions and reflected on my own personal history and entanglement in Tanzania. The process of crafting my encounter was a continuous one that entailed a constant moving between reflections in my journal and what the interlocutors said to me. In my journey with

them, I was also on my own personal journey as my own faith developed. The theme of walking and listening along the way in the Emmaus story also helped me recognise ‘my own place in the narrative’. (*Walton 2014, page 95*) I was on the road with the interlocutors – sharing my faith and experiences and listening to theirs. In my listening, I needed to be attentive to how they described themselves, their journey to faith, healing, church, community relationships and their societal and cultural frameworks. (*adapted from Paliadelis and Cruickshank 2008, page 1446*)

Methodological Concerns: Can I ‘hang out’ by phone?

A review of the literature on telephone use highlights its efficacy in research and that data gained from telephone interviews is consistent with data gained from face-to-face interviews. (*Cook, White et al. 2003*) (*Musselwhite, Cuff et al. 2007*)

Skype and email are also valid mediums of communication and could be adapted to the task of facilitating my ‘hanging out’. (*James and Busher 2006*) The challenge, however, is the lack of access local people have, to smart phones and connectivity to Skype or similar platforms.

I was not, however, seeking to gather or extract data, which I could then analyse. As I have set out in Chapter Two, I am not undertaking qualitative semi structured interviews using ‘questioning techniques to sustain a conversation’. (*McConaughy 2005, page 4*) Rather, I am in the ebb and flow of conversations in our unfolding relationship, sharing my own experiences as common touch points as a way of opening conversation. My sharing of my own experience of healing through prayer, for example, served as a touch point for the interlocutors to talk about their own experiences of healing. I am journeying with them as we converse about God amid our daily lives. Later in this Chapter, I assert my credentials as a

Christian Trinitarian practical theologian, informed by the centrality of relationship. I asserted my need to embrace relationship, vulnerability, the importance of being close to research participants, living in community, being present with them as we ‘hung out’ together sharing our faith. In doing this I was engaged in an act of holy listening, challenging the object-subject relationship in research by dwelling in the tensioned, creative place of being both an insider and outsider in the community.

Telephone research, by the very fact of physically being distant and unlike Skype or WhatsApp, unable to be seen, could put me in the position whereby, despite my familiarity with the settlement, I could be seen as an outsider. I could be seen as the person who dials in rather than lives in a community. Undertaking research by phone constrains my desire to dwell in that space between and be in relationship with the research participants. Telephone calls, rather than face-to-face encounters, are therefore a challenging, but not impossible, medium in which to build an intimate space where relationships flourish. During the pandemic, I got used to extended ‘hangouts’ with my sister and my late aunt as we could not physically visit each other. In those calls we talked about the challenges we faced and, with my aunt, prayed about those.

Physically not being present, however, also entailed that I was less able to capture the day-to-day experiences and rhythms of life and see each other’s facial expressions or just sit in silence. I was unable, for example, to sit for an extended period with a research participant, with an open Bible in front of us and point to and share passages which speak at key moments in life together. Further, the time constraints of phone calls where airtime is limited, entailed that I was unable to relate fully my own faith experiences as we journey together.

Practical Issues

Working together with the interlocutors, therefore, necessitated many phone calls (around eight or nine per participant) and the purchase of airtime (typically Talk Home Cards). Each airtime card (£5) would allow me around half an hour, therefore, my time on the phone with each participant was around four or five hours.

‘Hanging out’ through multiple phone calls had several practical drawbacks: the necessity of several phone calls spread over five or six weeks or more, depending upon my own work commitments and the availability of the participant created a stop-start series of encounters with conversations sometimes cut short as airtime credit ran out. This resulted in a lack of continuity in conversations, at the start of each call, I would need to recapitulate the previous call; the difficulty of getting time slots to make a call. Tanzania is two hours ahead of the UK (end of March – end of October) and three hours ahead (end of October – end of March); the lack of visual clues and what I can sense physically being with another person in conversation, which would prompt another question and exploration. It is not possible to pick up on visual clues; and the inability to sit for long periods in silence with each other.

Mitigations

Despite the challenges both practical and methodological, I was determined to proceed with the research, recognising the limitations of using telephone calls to ‘hang out’ and putting in place measures to mitigate them. Godin (2015) contends that the imagination has a role to play in contemporary theological discourse – ‘it is in the imagination that we can meet others and attend to their particular stories.’ (*Godin 2015, page 112*) I brought this idea of using the imagination as a mitigation to address the limitations of telephone research. A telephone call

did not mean I was disconnected; rather it called for a different type of connectedness. I used my imagination to enter the presence of another, thousands of miles from me. I was not using imagination to represent another's voice but rather using my experience and knowledge of the village to help me better enter the presence of the research participants when I was on a call. I drew upon my memories as recorded in my research journal, my personal journal, and my photographs.

In connection with my Doctor of Practical Theology degree (DPT), I have had two visits to the village, most recently in 2019 to meet with the Pastor and explain my research. Prior to my DPT I had several visits to Sanjaranda and the settlement to visit wider family. I have walked through it on a very hot afternoon and travelled back to it through the bush on the back of a *bodaboda* (motorcycle taxi) from Sanjaranda at night, wrapped up against the chill of the evening. I have visited and worshipped at the church at the settlement, which is the locus for my research. I have, during visits to my sister-in-law, experienced rural life, helping, for example, to stack maize (*mahindi*) to dry in the sun and walked out to meet my sister in law's husband as he walked home one evening after a day herding. I have used the local shops and the services of the local doctor and dispensary when a cut on my foot became infected. I have seen the sun flowers growing tall in the fields and eaten food cooked with their produce.

I could, therefore, recall and feel the cool of an evening, picture the setting sun and hear the noise of the cattle as they trod home in the early evening. I could taste food cooked in sunflower oil and imagine the scene as they use a small charcoal cooker outside on their porch to cook it. I could picture the night watchman and feel the cold night air and the welcome warmth of a hoodie or blanket and can hear the night sounds he hears and recall the endless stars he sees in an African sky unpolluted by artificial light. I could clearly see the

small village church and hear the loud cracking sound as the *bati* (corrugated iron) roof expanded in the hot mid-morning air and recall the insecurity of sitting on a flimsy white plastic garden chair at the front of the church. In my imagination, I could be with them, and I could be in the community. Imagination, therefore, enabled me to enter more effectively into presence.

I set aside specific times for my phone calls, just as I did with family members during Covid-19 and as I would have set aside time if I had been physically able to visit the village. Setting aside specific, agreed times for phoning the interlocutors meant that both of us were in a shared, sacred space, albeit connected by phone.

I have contended that a shared space is a sacred space. I am, in encounter, on ‘holy ground’ and we are together on a conversational journey. (*Slee 2013, page 17*) In order to facilitate that conversational journey and revere ‘holy ground’, we acknowledged, the different dynamics at work in a telephone call and I emphasised this is a place of conversation and sharing. To do this, I used what Lisa Given describes as ‘everyday conversation’ and sharing the seemingly ‘mundane’ (*Given 2008, page 2*) I also allowed extra time in the phone calls for relationship to develop. Indeed, some of my SMS messages and conversations were to ask how people were getting along, how was their work and how were things in the village.

Finally, as encounter was on holy ground, personal preparation was essential for me as I entered that holy place. I use the ‘Lectio’ App for my personal devotions. My use of this approach to reading, meditating, praying, and contemplating scripture was essential personal spiritual preparation as I get a feel for the to and fro of encounter, as words spoken capture me. Secondly, in my daily Bible readings, through ‘Lectio’, I use a Kiswahili Bible to look at the readings. This enabled not only a better understanding of language but entering the

language domain of the interlocutors. I was reading the same translation of the Bible as they were and seeing the Chapter they referred to on the same page. (*The Holy Bible in Kiswahili, Union Version, Bible Society of Tanzania, Bible Society of Kenya, 1997*)

Why I undertook the research in the way I did: My Methodology

In this section I will set out why I have undertaken the research using the method set out in this Chapter. I maintain that the selection of methods and underpinning methodology does not occur divorced from my own evolving faith.

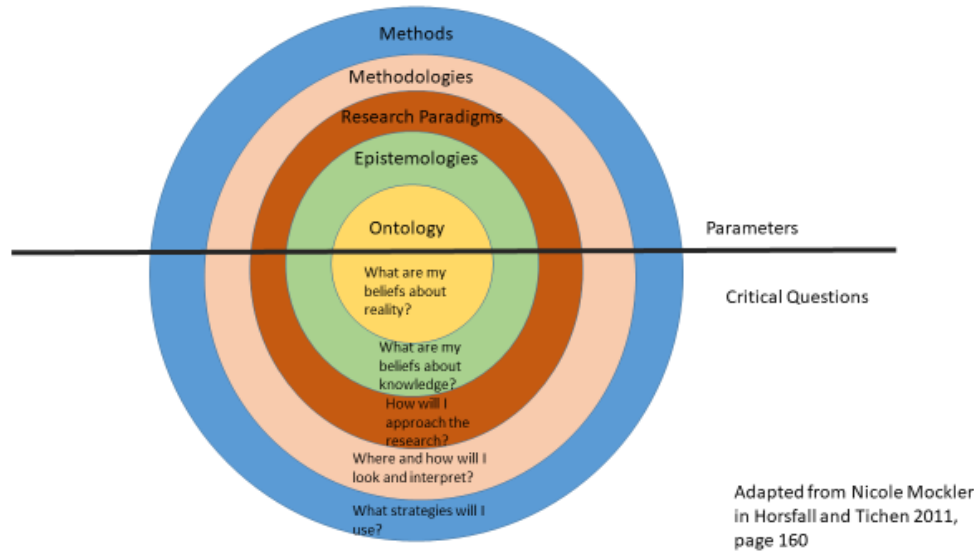
I have found Nicole Mockler's (2011) research parameters helpful in developing my methodology as they take me on a journey starting with my own beliefs and experiences (ontologies), how this shapes how I see knowledge being formed (epistemologies) and how I will, therefore, approach knowledge formation (research paradigms) in my own research and interpretation (method). (*Horsfall and Tichen, 2011, page 160*) (*Bennett, Graham et al. 2018, pages 29, 32*)

I am a Christian practical theologian taking my stance in the reality of the Christian hope, which Jorgan Moltmann asserts as the central theme of his 1967 book entitled *The Theology of Hope* and is based on the resurrection of the crucified Christ. (*Moltmann 1967*) My hope stands in stark contrast to the injustices of the present and the structures and powers, which Walter Brueggeman in his 1978 book entitled, *The Prophetic Imagination*, contends silence the voices of those at the margins. (*Brueggemann 1978*) For me, God, following the central theme of Catherine Lagna's 1991 book entitled *God for Us*, is situated in the present realities and struggles of life, in an encounter. God is God of doing as well as being, attentive to the

voices and struggles of the voiceless. (*La Cugna 1991*) This practical God in the middle of day-to-day life, therefore, demands that I embrace a study of politics, economics, and the social sciences in order that I can understand the world around me and the forces that shape it.

The God of Hope I profess, active in the day-to-day of life, is Trinitarian, with the persons of the Trinity in intimate, dynamic relationship one with another. (*La Cugna 1991*) (*Volf 1996*) I am called, therefore, to be in close relation with those with whom I am researching, and I am called to challenge research paradigms, which perpetuate inequality and distance between them and me.

We all experience God from our own standpoints, informed by our own experiences. I am aware, therefore, that others will experience God from their own standpoints and experiences. (*Wrogemann 2016, pages 6 - 10*) Michael de Certeau, his book entitled *The Practice of Everyday Life*, invites me to be attentive to the ordinariness of day-to-day conversion and this has helped me construct my approach to the research. (*de Certeau 1980*) As a practical theologian, I believe that God's revelation is in the day-to-day of conversation and it is to this that I must be attentive.



Nicole Mockler's Research Parameter (2011)

Me as the Researcher: An Insider and Outsider Practical Theologian

Earlier in this Chapter, I set out my approach to answering my research question contrasting it with the approaches used in the literature. I have also maintained the importance of me being in relationship with those I am working with. In this section I set out the implications of me as a researcher and my encounter with the four Christians in rural Tanzania.

My status as a researcher determined the geographic location of the research. My first thought was to undertake the research at the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania at the village of Sanjaranda. The Church in the village was originally established in the early 1950s. I have worshiped there, and my wife and her parents were worshippers at the church, and she worked for the son of the founder, a missionary at Mission Aviation Fellowship. I was very much an insider at the worshipping community at Sanjaranda. I heeded Dwyer and Buckle's (2009) cautions about my status as insider. My insider status to the community there led to me to avoiding conducting my research in proximity to my family ties.

David Hellowell's view of the insider – outsider dichotomy as a continuum rather than duality is helpful, as I do not view myself as exclusively an insider or an outsider. (Hellowell 2006) My own experiences as a researcher defies these fixed positions. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) helpfully propose the notion of a 'space between', that is 'the notion of a space between that allows researchers to occupy the position of both insider and outsider rather than insider or outsider.' (*Dwyer and Buckle 2009, page 54*)

Another helpful perspective is offered by Courtney Goto's (2018) idea of 'epistemic advantage'. That is 'a critical, perspectival edge created by experiencing oppression personally or empathically, enabling a knower to stand in multiple places, discern what others might not, and to challenge ignorance or violence.' (*Goto 2018, page 68*) I have not experienced oppression either personally or empathically, but I have, like the interlocutors, experienced illness, healing through prayer, livelihood challenges, and living through Covid-19. On a wider canvas, I am a Christian, have experienced life in Tanzania and worshipped at FPCT Pentecostal churches in Tanzania. I speak Kiswahili, I am aware of the history of the worshipping community and the local geography and terrain. I know the local Pastor, at the settlement where I am undertaking the research and have worshipped at the church there. This is my 'epistemic advantage'.

That said, in various respects I am an outsider. I was born, brought up and educated in the West and my theological formation was in the Church of Scotland not in a Tanzanian Pentecostal setting. I do not normally live Sanjaranda or its environs, I was not brought up there, I have not experienced life in rural Tanzania, and I have only very limited knowledge of the local language (Rimi or Kinyaturu).

The space between is, therefore, an intimate, reflexive place where an approach to understanding can happen. Mary Field Belenky (1986) explains, ‘understanding involves intimacy and equality between self and object’ (usually but not always a person) (*Belenky, Clinchy et al. 1986, page 101*) In this space relationships matter and, as an insider, I can build these more easily which led, despite the arranging of phone calls, to a more flowing and open exchange.

Outsider Advantages	Outsider Disadvantages	Insider Advantages	Insider Disadvantages
A non-participant can point out the things that an insider has not seen or noticed. It gives the researcher the advantage of being able to stand back from the community he/she is researching.	Can an outsider who does not have the same faith or life experiences as those he/she is working with really understand?	An insider has ' <i>a priori</i> ' intimate knowledge of the community and its members'. An insider is also <i>in situ</i> in the community in the midst of the reality of lived lives and daily faith. Sharing identity, language and experience with research participants allows the 'researcher more rapid and complete acceptance' and 'enhanced rapport' (Roland and Wicks 2009, page 253) He/she is also more able to write themselves into the research and reflect on this.	Strong emotional responses leading to possible role confusion. This is more so when the researcher is familiar with the research participants through a role other than researcher.
The researcher can act as a 'narrative counterpoint' by critiquing a particular situation. (Bevans 2008, pages 19-20)	An outsider is limited in what he/she can hear because they may not readily understand the deep contextual meanings of words or phrases. Will research participants 'open up' to a researcher who is perceived to be an outsider?	An insider understands the rhythm of seasons, the dynamic of daily life and the day-to-day expressions of faith.	Making assumptions of similarity and allowing the researcher's personal experience to shape the responses of research participants.
An outsider can 'stimulate, by presenting their own theological position' and faith experiences, and encouraging a different way of theological thinking. (Bevans 2008, page 20)		An insider can more effectively stand with those they are researching with – advocating for change.	

Insider/Outsider – Advantages and Disadvantages.

My Research Paradigms: ‘An Endarkened Feminist Epistemology’

Simply adopting an approach to answer my research question which resonates with non-Western approaches to knowledge making is, however, not enough as it does not take account of the sacredness of my encounter nor the African context in which I am experiencing them.

I have found Cynthia Dillard’s concept of an ‘endarkened feminist epistemology’, informed by the experience of African American women in the education sector in America, helpful in refining the approach to my own theological research. It is precisely because it is a feminist approach informed by a non-white, African American perspective, which makes it attractive and pertinent to my work in Tanzania. An ‘endarkened feminist epistemology’ is attentive to the spiritual and the sacred in the research process, viewing the creation of knowledge a ‘deeply sacred work.’ (*Dillard and Bell 2011, page 337*) In addition, an ‘endarkened feminist epistemology’ reinforces calls for a different more egalitarian relationship between me and the researched.

Dillard’s proposition is attractive for three reasons. Firstly, it not only challenges the researcher/researched dichotomy and embraces situatedness and lived experience, often in the context of struggle and oppression, but also is attentive to the spiritual. (*Dillard 2010, pages 661 - 681*) If my encounters are sacred and, following Nicola Slee, ‘revelatory of God’ (*Slee 2013, page 17*), then I am on holy ground (*Exodus 3, 5*) as I write about them. This spiritual, sacred element to Dillard’s endarkened feminist epistemology will have implications for my work as I engage in ‘holy listening’, ‘sacred reading’ and ‘sharing horizons’. (*Sexton 2019, page 48*) Secondly, an ‘endarkened feminist epistemology’ demands a different relationship between me and the researched, ‘between my knowing and the production of research’ (*Dillard and Bell 2011, page 663*) Thirdly, I am attentive to the role that language plays in

the denigration of other cultures and ways of knowing. Embracing a post-colonial approach to research demands, informed by wa Thiong'o's 1986 book *Decolonising the Mind*, working thinking, living, and conversing in Kiswahili. (wa Thiong'o 1986)

An endarkened feminist approach to my own theological research, therefore, not only 'improves my scholarship at every stage of the research process', but also is a 'commitment to inquiry about how we inquire' (Ackerly and True 2008, page 5) and much more suited to the community in which I will be working. It also helps me in my desire to do a different, non-exploitative kind of research and in doing so expose and challenge 'Eurocentric and patriarchal ideologies' (Pillow 2003, page 93) and the myth of the detached researcher.

Simply asserting that I seek to be informed by an endarkened feminist epistemology is, however, too easy. Embracing an endarkened feminist approach will certainly help me address one of Stephen Bevan's concerns that I cannot, as a non-African, stand in their shoes and fully share the experience and will help me be attentive to the sacred in the research process. (Bevans 2008, page 19) Yet, can I, fully engage with and reflect on my encounter with the four individuals in the settlement near Sanjaranda?

Can a white male embrace an endarkened feminist epistemology in theological research?

Mark Godin (2009), in part, expresses my challenge. 'How can a man presume to speak as a feminist, implicitly speaking for women, when his body, as culturally imagined and constructed, orientates him towards a specific, conditioned way of seeing the world?' (Godin 2015, page 110) Furthermore, can a non-African, rooted in Western epistemologies, embrace an endarkened feminist approach, engage in 'holy listening' and engage the process of

encounter as a sacred exercise? I am, through my encounters, seeking to engage with and understand the yet unwritten theology of fields, workplaces, and homes. In doing this, I need to be attentive to what I mean by theology. Informed by Mark Godin, the unwritten theology of the fields and workplaces does not have to be expressed as a critical, rational account of faith. (Godin 2015) To attempt a critical, rational, analysis based account of faith, which Robert Schreiter (1985) refers to as '*scientia*', does not sit easily with the ambiguities and challenges of the lived reality of life in Tanzania. (Schreiter 1985, pages 85-9)

Godin also urges me to rethink theology by recognising my own embodiment – that I see the world in a particular way and that faith is lived, played out in the day-to-day, sometimes mundane, and sometimes challenging, concrete realities of everyday life. 'Those practices—even interior ones, such as contemplation—involve people's bodies, as well as their minds and spirits.' (McGuire 2008, page 98) This means that in my encounter it is valid for me to pay attention to my own feelings and reactions. Doing this helps me acknowledge my own agency and serves as a starting point for admitting to a 'plurality of bodies and to the embodiment of vision'. Embracing embodiment allows for 'gazes which come from the margins, which have been buried under a monolithic presentation of the tradition' (Godin 2015, page 112) to shape my own faith.

Can a white male use an endarkened feminist approach in theological research? I believe the answer, is yes. Firstly, I need to embrace Godin's ideas of embodiment, plurality, and reconceive of theology as *sapientia* informed by the day-to-day experiences of people rather than *scientia*. Secondly, I need to add to Godin's helpful suggestions, an embracing of Dillard, Slee and Sexton's notion of the sacredness of the encounter, as these are places where God is revealed.

My approach to the research is also informed by two epistemological points drawn from the 2006 Accra Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists. Firstly, my identity and experiences as a researcher are as important as those of the research participants. Secondly, embracing an endarkened feminist standpoint enables me to put a human face to knowledge and embrace the sacred in knowledge formation.

If I embed myself in the lived realities of life in the rural community which is the focus of my research, be attentive to the voices from the margins and the forces of tradition and power which can stifle them, and open up myself ‘rather than bracketing (my emotions) and (my) ethics from the process’ (*Nadar 2014, page 26*), I am more likely to get a fuller, more authentic account of the lived reality of faith.

Finally, my endarkened feminist approach means going beyond giving voices to the marginalised or empowering them as this still maintains inequality in power relations. By contrast, working with the oftentimes ‘othered’, to build meanings based on ‘shared experiences’ through ‘connectedness, engagement, and involvement, (*Bishop 2005, page 116*) challenges this inequality in power relations. Knowledge is produced through a collaborative, connected, relational process. I am not detached from the research participants where I am simply extracting data, rather I am part of what I am trying to see. (see Rohr 2016) Rather like a work of Renaissance musical polyphony, I am also aware that I am taking part in a performance in which multiple voices, including my own are singing. My research approach therefore entails ‘a social encounter’ (*Fontana and Frey 2005, page 718*) and that was reflected in my encounter process.

In Chapter Three, I will set out the themes identified in my four encounters exploring what additional insights these provide.

Chapter Three: Research Findings and Analysis

The names of the four participants and persons they referred to in our encounters have been anonymised through the use of pseudonyms or removed. The location of the research is referred to as a settlement near to the village of Sanjaranda and other geographical locations referred to in my encounters likewise anonymised. This is in keeping with the research permissions in relation to this research around anonymity.

To analyse and reflect on my encounters, I immersed myself in them and wrote down the topics in our encounters on separate pieces of paper in different colours representing the interlocutors: Pastor Christopher: Green; Robert Jones: Purple. Mama David: Red; and Jane Shaba: Orange. Topics included the interlocutor's description of themselves, their tribal and family background, if they changed their name on baptism, their first encounter with the Holy Spirit, their perceptions of Covid-19 and sickness and favourite Bible passages and characters. I could then start to group these together, for example, how the interlocutors described themselves, their change of name on baptism and tribal background were groups together under the theme 'Christian Identity'.

In doing so I noted (a) the language used, for example, the recurring phrase 'not to be afraid' and how the interlocutors described and presented themselves - for example, '*I am a Christian*', '*I am Myaturu*' and '*I work as a herder and nightwatchman*'; (b) the relationships the interlocutors told me about - for example, with their spouses, their wider non-Christian families, the church, and the local community and (c) the bigger systems in which our encounter was set - for example, health care provision, the expansion of higher education, Covid-19 and environmental change.

I continued this process of grouping topics from our encounters together to create themes and these are set out in Appendix Three. I then used those themes to help me address the research questions I posed in Chapter One. This Chapter, is therefore, structured around those research questions.

Overview of Findings

(a) The journeys to faith of my four research participants – were there key events or key individuals on that journey?

All the interlocutors were from the Wataturu or Wanyaturu tribes. All, except for the Pastor had Christian influences in their early lives. The church was the locus for their Christian community. All the interlocutors described themselves as Christians, with only the Pastor adding the qualifying term ‘Pentecostal.’ Full baptism, an encounter with the Holy Spirit, and the Biblical injunction not to be afraid were markers of identity. The interlocutors, however, also described themselves as husbands, wives, and family members as well as by their jobs.

(b) How did they see God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit?

For the interlocutors, God was Trinitarian – Father, Son, and Holy Spirit – co-equal and co-eternal.

(c) How did they read the Bible? (Were there certain Biblical figures or narratives that attracted them and why?)

The interlocutors read their Bible at home, in church and in Bible study groups. No use was made of published study guides rather the Holy Spirit was seen as their guide to reading the scriptures. Bible passages setting out the growth of the early church, healing, the certainty of God’s presence in daily life and of the Trinity’s existence at creation were attractive. Popular Biblical characters included Esther, Ruth, Job, Daniel, and David whose lives were marked

by trust in God's power and certainty in their own calling.

(d) How did they pray and what for?

The interlocutors lived their lives in prayer. Although continuous, persistent prayer was the foundation for their Christian life, they had set times when they prayed. In addition, they prayed alone or together in church meetings. They prayed for the day-to-day things of life such as a better harvest or better house and significant issues such as healing. Fasting was an integral part of the prayer lives of the interlocutors.

Prayer was essential in the release and use of the spiritual gift of healing and key in spiritual warfare, which the interlocutors acknowledged as a given. The interlocutors believed that God used dreams to prompt them what to pray for. God, however, also spoke through words of prophecy.

(e) How did they feel God's presence?

The experience of healing was not only a marker of identity but a key driver of the interlocutor's journey to the FPCT. The interlocutors felt God's presence through their encounter with the Holy Spirit and in their related experience of God's healing. Healing was accompanied by a physical sensation.

(f) How did their faith shape their approach to growth of the local church?

None of the interlocutors gave a definition of mission but described how their actions helped build the local church. The church had established a branch at a nearby new settlement and supported its growth. The interlocutors got alongside those who needed help in relation to healing by praying for them and the church offered practical support to new converts and those affected by floods.

(g) How did they view their giving to the church?

For the interlocutors, giving to the church brought blessings but these were not necessarily financial. Giving to the church was not a route out of poverty. The interlocutors emphasised the importance of hard work and entrepreneurship.

(h) How did they see the challenges around them?

The interlocutors had ambivalent views about Covid-19 and sickness. The latter was biological, demonic and the result of ancestral curses while the former was also a sign of the end of the age but also something that would pass. Prayer and the use of the gift of healing as a response to the challenge of sickness ran in parallel with belief in the efficacy of modern medicine. Other signs of the end of the age were the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and the rise of the internet. Environmental challenges were not perceived in eschatological terms.

The Four Interlocutors: Biographies

Before reflecting on my encounters, I will set out, in this section, brief biographies of each of the four interlocutors. Although these are set out here, in the final published version of the Thesis, these will be anonymised, in line with the Ethics Approval process I set out in Chapter Two.

Pastor Christopher Mwezi

Pastor Christopher Mwezi is a Pastor of the Free Pentecostal Church (FPCT) of Tanzania. He was born in the 1950s, in the countryside *in what the Wazungu call the bush* not far from Sanjaranda, one of seven children. He is from the Wanyaturu tribe and his early childhood

experiences revolved around caring for the family's cattle. Pastor explained that there was no running water or electricity where he was born. There was no Christian presence in his family, who followed traditional tribal practices - ancestors were respected, births and marriages celebrated. He praised how his parents brought the children up. *'If the children became unwell, my father knew which plants and roots could treat us, as there no hospitals near where we lived.'*

He attended Primary School for a year, in the 1960s near the family home but later, as an adult, completed his primary education. Pastor explained to me that he had *'a strong desire to read and write'* and the Government, in the 1960s had a major push to increase literacy. *'I had never had a formal primary school education. I studied for just one year at [REDACTED]. I took advantage of the adult literacy classes so that I could read and write. It was a great blessing to me.'* In the early 1980s he married at the then Swedish Free Mission near Itigi. He described his wife as his close advisor, and now has six grown up children, two of whom were, at the time of the research, in their final stages of study at university. He supplemented his income by growing sunflowers, for which there is a growing local market, and corn and rearing chickens on his shamba (a plot of land for agricultural use).

As a young man he was greatly troubled by headaches which afflicted him daily, and his journey to faith was prompted by a desire for healing. Through following the instruction of another Christian in Sanjaranda, Pastor prayed that his headaches cease. He was convinced that if Jesus could heal people in the New Testament, then He could heal people in late 20th century Tanzania. He became a Christian and his headaches slowly eased. He was baptised in late 1977 at the church in Sanjaranda and received a Christian name, prior to that he was called by his tribal name. His first experience of an encounter with the Holy Spirit, was in the

early 1980s as a young man, at a prayer meeting in at the church in Sanjaranda. *'It was a time of prayer; I was seeking after God'*, he explained. His father became a Christian in 2001

In 2000, he felt the call from God to become a Pastor. He had been an elder at the FPCT in Sanjaranda since the mid-1980s. There he worked with Sven Axel Conrad, the son of the founder of the mission at Sanjaranda in the 1950s, on what he termed the *'bush ministry'*. This was, he explained, an outreach into the countryside and it gave him the opportunity to preach to his own people in his own language. He added that, in the late 1979, when he was a young man, he had received a word of prophecy, *'from a certain person'*, that *he* would be a Pastor. In 2001 he started his work as a Pastor in Sanjaranda and two years later stopped his work in the bush ministry. He studied at the Bible School in the village in the 2000s and started his work at the settlement church in 2010, the church was established some years prior to that. At the time of the research there were around 100 people worshipping there. He maintains his links with the church at Sanjaranda and attends seminars for pastors which include seminars from visiting pastors from the US.

Pastor was keen to emphasise in our encounters the universality of Christ and that the Christian must not be afraid. He believed that his spiritual gift was healing, and he emphasised the importance of persistence in prayer in the release of that spiritual gifting. He maintained that God spoke to the Christian through His word, the words of others and through dreams. The Pastor was the source of advice and counsel for the other interlocutors.

Jane Shaba

Jane Shaba was born near the town of Singida in the early 1990s. She is from the Wanyaturu tribe and was brought up Muslim. As a young girl she attended Madrasa (Islamic School) and learned the Holy Koran). She is one of seven children. Her parents were farmers, but her

father passed away when she was young and so her mother brought her up with the help of her paternal grandmother, a Christian who worshiped at the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania (FPCT). Her grandmother took her to Sunday School at the church.

Jane attended the local Primary School and left in the mid-2000s. She then started Secondary School, completing her studies there later in the decade. She married in 2013 and has two children. Her husband owns a shop she works there with him and the couple have plans to expand the business. She also has a shamba (plot of land for agricultural use) at home where she grows maize which she uses at home and buys and sells clothes to earn some extra income and helps people with small loans.

In late 2009, Jane went to Dar es Salaam to visit her cousins. She explained, *'I really wanted to go and hear the Gospel' but kept this to herself.* She advised me that she did not remember the name of the preacher but remembered that he preached about the women with the issue of blood being healed. (Matthew 9, 20 – 22) She simply touched the side of Jesus's clothes. Jane explained that, for her, the woman was like a prisoner because of her health problem. *'Only Jesus could give me freedom to live as me. I made the decision that day and asked Jesus to save me. That day was a day of freedom and happiness.'* Jane also explained that she had heard about Christianity by listening to all night prayer meetings.

As a result of that meeting, she became a Christian but kept her conversion secret. She then moved to a village near Singida and worshipped at the FPCT church there. She was there for about a year and the local Pastor, taught her about Christianity. *'Jesus is the answer to the problems that people face, Jesus gives us new life and we have strength in God. He taught me how to depend upon God and worship Him.'*

She then moved to Sanjaranda, where, for six months, she taught orphan children. At Itigi, she met her future husband. She went to worship at the FPCT in Sanjaranda where she eventually got baptised. At her baptism she was given a Christian name, before that she had a Muslim name. Her first encounter with the Holy Spirit took place at an evening prayer meeting at the local FPCT. Her mother became a Christian in 2013 and worships at the Roman Catholic Church in her home village.

Jane plays an active part in church life. She preaches at meetings and at seminars where people from different villages attend. Her favourite topics were love, patience and using spiritual gifts. For Jane, her spiritual gifts are helping people and preaching. She regularly meets with the Pastor and his wife to organise seminars for the church. God speaks to her through His word and in dreams.

Robert Jones

Robert Jones was born in the mid-1990s in Sanjaranda but now lives in with his parents in a settlement nearby. He was not married but did have a girlfriend at the time of the research, although the relationship has now ended. *'This has been a difficult time, but I accept this'*, he explained. He is from the Wanyaturu tribe and was brought up in a Lutheran household. His father, in addition to herding cattle, practiced local medicine and is a local healer, although this was kept hidden from the Lutheran Church. His wider family, going back several generations, are also involved in traditional healing as well as herding cattle. His house was *'always busy'*, as people sought guidance and healing.

At the time of the research, Robert worked as a night watchman in Itigi and travelled there every evening by cycle or motorcycle. During the day he helped his father with herding cattle, typically in the bush. He set out the challenges of this work which entailed looking out

for wild animals and exposure to hot sun, cold rain and thorns. He explained that *'if a cow gives birth later in the afternoon about the time to go home, then I must stay with cow and calf until they are able to return home. Sometimes, this can mean getting home very late.'* *'We sell cows either at home when a dealer comes or at the market in Itigi. Now (June) there is a good price for cows.'* In addition, he aspired to establish a small business buying and selling agricultural produce at Itigi market.

He has two brothers who still live in Sanjaranda. He finished Primary School in the late 2000s and then went to study at Sanjaranda Secondary School but could not complete beyond Year 3 as his health was poor.

Robert suffered from Sickle Cell Anaemia, which made him very ill, and in constant need of medical treatment. He held that his illness was a result of family involvement with traditional healing. Despite multiple visits to hospital in Itigi and efforts by his parents to try traditional remedies, his illness persisted. In hospital, he met with members of the FPCT who visited to pray for the sick. He advised them that despite their prayers, his condition remained the same. In 2016, however, on his way home from the hospital, two of the church members persuaded him to attend the church. There, he heard more about Jesus and his miracles - how a woman had been healed by touching the corner of Jesus's garment. The ability of Jesus to heal persuaded him to become a Christian. At an evening prayer meeting at the church, he had his first encounter with Holy Spirit, and this was the start of his healing process which was accompanied by physical sensation. After that he got baptised and retained his name.

Robert was very certain about his spiritual gifts. These were preaching, witnessing, singing casting out demons, which he asserted are responsible for sickness. Robert sometimes

preaches at church and teaches young people. God speaks to Robert directly and through His word and in his heart.

Mama David

Mama David *‘was born in [REDACTED], not far from Sanjaranda’* in the late 1960s into a Roman Catholic family. She is from the Wataturu tribe. She has one brother and one sister. Both her parents, now dead, were farmers and her brother and sisters are married and live locally. She attended Sanjaranda Primary School, in the 1970 and early 1980s although this time was blighted by recurring chest pains. She advised me, *‘when I was young, I was troubled by a very sore chest. I could not lift things, work in the fields, or collect water. The constant heaviness in my chest made my life hard, especially in the cold months.’* (June - August). Mama David and her husband are farmers growing maize, selling milk from their three cows and rearing chickens and guinea fowl.

On leaving school, she helped her parents with their shamba and two years later she married, following the Wataturu traditions, an Mtaturu from, a settlement near Sanjaranda. For twenty years he has been a deacon at the church. Mama David’s husband is very important to her, and they regularly pray together. They have five children, one boy and four girls. One of her children however, died when she was very young. All but one of their children are married. The children were educated locally but did not progress beyond Form 2 because of financial constraints. Her eldest son married during the time of my research, and she is now grandmother.

Mama David was brought up in the Roman Catholic Church, was baptised there, learned about the Christian faith, and took her first sacrament in the church. It was there the foundation for her Christian faith were set and where she made her Christian commitment in

91

the early 1990s. She eventually left the Roman Catholic Church, however, to worship at the Lutheran Church, where her traditional marriage was blessed. There, in the mid-1990s, she had her first encounter with the Holy Spirit. Although she worshipped at the Lutheran Church, she had a lot of contact with the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania in Sanjaranda and a local pastor would visit her house and pray with her and her husband. She felt at home there and made the decision to get baptised in, retaining her name. At church she heard, from a visiting Danish missionary, about Jesus' healing people and asked the church leaders to pray for her. Thereafter, slowly her chest pains ceased.

Mama David explained that God had given her the gift of healing, and she has exercised this on several occasions. She also maintained that God speaks to her, not only through the Bible but through dreams. Her role was to help build the local Church at and she believed that God gave her this vision in a dream.

My own story

In Chapter Two, I presented myself as the vulnerable researcher, open to others and with my own complex, evolving identity. It is, however, important that I set put my own background and what Heather Walton terms my 'evocative story' (*Walton 2014, page 4*) as there are critical events which have shaped my own life and faith and proved to be touch points with the interlocutors. At the outset of this Thesis, I contended that I had encountered a dynamic and vital God in Tanzania, very different from the God of my upbringing who delivered me not from sickness but out of and through sickness and was taking me, at the time of the research, on a journey out of losing my charity job to another vocation.

I was born and brought up in Ibrox, Glasgow, the place of my initial spiritual formation was the Church of Scotland. My maternal grandparents had attended the Bethel Evangelical Hall,

near Paisley Road Toll, but my paternal grandfather was brought up as an Anglican. I recall my mother telling me of debates at the Bethel, in the 1950s, about the rise of the Soviet Union and it being synonymous with Gog and Magog in the Book of Ezekiel. My paternal grandparents settled in Glasgow, as my grandfather hailed from Sunderland. I understood that both my grandfathers worked for John Brown Engineering Limited in Clydebank and worked on the RMS Queen Mary liner. My father served in the Royal Navy and eventually worked for the Social Work Department of Strathclyde Regional Council. He was an elder in the Church and I remembered going with him one spring evening to deliver communion cards. My mother worked providing administration support for a local biscuit factory, Grey Dunn Ltd, latterly part of Nestlé Group, now demolished. As a young woman she volunteered in the Girl's Brigade at Steven Memorial Church and attended Greenview Evangelical Hall, Pollokshaws, on Sunday evenings with my Aunt Mary.

My parents married in March 1964 in the now demolished Steven Memorial Church. I attended Sunday School and the Boys Brigade (BB) at the amalgamated Bellahouston Steven Parish Church, albeit very briefly as Ibrox and Bellahouston were subject to the construction of the southern flank of the M8 Motorway in the early 1970s, part of Glasgow Corporation's ambitious 1965 Highways Plan. I do, however, remember taking part in BB Bible reading competitions in the Pearce Institute in Govan and winning a prize in Primary 5 or 6 (a copy of the New Testament 'Good News for Modern Man') for reading of Mark, Chapter 11 (the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem). Many of my childhood circle, however, at school or at music were Muslim or Jewish. I learned to play the violin and recall Sunday afternoon music lessons with Warren Jacobs in Pollokshields. I also sang in the then Scottish National Orchestra Junior and Youth Choruses. I appreciated the opportunity to hear more about different faiths. In that vein, I recall my mother telling me of her trips with her grandmother

to the Kosher shops in the Gorbals, just before the Second World War, as there were Jewish connections in our wider family. One of my earliest memories was hearing about Tanzania and African Socialism as a youngster. My father liked to listen to BBC Radio, Home Service. It was the first time I heard about Tanzania and somehow the name resonated with me.

At church, Bellahouston Steven and then latterly, following amalgamations, Ibrox Parish Church, I remember hearing about Jesus and a great deal about human sinfulness and our need for salvation. I also remember singing from the red bound CH3 and contrasting the words of '*All things Bright and Beautiful*' with the demolition and rubble strewn landscape around me as the concrete gash across the southside of Glasgow took shape!

Later, in secondary school, I went to the Scripture Union which met on a Thursday at lunch time. I was even more aware of my own sinfulness and need for salvation. These thoughts were reinforced by my attendance, much to the displeasure of my father, at the Church of the Nazarene in Govan in the mid-1980s. I was invited there by a friend at secondary school while I was in the senior phase. To succeed in life, I believed I needed to be saved, my sins forgiven and be washed clean by the blood of the Lamb. I did not want to go to hell! When I was younger, God seemed very judgemental, rule bound. It was only through accepting Christ as Saviour, that my just judgement was annulled. My journey to Christianity was through a conviction of my own sinfulness.

I remember becoming a Christian in my fourth year at school and striving on with life, quietly reading the Bible, going to Scripture Union, studying for, and passing Highers and going to university, where I attended the Christian Union and incidentally fell in love with Renaissance polyphonic Church music. Despite my love of music, I tended to worry about exams and getting a job. I did, however, spend a long time at university, unaware of the real

struggles that other people faced. I certainly had no idea of what was going on in Tanzania at that time.

I started work as a Professional Trainee at Strathclyde Regional Council in 1989, having finished my Masters degree at the University of Strathclyde. The Council sponsored me through an MBA at the University of Strathclyde, which I completed in 1993. After local government reorganisation in 1996 I worked for North Ayrshire Council after a brief period in East Ayrshire Council. I left local government in 1999 to work for Scottish Enterprise, completing another Masters degree in 2004 at Edinburgh Napier University, eventually leaving there to take up a post with VSO Tanzania in 2007.

I left the Church of Scotland in 2002 and started to attend Queens Park Baptist Church. I was in search of a God that spoke to my inner needs for certainty, the need for a calling and ultimately the needs for community and connectedness. The following year I made up my mind to get baptised and did so in March 2003. My sister and her husband came along, but not my parents. I remember sharing my testimony at that time and my rather long journey to full immersion baptism.

My late aunt attended Queen's Park Baptist Church and suggested that I go on an overseas short term mission trip. Thus, having passed all the assessments, I first came to Tanzania in August 2003, part of an overseas team under Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF). Shani, who later became my wife, worked for Alan Conrad, the then Airstrip Development Manager at MAF. He was the son of the founder of the mission at Sanjaranda, Robert Conrad, and it was through those two that I got to know the community there and the serving Pentecostal Danish missionaries – Venna and Margaret Madsen. Alan Conrad, emphasised to the UK Team the importance of getting alongside local communities, living with them, learning their

language, and understanding their history. Over the next few years, Shani and I worked to learn each other's languages. I married Shani in August 2008 at the International Evangelism Church in Dodoma. That was Shani's Church and in keeping with her own tradition.

I had always wanted to work for the church and as a young man, I felt the call to preach but that was not to be. I had become an elder in the Church of Scotland but my hopes of going into the Ministry (Church of Scotland) were dashed. My first visit to Tanzania had renewed my desire to serve God and I was sure my calling was to be a missionary at Mission Aviation Fellowship (MAF). I was disappointed when, after applying for a role at MAF Tanzania, I was rejected. It felt personal, I felt wounded and hurt. My application and subsequent assessment process to serve as a VSO volunteer, however, was much more successful and I was posted to work for the Aga Khan Foundation, NGO Resource Centre on Zanzibar in 2007.

It was there that I experienced one of the critical incidents of my life which were key to my own evocative story. In late September 2007 I had just arrived in Zanzibar and looking forward to my two-year posting. Towards the end of November, I started to feel unwell, tired, and anxious. I put this down to my new experiences, settling in on Zanzibar, leaving family and friends and leaving a relatively secure job in Scotland. I was getting worse and feeling cold, unable to sleep at night and my body ached. I thought it must be malaria and resolved to get tested the next day. I decided to go to IST in Dar es Salaam (as this was open 24 hours a day and was the registered hospital for VSO volunteers) and drove my motorcycle to the ferry terminal in Zanzibar and got on the last boat to Dar es Salaam. I remember getting to the hospital but not much after that. For three days my memory was hazy. I recall bloods being taken, distant voices and visitors. One evening a new nurse came on duty, I did not recall her name. She asked me if she could pray for me. I was very unwell, medicine seemed

to have failed me, and I felt as if the powers of death were coming against me. I agreed to her praying with me. I recall that she prayed not just for my physical healing but that spiritual forces fighting me were defeated. That night, for the first time in weeks, I slept well but did dream that I was on a ship being attacked by pirates but with one word from the captain of the ship they vanished. The next morning, I awoke, my fever had gone, as had the pain in my body and my reasoning had returned. Later that week I could go outside again and feel and appreciate the warmth of the December sunshine and enjoy a takeaway pizza delivered to the hospital. I believe that I had been healed through the prayers of others, particularly those of the nurse.

A few years after the recovery from serious illness through prayer, Shani was pregnant with William and my short-term volunteering contract with VSO Tanzania was coming to an end. This meant that I would have no income and there would be no roof over our heads. I decided to fast and pray about my job. I remember one very hot Saturday in November 2010 sitting in our room praying and fasting in the heat. I could not use the fan as there were power cuts in Dar es Salaam! At the end of that day Shani brought me porridge to break the fast. God, I believed, answered my prayers, and I was offered another posting at VSO, this time as an employee - as Acting Assistant Programme Manager (Health), which turned out to be one of the best jobs I had! I believed that God was there for us – He had provided for me and my family.

Since that first critical incident, I have kept a personal diary of the challenges of life, my prayers and God's provision through the joy of the birth of our son, William, in 2011, the death of both my parents in 2014, my journey through redundancy to obtaining a permanent post, recovering from pneumonia, my wife's journey to obtaining her Indefinite Leave to

Remain and my feelings during the pandemic, as church moved online and I worked from

97

home for Scottish Government focussed on tackling Covid-19 and preventing its spread in colleges and universities. My journaling helped me as I engaged with interlocutors and hung out with them as I could draw upon my own experiences and share these with them. It has also provided the platform for me to further reflect on those encounters.

Four Encounters: Reflection and Analysis

All the interlocutors were raised locally. This can be contrasted with the larger urban churches where membership is often dominated by migrants from differing tribes and from various parts of Tanzania, attracted by the economic opportunities afforded in the cities or tourism centres.

The four encounters reflect what Steven Land (1993) describes as an ‘orthodox’ practice of the Pentecostal faith in the FPCT: breaking with the spiritual legacy of the past, attendance at church, church meetings and seminars, private and public prayer, private and public Bible reading, giving for the work of the church and telling others in the community about the work of God in their lives. The interlocutors believed that they were healed or restored and baptised by the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking in tongues. (*Land 1993, page 6*) At the same time the encounters also revealed other features which resonate with accounts of Pentecostalism in Tanzania which I have set out in Chapter One. These include the reality of spiritual warfare, the existence of evil spirits and witchcraft, and the necessity of breaking with family spiritual legacies, such as generational involvement with witchcraft, while maintaining social connections with family.

My small sample size does not allow me to make generalisable claims about rural Pentecostal practices in Tanzania. Rather, in reflecting on my four encounters, my task was to tease out observations, nuances, tensions, and facets which can enrich our knowledge of how these

individuals live out their Pentecostal identity and, therefore, in a small way add to the overall understanding of Pentecostalism in Tanzania. I will now, from the themes identified in my encounters, address the research questions set out above.

The Interlocuter's journey to faith: key events and individuals and identity

All the interlocutors reported the importance of significant Christians in their journey to worshipping at the FPCT. For the Pastor, a deacon in the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania was a key figure in his introduction to Christianity. There was no Christian presence in the Pastor's family. Robert Jones was brought up in the Lutheran Church and his parents still worship there but it was members or, as he described, '*servants*' of the FPCT and the Pastor who helped him on his journey to faith. Mama David was brought up in the Roman Catholic Church, where she first took the sacraments, but it was her husband, unnamed figures from the Lutheran Church, a former cook at Sanjaranda Bible School, who then went on to '*study theology*', and students at the Bible College who were significant figures in her journey to worshipping at the FPCT. For Jane, the unnamed Lutheran preacher in Dar es Salaam, a local Pastor (with whom she is still in touch) and her husband I were significant figures on her journey to Christianity. Although Jane, along with '*many children*', studied Arabic and the Holy Koran at the Madrassa, she was introduced to Christianity by her grandmother. '*She was a Christian. She loved us. Jane further explained, 'I can recall that when we were small and ill or afraid, she would be there to cuddle us and pray with us.'*' In our encounter she highlighted the role of her Sunday School Teacher from whom she '*learned about Jesus.*' She recalled that Jesus was close to children and loved them and that through these stories, as a young girl, she remembers wanting to know God.

For all the interlocutors, except for the Pastor, there were Christian influences in their families. Confirming their Christian faith at the FPCT did not entail any form of break with family. In urban migrant settings, where converts live far from family members, it is perhaps easier to make a break with family, but this was not the case here. Family connections still mattered. While the interlocutors strongly identified with the FPCT they remained close to their families. Robert described the healing practices of his father as '*vanity*'. He refused to learn about those practices from his family but continued to relate how he prayed and witnessed about his faith to his family with whom he still lives with. He explained, '*I pray that Jesus helps him (his father) leave this. It is vanity. It is not the life of a person who knows God. My grandfather did this as well but is something I will not do. I have refused to learn about this from him.*' Robert also continues to help his father with herding cattle.

For Jane, her conversion to Christianity was a break with the Islamic faith of her youth. '*Only Jesus could give me freedom to live as me. I made the decision that day and asked Jesus to save me. That day was a day of freedom and happiness.*' She was, in our encounter, very clear that when a woman converts to Christianity, she should continue to stay with her non-Christian husband, even when this is hard for her and, by doing so, bring peace and God's presence to the house. Jane maintained contact with her relatives and received them at home. Family relationships were maintained and repurposed to share faith. Conversion of the interlocutor's family members to Christianity did not, however, entail them joining the FPCT or for that matter other Pentecostal churches. Jane's mother converted to Christianity and worshipped at the local Roman Catholic Church while another relative, on conversion, worshipped at the Lutheran Church. For the interlocutors what was important was a relative's conversion to Christianity, not the denomination where the new convert worshipped.

The interlocutor's confirmation and expression of their faith in the FPCT was an important, but not the only part of their identity. A Christian identity was further underscored by being part of a worshipping, healing, supportive and mission-oriented community. I contrasted this with my own very isolated position during the research period as church, work and school moved online. The Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania emphasises the importance of 'community (as) the context for discipleship'. (FPCT 2012) There was a strong sense of community spirit and worship in the church community. There were worship meetings throughout the week, prayer meetings in the evenings and special events throughout the year. Members got involved with cleaning the church and there are several social action projects in which members can participate. The church community also provided prayer and emotion support at times of bereavement. Mama David explained that the church community and Pastors visited her and prayed with her when her daughter died. Healing and restoration and spiritual giftings were the visible signs of belonging to the church community and I will explore this later in the Chapter.

Identity was also marked by family relationships. The interlocutors were a husband, wife, mother and son and they made clear their relationship to other members of their family. Pastor married in the early 1980s and had adult children completing university; Jane married her husband in 2013 and had two children with him; Mama David married her husband in the early 1980s, had five children and is now a grandmother and Robert Jones talked about his parents, mentioning his clan's name in our introductory conversation.

I shared my own struggle to identify my role in the church and my spiritual giftings and will explore the latter later in this Chapter as my encounter with the interlocutors unfolded. The interlocutors, however, had no such doubts as to their role in the church as it forms a central part of their identity. Pastor advised that in 2000 he felt the call from God to be a pastor and

that God told him *'not to be afraid'* of this. He explained that he had his doubts about his calling but added that God, *'the good Shepherd'*, was beside him always. He eventually studied at Bible College and took up his role as pastor at the settlement near Sanjaranda after that. Jane was clear about her role to preach and work with women in the church, teaching them about Christian living and practical small business activities. Robert was clear about his role as a youth leader, preacher, and teacher. Mama David was clear that her role in the church was to build it up, *'so that people can be saved'* and this was related to her spiritual gifts. *'He showed me a big church, so I am praying for even more of this to happen.'* I will explore this in relation to her and the other interlocutors later in this Chapter.

I shared my own complex identity with the interlocutors, who in turn revealed their own. In my introduction, I shared some of my childhood and education, explained where I worshipped, my own spiritual formation and history, when I first came to Tanzania as part of a short-term mission team with Mission Aviation Fellowship in 2003, when and how I first came to Sanjaranda and when I got married. Later in our encounters, I described what my job was and where I worked and shared my own narrative around sickness, redundancy, my role in the church and spiritual giftings. I did not describe myself as a Christian but rather implied it.

Jane, Mama David and Robert, however, at the outset of our encounter described themselves as Christian - *'Mimi ni Mkritso'*. The Pastor, in our opening introductions, described himself as Christian and then added, later in our conversation, the qualifying term 'Pentecostal'. The other interlocutors did not attach any denominational labels to the term 'Christian' nor did any of them describe themselves using terminology derived from a 'wave' model of Pentecostal development – classical, charismatic, neo-Pentecostal – I explored in Chapter One. The FPCT is particularly strong and well established in Sanjaranda and its environs

although, recently, the Tanzania Assemblies of God established a presence in the village. None of the interlocutors referred to this church. The interlocutors also described themselves in the context of their local situation adding, after their assertion of their Christian faith, where they were born, their tribal identity and expanded on their occupation. At the settlement the FPCT is the only Christian denomination although there are Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches in nearby Sanjaranda. In my exploratory visit in 2019, one of the Danish missionaries attached to the local Bible School, explained that the mosque in the village had taken a more missionary approach to its work. It had also installed loudspeakers to call the faithful to prayer. I also noticed, on that visit, leaflets promoting Freemasonry in the neighbouring town of Itigi, posted on telegraph polls. A Christian identity, therefore, served as a clear marker in contrast to the potential strong local rivals of Islam and Freemasonry. Pastor explained, *'I left the faith of my youth. I could not mix my faith in Christ with the old ways.'*

Baptism in *'maji mengi'* (full immersion baptism) was a key feature of Christian identity for all the interlocutors. At baptism, the two interlocutors with tribal and Muslim names stopped using them, adopted Christian names and advised me that, since baptism, this was the name they now used and were known by. A Christian identity was further reinforced by the roles each of the interlocutors played in the church – Pastor, prayer partner, visitor of the sick and teacher.

A life-changing encounter with the Holy Spirit was another key feature of identity, something I shared with interlocutors, I had not experienced. It was also how they felt God's presence. Each of the interlocutors related their experience of this to me. Robert Jones' encountered the Holy Spirit at an evening prayer meeting, coinciding with his experience of healing. *'I was looking earnestly for baptism in the Holy Spirit. Suddenly, I felt God's strength. My body felt*

different, something had changed. I was speaking and praising God in another language. I knew I had the strength of God in me, and my body would be strong.’ For Pastor, his encounter with Holy Spirit was during a time of private worship and marked the time when his healing started. *‘It was a time of prayer; I was seeking after God....That evening I was filled with the Holy Spirit, peace flooded my soul, and I was happy...I started to speak in tongues and wanted to be used by God.’* He lost all idea of ‘*earthly time*’. The experience had a significant impact on shaping the Pastor’s identity. He *‘continues to be filled with the Holy Spirit and pray in tongues.’* Praying in tongues is more than speaking in another language, it is, he further added, the ‘*gift of peace*’. The encounter gave him the strength and assurance to tell others about God and changed how he read the Bible. I will further explore approaches to Bible reading later in this Chapter. For Mama David, her encounter took place at an evening prayer meeting in 1994. *‘One evening when we prayed together at home, I got a picture of fire on top of my head and heard a loud but gentle voice saying, ‘let the Holy Spirit in’. I went to bed and in the middle of the night I awoke, and my room was flooded with light. I was not afraid but felt great happiness and peace.’ I knew that the evil spirits, which had tormented me, had finally gone! I was astonished and started to praise God. For the first time in my life, I spoke in tongues and in Kiswahili.’* Mama David held these evil spirits responsible for her chest condition but, as I will explore below, the process of her healing, took place after her encounter.

For Jane, her encounter with the Holy Spirit took place at an evening prayer meeting at the FPCT on a visit to her grandmother. There, she was asked by one of the women attending if she wanted to be baptised in the Holy Spirit. She responded in the affirmative. Jane explained that she *‘had always wanted this’* and that she was *‘thirsting after this’*. She explained that *‘one of the women touched me on the forehead and prayed with me. Now I was baptised in*

the Holy Spirit. I immediately felt God's strength come into me and I was able to talk in tongues. Until that time, my prayers had been short but after my baptism in the Holy Spirit, I was able to pray long and purposeful prayers'. The phrase '*usiogope*' (do not be afraid) was a key phrase used by the interlocutors in my encounters. It was the first thing Pastor said to me, in reply to my explanation of why I was undertaking the research and the second point he made after introducing himself. He explained, at our initial meeting that the '*the good news of Jesus Christ was brought by angels to ordinary and humble people, not to the rich and well educated, but people like us.*' '*Usiogope*' was a phrase he repeated when we talked about Covid-19. The Pastor added that not to be afraid was a command from God and this has shaped his life. I had seen examples of this kind of artwork in other houses I had visited in Tanzania. It also resonated with the text from the Book of Joshua (1:19) that I had seen hanging on the wall at a relatives' house.

Jane used the phrase as she talked about her grandmother's influence on her early years, relating how Jesus could help her and she should, therefore, not be afraid. She used the phrase again when we talked about spiritual warfare and prayer. Rather than be afraid the Christian needs to put on the full spiritual armour of God as set out in Ephesians 6, 10 – 18. Mama David told me of a time of famine in 1996 in Tanzania. '*Many people were hungry, and we were all looking for food. We lived from day-to-day. On a Sunday we would go to Church, sing, pray, and spend the Monday looking for food! Every day we looked for food, there was not enough food to buy to store and we had very little money.*' She explained that what she termed the Christians, at that time, went to church and worshipped God.

'Everywhere in the Bible, it tells us not to be afraid, that God is with us (Matthew 28,20), that he will never leave us (Hebrews 13,5) and that God will provide for us (Matthew 6,11)..' The injunction not to be afraid shaped her view of the Covid-19 pandemic, advising me that '*it will pass.*'

Robert Jones also used the phrase as we talked about our experiences of Covid-19. Scotland was in lockdown and worship was hosted on-line whereas in Tanzania, Christians continued to meet in person for worship. The Christian must not be afraid, as Covid was a sign of the end of the age he explained. I will explore further in this Chapter, attitudes to Covid-19.

While baptism and living in the absence of fear were key features of identity, they existed along with continuing attachment to older tribal traditions and language. Pastor was clear that he '*could not mix (his) faith in Christ with the old ways*' and had adopted a new name on baptism but advised me that that he still uses the Kinyaturu language when he visits older people. Mama David, saw herself as a Christian but was happy to explain to me the details of and meaning behind the ritual of a Mtaturu wedding, later adding that her own Mtaturu wedding was blessed by the Lutheran Church in 1994.

Having visited the community prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, I was struck by the extensive use of the two local languages (Kinyaturu and Kitaturu) in general conversation as Kiswahili is the national language and taught in state schools as such. English is not commonly spoken. Kinyaturu was also used in church by Pastor to illustrate a point he wanted to make. He also used the language with older people, who do not speak much Kiswahili, on home visits. I had noted that some Kinyaturu words were rich in meaning. '*Majighana*', for example, means a person giving of themselves freely to help another.

I noticed that the language was also used in worship songs at church and mixed with Kiswahili when people were giving their personal testimonies. It was also extensively used in the community. There was a continuity, therefore, in the use of language and it was not rejected as being associated with a non-Christian past. On a personal level, when our son William was born, he was given a calf by his grandfather as an expression of celebration and connection with the wider Wanyaturu tribe. My wife advised me that, had he lived in

Sanjaranda, when he reached puberty, he would be taught the values of the tribe and the responsibilities of an adult, including how to herd cattle.

The interlocutor's identity was hybrid and marked by complexity. They were very clear as to their Christian identity, but this was not described by them as a Pentecostal identity. Only the Pastor used this term. Christian identity existed alongside other identities shaped by the continuity of family relations, immediate, close family ties, the day-to-day jobs of the interlocutors and a continuing attachment to tradition and language. Pentecostal identity was not clear cut but rather sat alongside other identities.

How did the interlocutors see God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit?

For Robert, God is a Trinity. *'God is Trinity – God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. They are all different persons, different faces of God but they are the one thing. I have hands and feet, but they are part of the one body.'* Mama David told me that the God she worshipped *'is made up of three persons - God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. God is my father; He is strong and protects me. Jesus is the Son, who became like us to live, die, and rise again from the dead so that we are saved. The Holy Spirit is there to help us pray and give us wisdom. The Spirit is also teaching us.'*

For Jane, God, the *'good father'*, is also Trinitarian. *'Jesus is the Son of God, He is my Saviour, and He is my friend. I speak to Jesus all the time when I am at home. I hear His voice in lots of ways. He speaks to me in my heart.'* She added that the Holy Spirit is *'like oil, it is strength of the Christian and is like a burning fire.'* She maintained that the presence of the Holy Spirit is essential to the life of the Christian. *'Without the Holy Spirit, we are weak', she informed me. The Holy Spirit, she advised me taught her and helped her discern the truth. She explained that 'the Holy Spirit is our teacher also. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Truth.'*

Pastor told me that *'Jesus is God who came to earth to be with us and the Holy Spirit, the third person, convicts us, brings discernment, persuades us and helps us.'* He explained the Father, Son and Holy Spirit worked together and emphasised that the Trinitarian God was present at creation, worked together and referred me to Genesis 1, 26 and Proverbs 8, 22. The Trinity, which he also described as a *'mystery'*, was also present at the Baptism of Jesus *'when the Spirit of God came upon him like a dove.'* Pastor referred me to Matthew 3, 13 – 17 (This is my son, whom I love, with him I am well pleased.) The Holy Spirit, added Pastor, lives within the Christian believer.

For the interlocutors, God is a Trinity – Father, Son, and Holy Spirit – coequal and co-eternal. God was the creator of heaven and earth and Jesus, His son, sent to live amongst humanity and die and rise again for their sins. Pastor explained that *'we know God through faith in Jesus. Salvation is found in no one else. You have to leave your old life behind – you are a new creation...the old has gone, the new is here. We are called to live a life according to the Spirit and put death the misdeeds of the body. FPCT is very clear about breaking with the past, you cannot mix the things of the past with the Gospel. The big change for me is having no fear. God is with me; He will not leave me.'*

The interlocutors spoke of their relationship with Jesus as being very close and I would contend that it was to Him, as a person, external to themselves that they directed their prayers. The role of the Holy Spirit was one of strengthening the believer and helping the believer pray and understand the Bible. The Holy Spirit is seen as the person of the Trinity who can live in the believer and give them strength, not as an external person to whom prayers are directed.

How did the interlocutors read the Bible? Were there certain Biblical figures or narratives that attracted them and why?

Throughout our encounters, interlocutors shared significant Bible passages with me.

All the interlocutors referenced passages which spoke of God healing such as Matthew 9, 20-22, Luke 8, 43-48 (where a woman, afflicted by an issue of blood was healed by touching the hem of Jesus' garment) and John 5: 2 (the healing at the Pool of Bethesda). All the interlocutors referenced the importance of living in the absence of fear. Mama David cited Matthew 28:20 (*Surely, I am with you always, to the very end of the age*) and Hebrews 13,5 (*Never will I leave you; never will I forsake*) as she explained that God will always be with us. Jane, in relation to her work with women, highlighted the importance of obedience, citing Genesis 22, 1 – 18 (the story of God testing Abraham to the point he was ready to sacrifice his son). Pastor referred me to John 14:23 (*Anyone who loves me will obey my teaching. My Father will love them, and we will come to them and make our home with them*), to illustrate that God lives in the heart of the believer.

In our encounters we also shared our favourite Bible passages. For me, these focussed on, for example, my waiting on God at times of personal challenge (Psalm 130) and God's faithfulness in rescue (Psalm 113). Pastor related his love for the opening passages of the Gospel of John, explaining to me that those words '*nourished*' him and confirmed for him that '*Jesus is the Son of God, and he was the most perfect human being who lived amongst us.*' For Pastor, '*we know God through faith in Jesus. Salvation is found in no one else. You must leave your old life behind – you are a new creation...the old has gone, the new is here. We are called to live a life according to the Spirit and put death the misdeeds of the body. FPCT is very clear about breaking with the past, you cannot mix the things of the past with*

the Gospel. The big change for me is having no fear. God is with me; He will not leave me.'

He added that Jesus also *'lives amongst us.'* The Holy Spirit, God's promise to believers, also lives with the believers and, accordingly, *'we need to obey the Word of God.'*

He told me also of his love for the Acts of the Apostles and Book of Romans as they related to the expansion of the early church.

For Robert Jones, Isaiah, Chapter 40, spoke to him of God's strength and sovereignty and that God gives and keeps His promises. He advised me that, for him, the opening verses of Chapter One of the Book of Hebrews highlighted that we are living in the last days. He explained that the passage emphasised the primacy of Christ, that Jesus was present at creation and all things are upheld through Him. The Book of Acts showed how the church grew, tells us about Pentecost when the Holy Spirit was given to believers and how to worship God. He is encouraged by the story of Paul. *'Saul met the living Jesus and was changed forever. Saul became Paul. His work built the foundations of the church.'*

For Mama David, the Book of Esther resonated with her, and she explained how Esther was used by God to save her nation. Esther, she asserted, was not afraid of the King nor Haman. She disobeyed the King's law and went into his presence to make the case for her people. For Mama David, the key message of the Book of Joshua was not to be afraid and referenced Joshua 1:9 *'Have I not commanded you? Be strong and courageous. Do not be afraid; do not be discouraged, for the Lord your God will be with you wherever you go.'* Mama David also shared with me her love for the opening passages of the Book of John as these set out that God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit were present at creation. She explained that *'Jesus was there at the beginning of the world, and this makes me very happy!'* John 3:16, which refers to God sending His son to save the world, was another favourite passage for her,

the words of which *'she has placed in (her) heart'*. The words of Psalm 119 provided her with great comfort, and she has placed *'God's name and hidden God's word in heart'*. The Christian, she added, should praise God in all circumstances. (Philippians 4, 4 – 7)

For Robert, the Bible is God's word which, he advised me, teaches the believer about sin and salvation through Jesus. It also encourages the believer in their spiritual life. Equally, for Jane, the Bible was the word of God, written by *'His servants'*, which guided her daily actions. *'Some clever people did not write it!'* she asserted. Jane reiterated her love for the story of King David, which she had first heard in Sunday School. *'He came from a humble background and was chosen by God to be the King of Israel. He was the shepherd who became the king'*. For Jane, this showed her that God can use a humble person. She also told me that David was a great warrior who defeated Goliath in battle. She added that *'He had Jesus in his heart and that made him strong.'* Jane also remembered the stories about Jesus, for example, the time when He went to the Temple as a young boy. The Psalms of David were also important to her, as they were to Mama David, in particular Psalm 23, verse 1. *'The Lord is indeed my shepherd; I will lack for nothing'*, she recited. It was a passage she went to time and time again. Jane also shared with me her love for the Book of Job. She explained to me that Job lost everything yet remained faithful to God. She admired the character of Esther. *'She was a strong woman. She went against the King's orders and saved her people. She worked with Mordechai to help her people and was blessed for her faithfulness.'* Dorcas, in the book of Acts inspired her in calling and gifting to help the poor.

The interlocutors were attracted to Bible characters who spoke of God's strength and the courage of those who followed and trusted him, David, Job, Daniel, Ruth, and Esther. Mama David explained, *'in the Book of Daniel, I read about Daniel. He loved God and yet had problems. He was condemned to the flames and yet had no fear. He knew that God was much*

more powerful than any earthly king was! Mama David and Jane held Esther and Ruth in high esteem. These were women, who challenged the authorities around them. Esther was Mama David's example to underscore the need to recognise the importance of women to the FPCT and their growing role as evangelists and deacons. Dorcas, in the Book of Acts, was also an important female character for Jane, again serving to underscore the importance of women in the church and serving as her role model.

Given the daily challenges at the settlement, I would posit that the interlocutors read the Bible to strengthen their faith and that strong Bible characters served as points of hope and inspiration as they wrestled with their daily challenges. These characters helped reinforce the idea that in trusting God, they too, could stand successfully against the forces which opposed them. Bible passages served a similar function. God's presence at creation underscored the sense of a strong God, with the authority over creation and the ability to combat spiritual forces, including those of sickness. They also strengthened the faith of the interlocutors in a God able to heal. Furthermore, through a continuous state of prayer, the interlocutors believed they were in an assured relationship with the God of creation and healing. There was, indeed, nothing to fear in that relationship. The stories of New Testament church growth also helped them imagine into the future with confidence. Just as God, through His Holy Spirit had created the world, redeemed it, and led the growth of the early church, so now God, who for the interlocutors was unchanging, would help in their daily lives and challenges and in their endeavours to build the church.

How did the interlocutors pray and what for?

In my encounters I noticed an open acknowledgement of spiritual warfare, evil spirits, and their malevolent impact on the world. The prominence of spiritual warfare was one of the

first things I noticed in Tanzania that was very different to my experience in Scotland.

Although all the interlocutors were clear that spiritual warfare is a reality, it was not an issue that caused them concern.

Prayer was key to countering malevolent forces. Pastor explained that *'the devil is everywhere, trying to disrupt all aspects of life'*. For Jane, Robert and Mama David were equally open with me about the reality of spiritual warfare and the prevalence of witchcraft in the local community.

All the interlocutors were clear that the Christian, however, does not need to fear such things. Pastor, while he acknowledged the existence of the devil and malevolent forces, advised me that *'these forces have no strength when confronted with God, they have no abilities.'* Mama David told me that God has authority over evil spirits. The Christian, she added *'should not be obsessed with this all the time, rather must.... stand in the faith and goodness of God.'* The key to security, explained Pastor, Mama David, and Jane, was to be persistent in prayer. To these, Robert Jones added that the Christian must be free from the spiritual practices associated with the practice of traditional medicine and beliefs. He drew no distinction between traditional medicine and witchcraft – all were *'vanity'* and to be rejected. Jane held that *'the best way to tackle evil spirits'* was *'to pray and fast'*. She further explained that evil spirits were sent from the devil to torment people and make them sick. A sick person must not go to a witch doctor for healing but must go to God. Protection against evil spirits may be found not only in prayer and fasting but also by putting on the full armour of God set out in Ephesians 6 10 – 18. *'We need to put on the spiritual armour in our daily lives and know how to defend ourselves'* advised Jane. For Pastor, the Christian must not only be persistent in prayer but also put on *'the full armour of God as this stops the devil.'*

I explained to Pastor that, after I was sick and experienced healing through prayer in Dar es Salaam in late 2007, I kept a personal diary of prayers and God's answers as I faced the challenges of life. I shared how God had answered my own prayers at times of challenge. Looking back on it I could see how God answered my prayers and helped me in situations where I thought my own outlook was bleak. For Pastor, miracles start with prayer and the answer to all challenges was to pray. He advised me, *'I hold onto the truth that nothing can separate us from the word of God.'*

By way of illustration, he explained that two of his children got to university and his challenge was the fees. He told me that he prayed, and God opened the door for the fees to be paid, he made no elaboration of how this came about. Pastor was confident that they would, despite the challenges of Covid-19, complete their courses.

Pastor underscored the importance of prayer in the use of spiritual gifts. He had told me that his spiritual gifting was healing and explained to me that it was through prayer that healing took place. He shared with me that *'recently, a woman contacted me and asked me to go and pray for her. She had nose bleeds. I went with some elders from the church, and we prayed for her. Immediately she was healed.'*

Continuous and persistent prayer, therefore, is the foundation of living a Christian life and the key to the release and exercise of spiritual gifts. A state of continuous prayer is, as Pastor explained, *'how you live your life'*. It was something he did all the time, whether working in his shamba, travelling, or meditating on God's word. Mama David referred me to one of the parables of Jesus concerning the widow and the unjust judge in Luke 18 to underscore her point about persistence in prayer.

Given its importance, I tried to understand what he meant by prayer. For Pastor, prayer was not just about talking with God, it is also about listening and being in silence in God's presence. Pastor added, as we talked about how Covid-19 restrictions in Scotland had restricted my inability to meet with church friends in Glasgow, about how those who worshipped at the FPCT, not only had private times of prayer, but also met in each other's houses to pray. These private prayer meetings, he explained, were augmented by those organised by the church, every Wednesday and Friday. There were also women's prayer meetings at church on Thursday and Friday evenings. Those meetings also doubled as Bible study meetings – held without the aid of any published guide or study tool. Pastor added that it was the Holy Spirit that directed their studies. As part of those normal weekly meeting, the church prayed for healing in Tanzania and across the world, especially as the Covid-19 pandemic engulfed Europe and the US as death rates mounted.

For Mama David, persistent prayer was also the key to healing and combating the forces of evil that she held responsible for sickness. She maintained that she had been persistent in prayer and others had been persistent in prayer for her when she was sick and that is why she was healed spiritually and physically. She underscored her assertion as to the importance of persisting in prayer by referring me to one of the parables of Jesus in which a widow asks an unjust judge many times for her rights and eventually got them. (Luke 18, 1- 8) Persistence in prayer is particularly important in healing and this is strengthened by fasting. These two combined, she explained will ensure a '*spiritual breakthrough.*'

I shared with her that I prayed in the morning before anyone else in the house was awake. Mama David explained that she too, prays first thing in the morning. She further explained that the most powerful time for prayer is very early in the morning, not *alfajiri*, just before the dawn, but earlier than that. (about 3.00 am – saa tisa) At that time, it is very quiet and

115

there are no distractions, *'even the animals are asleep.'* she explained. She added *'you can hear God's voice clearly. It is also a time to stand against the forces of evil, as at that time they are most active.'*

God speaks directly to Mama David. God's voice, she told me, is strong, gentle, and peaceful. God's voice is not aggressive, and it does not bring fear she added. At one time she was unwell, and God spoke to her. *'Once I was sick and I heard a voice in the night say – 'you will die'.* She replied to the voice saying, *'Fine I'll go to heaven and be with my Father'.* She advised me that the Holy Spirit, however, said to her that the voice was not from God. She prayed that God would heal her, slept and, in the morning, felt better. I will explore further in this Chapter how the interlocutors perceived God's voice and how they acted on that.

Mama David, like me, also prayed for her personal needs. She asked God for a good harvest and that He will look after her cows and goats. In the past, she prayed for rain and told me that, like Elijah and his prayer for rain, God answered her. She also prayed for peace in the world, Tanzania, healing for the sick and for her neighbours. Mama David has also complained to and expressed her unhappiness to God in prayer. She asked God *'Why do I live the way I do in this little house?'* She told me that God answered her in a dream that one day she would build a house with a corrugated iron roof. Over a two-year period, in collaboration with her friends, she sold goats and eggs and put the money into a fund called she called a Care Fund. She explained that each of her friends could take a loan and then pay it back. When it was her turn, she took a loan from the Fund (100,000TSH) and bought the corrugated iron for her roof. She paid the loan back and the bricks for her house were made by her son. She told me, however, that the Fund, however, has closed because someone

defaulted on their loan. That said, her house is now completed. Mama David commented, *'God always answers prayers and asks us to be hopeful and keep praying.'*

Prayer and fasting were also essential elements of Robert's faith. Fasting, he told me, makes him attentive to God's voice. He further advised me that *'in a desert like this (spiritual warfare) prayer and fasting are the weapons of the Christian'*. God responded to him by either directly telling him what to do or enabling him to see the answer. This is particularly true, he advised me, on very personal challenges adding that when God answers prayer it is important also to thank and praise Him. For Robert Jones, prayer is asking God for help as well as hearing God's voice. Like me, he had set times for prayer. When he awoke, he prayed for the day ahead and when he went to sleep, he prayed for God's protection at night.

Jane explained, recalling her Sunday School lessons, that *'God can open doors, if you are saved, God can do this. Prayer is essential.'* She maintained that it was her encounter with the Holy Spirit that made her prayers *'long and purposeful.'* We talked about knowing what to pray for. Jane advised me that the Holy Spirit directed her prayers – *'he tells me what to pray for'*. Her first response to challenges in life was to pray and she was confident in God's ability to answer. *'I know God will answer and is never late with his answer.'* Prayer was also how Jane felt God's presence – *'when I pray, I know that God is present with me.'*

She too, had set times when she prayed, for example, in the morning and in the evening. She also prayed about her day-to-day work, and about role as chair of the church. As chair of the church, she organised the women's prayer ministry, visited the sick and needy and those who have fallen away from the faith and people with problems. She explained that *'God had given her spiritual eyes to see the things'* she *'needed to pray for'*. Like Pastor, Jane prayed all the time as she went about her daily tasks and like her fellow interlocutors held that prayer was

strengthened by fasting. This was done in private. She further explained that prayer was the weapon for the Christian - powerful prayer protected against the dangers in life and prayer and fasting prepared the way for God's blessing. '*The way to tackle evil spirits is prayer and fasting, it is like investing in savings*', she explained. This approach informed the seminars she organised for women which started with prayer meetings in church.

I related that I felt God spoke to me in dreams to reassure me and recalled how, in 2018 having secured a temporary agency job, that my dreams of clean, flowing water in the desert, was like God was telling me not to be afraid and that blessings would come. I had a lot of dreams associated with rivers and travel at that time – for example, swimming through muddy water to clear water and my response was to thank God for His promises.

In my encounters, the interlocutors, except for Robert Jones (who advised me that God did not speak to him in dreams but rather directly), related how God also spoke to them in dreams, in particular, to warn them of future events. These warnings then prompted them to pray about the warning they received. Pastor related how God, spoke to him in a dream, '*as He did with Joseph*', and warned him in a dream that the bus he would be travelling on to Dar es Salaam would be involved in an accident, but he would be unharmed. This prompted him to pray for God's protection, which God provided as the bus was involved in an accident and Pastor and the other passengers were unscathed. Jane advised me that God spoke to her '*through dreams.*' She related how she had dreamed that a female relative was drowning and told me that her relative had issues with her boyfriend. He had, allegedly used evil spirits to force the woman to marry him. This dream prompted Jane to pray and fast and she related how her relative had got through those challenges. God also spoke to Jane in a dream when she and her family were praying for her sick daughter. She told me that, at that time, God gave her a dream about her daughter in which she was happy and well. She told me that she

knew that God would heal her. Her dream came to pass, and her daughter made a full recovery. Jane explained, *‘I knew that we would pass through the sickness.’* She further related that she *‘saw her happy and well, like in the dream’*.

For Jane, however, God’s voice, urging her to act, was also direct. She shared an example from the birth of her second child. At that time, she was in great pain and had gone beyond her time. She went to the local St Gaspar’s Hospital, Itigi and they did ultrasounds, but could not help her. Jane went home, almost into the tenth month of the pregnancy. It was getting dangerous she advised. Jane explained further. *‘My husband and I prayed to God. That night God’s voice woke me up. ‘Get up and go to hospital now’, God said.’* She and her husband went to St Gaspar’s, and the doctor advised her that it was prudent for her to come at that time. Following surgery, her baby was born in late December 2017.

Earlier in this Chapter, I related how Mama David explained that God had told her in a dream that one day she would build a house with a corrugated roof and that also came to pass.

Mama David, however, also told me about dreams that frightened her and, in her view, warned her of evil. She told me that seeing certain animals in a dream, a snake, bees or being chased by a lion, were warnings of bad things to happen. After she dreamed of a snake chasing her son, he was burned in an accident.. She and her husband prayed and fasted that her son and would recover from his burns and he did.

She also explained that she dreamed that her daughter would die, and she subsequently did. We discussed how upset this made her and Mama David told me that she received a lot of support from local Pastors and the wider church community at that time. She did not blame God for the death of her child and explained to me she also received comfort from the Holy Spirit. On another occasion she dreamed a neighbour’s child died. She felt she should have

acted on than dream and prayed for the child who subsequently died. Mama David appeared to regret not praying about these warnings.

For Mama David, dreams were, in general disturbing, and she blamed them on the *'powers of darkness'* which she also held responsible for her sickness. She further advised me that she now discussed them with Pastor, who helped her discern their origins. She explained that *'we really need more lessons on interpreting dreams so that we see which ones are from God, which ones and from Satan and which ones are just dreams.'*

Prayer and fasting were, therefore, foundational to the life of the interlocutors. It was, as Pastor explained, *'how you live your life'*. They were the key to unlock the gift of healing and spoken prayers had the power to heal. Prayer and fasting were also essential to protect against evil spirits and the sickness they can bring. Although the interlocutors have set times when they pray, prayer is not a one-off event, but rather an approach to life, with even practical concerns, such as housing and education, the subject of petitions. The interlocutors highlighted the need for persistence in prayer and it was compared to an investment which yielded results. Dreams were seen as warnings or messages from God which prompted the interlocutors to pray about the issue, they believed that God had warned them about.

How did the interlocutors feel God's presence?

Just as there were key people in the lives of the interlocutors' journey to faith, there were also three main drivers for their journey – for Jane, a desire to experience freedom and, for Pastor and Robert Jones, a desire for physical healing and for Mama David a desire for physical healing and freedom from evil spirits which she held responsible for her sickness. The experience of healing as a key feature of how the interlocutors felt God's presence. What was absent in all the accounts of the interlocutors' journeys to faith, in contrast to my own

personal journey to faith, was an account of personal sinfulness. I felt God's presence in the assurance of forgiveness.

As a young man, Pastor was troubled by headaches, and it was his key Christian influencer that talked to him about healing. *'Jesus not only forgave sins, He healed (people)'*. He further encouraged Pastor r by pointing to scripture where Jesus healed people, by the Pool of Bethesda or where a woman, in faith touched the hem of Jesus' garment and was healed. The Pastor told me that, on hearing this, he took heart, followed his mentor's instructions, and prayed for healing. Healing, however, was not immediate but, during a time of worship and encounter with God he noticed his *'voice change'* and gradually, thereafter, his headaches ceased.

For Robert Jones, it was the possibility of healing that attracted him to Christianity. All his life he suffered from Sickle Cell Anaemia. This forced him to cut short his education and significantly affected his quality of life - he often confined to home or at St Gaspar's Hospital, Itigi. The illness caused his feet to swell, for him to suffer continuous pain and be prone to infection. He explained *'all my life, I suffered from Sickle Cell anaemia. I am the only person in my family that has this condition. The doctors explained this to me and my parents and that there was no cure to this illness only treatments.'*

Despite his father being a local healer, none of his preparations nor those of other healers made by *'pounding certain roots and making this into a drink'* worked. In our encounter, I commented that I was aware of Sickle Cell and its impact on Africa and felt the frustration faced by his family. He told me that while in St Gaspar's Hospital, *'servants of God from the local FPCT church came and visited the sick.'* They told people that Jesus *'cures*

sickness.’ They offered to pray for people, and he accepted their offer. Despite their prayers and his own there was no change to his condition.

He related that, one day in 2016, on his way from a course of treatment at St Gaspar’s Hospital, he met again with Pastor and the Church Deacon who asked after his health again offered to pray with him. Robert told them that the prayers made no difference. He prayed again for healing, but nothing happened. Eventually, however, he started to attend the church at the settlement, responding to the invitation to do so from the Pastor and the Deacon. There, he heard more about Jesus’ the ability to heal him. He believed that this was possible. The church, he told me, organised meetings for young people and he attended those. One evening the Deacon was leading the meeting and teaching was on prayer. Robert explained, *‘I was looking earnestly for baptism in the Holy Spirit. Suddenly, I felt God’s strength. My body felt different; something had changed. I was speaking and praising God in another language. I knew I had the strength of God in me, and my body would be strong. At first, I cried and then I felt great joy and peace. I knew, like a voice in my heart, that the Sickle Cell illness had gone.’* I asked how he felt. He continued *‘the first thing I noticed was that my feet were warm; with Sickle Cell they had been cold. I had prayed for strength and healing and God answered me. At the end of the evening prayer meeting, we rested and thanked God for his blessing. After that we went home.’*

I shared my own experience of prayer for healing when I was ill in Dar es Salaam and how I believed I was healed overnight, as a nurse prayed for me before I slept. I believed the prayers of my nurse were instrumental in my own healing. Unlike me, however, he was not healed straight away, and the illness came back but each time Pastor prayed with him and eventually, over the course of a year the symptoms ceased. He advised that he has not been

back at the local hospital for treatment and is healed. *'The doctors would be astonished'*, he commented. He now had no need for medicines and treatments.

For Mama David, the foundations of her faith were set in the Roman Catholic Church but, like Pastor and Robert Jones, healing was also a major factor in her journey to faith. At the beginning of our encounter, as I shared my early life in Glasgow, she told me how she helped her parents at home growing maize and rearing chickens. She explained that she was greatly troubled by chest pains since childhood. The local hospital *'could not really tell me what was wrong...but gave me medicine....it did not do any good'*. Since her childhood, she had heard about Jesus *'healing people and driving out demons'*. She believed her sickness had more than physical causes and, despite being baptised in the Holy Spirit, she remained sick. She *'needed physical healing as well.'*

In 1996, one of the Danish missionaries at Sanjaranda, Jens Haslund Thomson, preached about Jesus and healing. Jens told the congregation that Jesus could heal people and referred to the story of a women, in the Gospel of Matthew, Chapter 9, with an issue of blood who touched Jesus' cloak and was instantly healed. She added that she also *'heard and read about Jesus curing a lame man at the Pool of Bethesda and casting out demons. Jesus is the same today as He was then – He can cure me as well.'* At that church meeting she prayed for healing, and the local Pastors prayed with her. She continued, *at that meeting, I prayed, and the Pastors prayed for me. I was not cured right away, but slowly, the chest pains went away.'*

After that meeting her chest pains slowly went away. It was at that point I related my own story of healing through prayer when I was very sick in Dar es Salaam in 2007. I shared with her that I also believed that my illness did not have just physical causes.

All three of the interlocutors who experienced healing, anticipated that they would be healed and knew, from their encounters on their journey to faith, about Jesus and his healing miracles. The beginnings of their healing process started in a worship or prayer encounter with God. Healing was not immediate but rather took time and needed to be reinforced, as was the case with Robert, with constant prayer and support.

Three of the interlocutors had experienced healing commencing with their encounter with the Holy Spirit or just after it. An encounter with the Holy Spirit was a key part of their identity, it was also how they felt God's presence. God's presence for the interlocutors was not just a perception or a feeling it was made manifest in their own bodies as physical healing was a key part of their journey to faith.

In addition, all four made clear that they had, after their encounter with the Holy Spirit, received spiritual gifts. I had struggled with understanding what my spiritual gifting was and how I was to use this. I eventually was informed by a friend at church that my gifting was music. I play the violin in the worship band at church and music had been part of my life since I was very young. Our son is also a keen guitar player. At the time of the research, one of things I shared with the Pastor was how much I missed playing in church, as services moved online. Sharing my own experiences and struggles around spiritual gifting encouraged the interlocutors to share their own. They had no doubts as to their spiritual gifting. The exercise of the gift of healing was directly related to their journey to faith. *'God has given me the gift of healing. It is not something I asked God for but a gift I received for the benefit of the church and wider community'*, explained Mama David. I asked why she thought she received that gift. She replied, *'I should not be surprised as God healed me physically and through the power of his name cast out unclean spirits. I believe I received the gifts of healing as God healed me. I have no doubt as to my calling.'* She first became aware of her

gifting when she was asked to attend to a sick child with fever. She held the child's hand, prayed and the fever left. News of this spread as far as Manyoni, about 27 miles away, and Mama David was asked to go there and pray for a sick woman who had started wandering round the countryside. The sick child was brought to her, and she prayed with the women and her family. *'That very day she was cured, and her behaviour returned to normal'* explained Mama David. Another time, a woman who refused to eat or drink was brought to her. Mama David prayed for her, and she explained, the woman started to eat and drink immediately and when her strength returned went home. She further explained that recently she had, together with husband and son, been asked by the parents of a sick young man in the village to pray for him. She explained that he had *'lost his voice completely from a virus infection. Despite getting medicine, his condition remained poor.'* I recalled my own experience of sickness and prayer for healing in late 2007 in Dar es Salaam, when the nurse prayed for me before I slept. Mama David advised *'we held his throat and chest'* (the areas where the sickness was made manifest) *'and prayed.'* I related that my own experience of healing in Dar es Salaam was immediate, the next day my fever had gone. Mama David, however, shared with me that for the young man there was no immediate cure and, if anything, he seemed to be getting worse. I asked what she did next, her reply was that she prayed with the young man again and again until he started to get better. She explained that he is now fully recovered and looking forward to getting married. Mama David was clear that her gifting was healing and added that that God had told her that there was much more work for her to do. Persistence in prayer, she added, was the key to its exercise.

Robert Jones had related to me how God healed him from Sickle Cell Anaemia. He too had no doubts as to his spiritual giftings. In addition to preaching (he related that sometimes Pastor Christopher asked him to do so), witnessing, and singing, his gifting was casting out

demons, which, he asserted, were responsible for sickness. He explained that *'last year, I was called early in the morning by [REDACTED], a servant in the church, to a house in Sanjaranda. He told me that we had been called to pray for a very sick person. It was 2am.'* Robert added that he knew the house well and, on arrival, could see that the woman was very sick. It was the first time he prayed for a sick person. The woman had breathing problems and *'her chest was tight.'* Robert and his coworker informed the woman's husband they were going to pray that the evil spirit causing the sickness, leave her. I asked him how he would know if the woman was cured, and Robert related that they knew the evil spirit had left as the woman *'breathed it out'*. Her healing was immediate as when they visited the following day she was breathing normally. During lockdown, I had listened on-line to Derek Prince (1915-2003), a British Pentecostal preacher based in Israel. He related that oftentimes, those afflicted by demons, as they were prayed over, breathed, or spat them out. From thereon, Robert used his gifting in the wider community, praying for the sick in St Gaspar's Hospital. His experience also shaped how he sees God, and I will further explore this later in this chapter.

At the beginning of our encounter, Pastor Christopher, related how he had been healed of his headaches. Later, I recounted to him my own experience of healing in Dar es Salaam in 2007, how my nurse had prayed with me, and how I believed that God healed me through her prayers. This prompted Pastor to underscore the importance of prayer in the exercise of spiritual gifts. He too, has received the spiritual gift of healing. He related how he had been asked to pray for a *'[REDACTED] girl, afflicted by an unclean spirit, that made her refuse to go to school or eat.'* The Pastor went to the house with colleagues from the church and prayed for the girl *'in the name of Jesus.'* He advised further that the demon afflicting her left and she is now eating normally and back at school.

God's presence was made manifest through healing. God was the healer and restorer in the here and now. The Biblical narratives of Jesus' healing people were equally applicable locally. I would contend that through the exercise of their spiritual gift of healing, the interlocutors were bringing the reality of God's presence to others in the local community.

How did their faith shape their approach to growth of the local church?

Mama David related how the local church was founded as I shared with her the loss of my parents in 2014 and how that was the start of my journey to undertake my research. When her mother died in October 1998, a Pastor from the FPCT visited her to comfort her. He too, came with words of encouragement from Hosea 6:1 *'Come let us return to the Lord. He has torn us to pieces, but he will heal us; he has injured us, but he will bind up our wounds.'* Mama David commented. *'These words not only spoke to me in my grief but to the wider community at [REDACTED]. Out of my grief and God's promise of healing, we made the decision to establish an FPCT Church at [REDACTED].'* She told me that a group of local people working with the local Pastor, gathered some money together and bought a small piece of land and established a church at the settlement. Pastor Christopher Mwezi is now the Pastor there.

The interlocutors spoke about their desire to build the local church. None of them gave a definition of 'mission', although Pastor Christopher conveyed to me the importance of *'preaching the Gospel in these last days.'* Robert Jones described the church as a place where he could *'get good teaching'* and that *'the church has the strength of God'*. For all the interlocutors the church was the locus and focus of the faith community.

David Bosh (2014), however, reminds us that we 'should never arrogate it to ourselves to define mission too sharply and too self-confidently'. 'Ultimately', he continues 'mission

127

remains undefinable.’ I can, however, based on my encounters with the interlocutors offer ‘some approximations of what mission is all about.’ (Bosh, 2014, page 9). I would contend that Pastor Christopher and the other interlocutors would be very comfortable with the idea that ‘mission is quite simply, the participation of Christians in the liberating mission of Jesus. It is the good news of God’s love, incarnated in the witness of community, for the sake of the world.’ (Bosh, 2014 page 519). Pastor was clear that *‘he good news of Jesus Christ was brought by angels to ordinary and humble people.... It was not brought to the rich or the well-educated but ordinary people: people like us here at [REDACTED]. The good news of Jesus Christ is for all people – rich poor, white, black, Europeans and Africans. It is for the educated and those with very little or no education. The Gospel is for all people, and all can receive Christ.’*

The church at the settlement has been expanding - *‘there are over 100 people worshipping there now’*, and *‘the building is now too small.’* Pastor explained. He added that there were plans to build a new church, next to the existing one, this time constructed of processed bricks, not mud bricks. A plot of land had been purchased next to the existing church and the new building will have mains electricity. The congregation had raised 900,000 TSH out of a target to 1.5 million TSH target. Pastor further related how the church had now established a branch at Malanboni. This is a new community of farmers and herders established around a watering hole, a 45-minute motorcycle ride from the settlement. People who live there come from different parts of Tanzania with, as Pastor explained. Pastor explained, *‘The people there come from different parts of Tanzania, not only the Wanyaturu or Wataturu tribes, but also Wasukumu and Wagogo.’* The church plant is supported by a worker from the settlement who cycles every Sunday to the church plant.

On a post-study visit in August 2022, Pastor Christopher told me more about the church at there - how it first met under a tree, then in a roughly built structure with walls and a roof made of branches and finally in a purpose-built building.

I was advised by all the interlocutors that large outreach meetings were hindered because of a lack of sound equipment and facilities in the existing church. The Church, however, had a strong emphasis on passing on and building up the faith of young people. Robert Jones emphasised this in my encounter with him. The church, he explained, organised prayer meetings and seminars. In my encounter with Jane, she explained that she had organised, with the support of Pastor Christopher, a seven-day prayer meeting for women in April 2021. The meetings started at 3pm each day and the topics she covered were women's responsibilities at home, obedience to God and receiving and using spiritual gifts. As Jane was the chair of the Church, we explored the topic of women, the church, and the growth of the church. Jane advised me that woman was created from the rib of a man (Genesis 2, 22: 24) and that a woman had a Godly calling at home and in the church. *'At home, a saved woman's calling is to prepare food and care for her children'* she explained. Underpinning this was Jane's vision of a Christian marriage where a wife obeys her husband, but equally a husband must be caring and loving. She confirmed her view by referring to Ephesians 5 (22: 24) where a marriage relationship is likened to the relationship between Christ and the Church. Furthermore, a Christian woman can bring God's presence to a non-Christian household, even when that household is challenging for her, as some husbands can be angry or abuse alcohol. *'Where the husband is not saved, his wife often brings him to the Lord by her example. A Christian woman brings peace to a house.'* She further explained, *'We pray for change [in such marriages] for peace and for restoration. I have seen God work miracles in these marriages.'* In our encounters, she acknowledged that there is violence in some

marriages and relationships. In these circumstances, she advised me that it best for the women and children to leave and stay with a relative for their own safety. Women have rights and when a husband or partner is abusive, she has the right to leave. A woman also has the right to raise the matter the police. That said, a wife, however, should pray for her husband so that he changes. *'Only God can change a husband like that.'* She went on to explain how the church helps woman converts by providing them with clean clothes. Such a transformation cannot go unnoticed she contended. She added that it is a *'witness to the whole village.'* Jane's vision for the church was that more people know God. God has also given her the gift of preaching so that more people know God and the church can grow. Her other gift, related calling to grow the church, is to work with women. She related that *'women are a big army for change, and they need the spiritual weapons to give that change effect. Women can transform families and communities.'* Her vision is for women to preach the Gospel in church and in the wider community. She advised me, however, that these women need to be supported, in practical as well as spiritual ways, like food and transport costs. It has not been easy to get money to support such ventures she added. The church also needs to help women facing problems. These, however, should not be aired in front of the church, but rather discussed in private with the Pastor after the service.

The Pastor also explained how the Church started a small shamba to provide for the widows in the community. One of my encounters with Pastor took place just after heavy flooding in May 2020 and we discussed the causes of this, which I will explore later in this Chapter. In the aftermath of the floods, he offered practical help to those affected. I pressed the Pastor on what kind of help this was. He replied, *'food and tidying up.... we have to work together and help each other.'*

For Robert Jones, his role in the growth of the church was to get alongside people and tell his own story of how God healed him. God can achieve anything.

The interlocutors highlighted additional local challenges in relation to the growth of the church over and above the limitations of the church building.



The church plant about a 45 minute motorcycle ride from the settlement (photographed in August 2022)

For Jane a major problem was alcohol abuse. *‘Pombe (alcohol) destroys families’* she asserted. She further contended that the church is not fully recognising the potential role of women in building Christian communities. For Robert, the local challenge related to employment for young people and to their falling away from faith. *‘The seed has not taken root in them’* he explained. For Mama David, an additional challenge was church leaders in conflict and Christians not living as they should. For Pastor Christopher, a major local challenge was unfaithful husbands. He acknowledged that *‘women face many challenges, including bring up children when their husbands are not there. Sometimes also husbands have not been faithful, and we need to remind young men of their responsibilities.’* Pastor

further explained that his wife teaches young women about marriage while he teaches the

131

young men about their responsibilities. Mama David advised me, however, that the work of the church is, perhaps, hampered by leaders who do not see eye to eye and by them not fully recognising the important role of women in the church.

Given the constraints of the building, and lack of equipment for what I would call an outreach campaign, mission was focussed on bringing God's presence to individuals, through healing, through practical acts of kindness, by showing patience, witnessing a transformed life and by Christian women bringing peace, rather than strife, to a household. All the interlocutors became vulnerable in mission and advocated that others do so. They got alongside those in need and the sick and persisted with them in prayer. Jane related how, at the birth of her first child, a relative came from Puma to visit her and was moved by her newfound faith and freedom and is now '*saved*'. She explained how she fasted and prayed with women who had angry husbands and how she had '*seen husbands who drank and beat their wives saved, and lives transformed.*' For Jane, one of her spiritual giftings was helping the poor and she was inspired by the example of Dorcas (*Acts 9, 36: 42*). '*I have the gift of giving to others and God tells me to give money to a certain person or give them clothes. If I do this, I have a calm in my heart.*' she explained. Robert related how he spoke to his parents about how God had cured his Sickle Cell and that it had not returned.

The interlocutors strove to be salt and light in their communities and I would contend that their use of the spiritual gift of healing in the wider community was consistent with that. It was their part in the liberating mission of Jesus. I would also contend that their motivation for being salt and light in their communities was also an awareness that they were living in the last days. To grow further, however, the Church needs not only to recognise the challenges women face, but welcome and utilise the gifts women bring to the church and fully empower them in their work.

How did they view their giving to the church?

I had increased my own giving to the Church over the course of the Thesis. I was grateful to God for helping me secure a permanent Scottish Government post in June 2021 and I had also responded to a message from our own Pastor about the importance of stewardship and giving. Pastor advised me that he preached about giving financially to the church because God gave Jesus for our salvation. He advised me that through giving to the church, *'there are blessings, but you have to work hard as well.'* Mama David was equally confident that giving to the church opened the doors to blessings, but these were not necessarily financial. For her these are spiritual blessings which she referred to as *'treasure in heaven.'*

Both Pastor and Mama David maintained that giving to the church was not the way to gain wealth, rather they and the other interlocutors emphasised the value of hard work and entrepreneurship.

Pastor's main source of income was the harvest of sunflowers from his shamba. Jane worked in her husband's shop. She too, derived extra income from, for example, the maize from her shamba and chickens. Jane taught women in practical business skills, based on her own business experiences – how to rear chickens and sell eggs and how to sell milk. Robert Jones shared with me his aspirations to buy a small 2-acre plot of land. He intended to grow sun flowers and *dengu*, (green lentils) at the local market in Itigi. Sun flowers are used to make cooking oil. *Dengu* is also used to make biscuits. With the money from these activities, he wanted to establish a small business to buy and sell agricultural produce at the local market in Itigi. Robert emphasised that God did not want him to be poor and would bless the work of his hands. He explained to me that poverty was caused by not working hard or being too ill to do so. Mama David took a similar view. She contended that *'we can also cause hunger by*

our laziness, or it can just be a misfortune.’ She prayed for her shamba and its crops, a good harvest, and a good price for her produce.

Pastor explained that in Tanzania, during times of famine and distress, especially after the 1979 war with Idi Amin’s Uganda *‘God’s people ...suffered but they followed Jesus and praised God in every situation and prayed into every situation. Doing these things brought blessing upon us.’* Pastor advised me that the Christians were not afraid and did not complain about having very little. The Christians remembered Jesus and His sufferings. Struggles for food and clothing did not get in the way of people worshipping Jesus. *‘Our faith is built on Christ, not material things. If you build your faith on things of this world, your faith will die. If you put your faith in Christ, you can endure suffering, even going to be hungry.’*

For the interlocutors, the path out of poverty was not through giving to the church and expecting a financial return on this or relying on government projects or interventions, but by through hard work, entrepreneurship, and cooperation. They did, however, acknowledge that changing environment and sudden sickness could affect livelihoods.

How did they perceive the challenges around them?

My research took place during the Covid-19 pandemic and discussion around this, and sickness was a part of our encounters. Tackling Covid was a major part of my job at the Scottish Government at the time of the research and the virus had impacted my life, as schooling, work and worship all moved to an on-line experience, with the resultant loss of community.

For Pastor, Covid-19 is a new disease, coming from China, but it will pass. He explained that it came into Tanzania through international travel but maintained that there were no cases (at

the time of my research) in the local area. The church, he explained, was following the then (Tanzanian) government advice about washing hands. Extra cleaning had been organised for the church, but the congregation met as usual every Sunday. *'We continue to meet every week, of course taking precautions, such as washing hands.'* Pastor explained.

He acknowledged the economic impacts of the virus as the world went into lockdown and told me that the church was praying for healing in Tanzania and across the world. Pastor reiterated God's command not to be afraid adding that Satan had brought *'Covid-19 to kill and destroy but even God can use this for His purposes'*. He added that diseases and *'bad things come from Satan'*. For Pastor, God can even allow the Christian to face challenges such as Covid-19, but God would never leave the believer alone to face them. It is by passing through such challenges that faith is built. He did not see Covid-19 as a punishment from God, nor was sickness directly caused by sin. It was caused by bacteria and evil spirits. Equally, Covid-19 was a new disease and at the same time was brought by Satan.

For Robert Jones, Covid-19 was a sign of the end times and the starting point for the Christian must be prayers for protection against the disease. It is also important that the Christian follow advice from the Government. Our discussion on protection against Covid-19 took place following the death of President Dr John Pombe Magafuli in March 2021. It was good, he explained, that vaccination against Covid-19 was becoming increasingly available. Some sicknesses, he contended, were caused by evil spirits while others were caused by *'dirty water'* and others caused by a consequence of *'sinful behaviour'*. Robert was clear that sickness is not a punishment from God. He related that his own illness, Sickle Cell Anaemia, was caused by his family's involvement in traditional healing practices. This was *'sinful behaviour'*. He explained, that if a family member, even generations ago, had been involved in such matters, this can bring evil spirits into the family line. These evil spirits can be passed

down through generations and bring with them curses which can cause sickness. I asked him how such curses can be broken. In reply he advised me, it was the blood of Jesus that could break such ancestral curses. For him, it was the blood of Jesus that washed him clean and broke the ancestral curses which caused his Sick Cell. For him, *'washed in the blood means you have broken with the past.'*

The idea that sickness can be passed down through generations is something that I have also heard in Glasgow in relation to family involvement in Freemasonry. This can bring curses which can cause sickness and can only be ended by breaking ancestral ties. Derek Prince (1915 – 2003), a British Pentecostal teacher, has also contended that curses and sicknesses (physical and mental) are caused by generational involvement in the occult and only the blood of Jesus can break them. Robert, like the Pastor could hold that sickness can have non-spiritual causes such as *'dirty water'* but equally have spiritual origins. He was convinced that this generation is living in the last days and referred, in connection with Covid-19, to Jesus' words in Luke 21,11 that there would be pestilence in various places. Robert told me that he was ready for the return of Christ.

For Mama David, sickness, including her own recurring chest pains, was caused by evil spirits. That said, when we talked about Covid 19, she advised me that *'the Coronavirus is a new disease. It has come to Tanzania from out with. It is not an evil spirit; it is a sickness, and it will pass.'* She added that she was *'praying for our brothers and sisters in Sweden and the UK'* as she had heard that there was much suffering in those countries. Like Robert, she saw Covid-19 as another sign of the last days. Covid-19 was not a punishment from God.

Unlike my own position at the time of the research, the pandemic did not stop people going to church and they did so, following government advice around washing hands and cleanliness.

She added that it is important to follow government advice and with faith, Covid-19 will

pass. She explained to me, as I shared the Covid restrictions in Scotland, that there are other sicknesses, such as malaria, for which there are treatments, and by taking those and praying, one can recover. She added that the Holy Spirit can work through medicine, doctors, and learning. Mama David advised me that *'we pray for God's work in different countries and for our own nation. We pray especially for the world and that the Coronavirus and the suffering it has brought ends. We pray for doctors, nurses and all involved that they may have wisdom and strength'*.

Mama David held that sickness is caused by evil spirits, and prayer is essential to healing and, at the same time, that modern medicine and treatment can also heal.

For Jane, Covid-19 is *'spread through the air'*. Tanzania's late President Magafuli had described the virus as a *'shetani'* (devil) and urged the country to pray for three days. (BBC 2020) In Tanzania, *'shetani'* exist in the air, so I would contend that she too could have subscribed to the notion that the spread of the virus had diabolical origins. Sickness, she contended, does not come from God as *'God does not give his children bad things'*. God does not make people sick she suggested but rather Satan uses sickness to torment people. The Christian needs to depend upon God and not go to witch doctors for treatment. Jane went on to advise me that the virus will pass through our prayers and following government advice around hand washing. She later, however, added that a vaccine is coming to Tanzania and the government is encouraging people to take it. For Jane, since Covid-19 had impacted the whole world, it is another *'sign that we are living in the last days.'*

The interlocutors held that sickness was not a punishment from God but was a natural phenomenon caused by bacteria or dirty water and that at the same time some sicknesses were caused by evil spirits. Sickness was also the result of family involvement in practices

such as traditional healing and can be passed down through the generations. Covid-19 also fitted into this ambiguous view of sickness as a natural and spiritual phenomenon, brought by Satan to kill and destroy but that it was also a sign of the end of the age. Although the interlocutors gave importance to prayer in the healing process and emphasised that God had given some the spiritual gift of healing, they were equally open to the use of modern medicines, medical personnel and government advice around hand washing to prevent the spread of Covid-19. For the interlocutors, belief in the supernatural causes of and remedies for illness ran in parallel with rather than in opposition to scientific views.

Pastor shared with me that, in addition to local seminars for Pastors, he gets the chance to attend seminars and has contact with Danish Pentecostal missionaries at Sanjaranda. These missionaries invited their colleagues from a church in the USA to organise a seminar for Pastors in 2019. He explained that other *'guests were from [a church in the USA].... over 50 Pastors attended the weeklong meeting, and it took place in the big church at Sanjaranda. The main message was that Pastors must not mix God's word with traditional practices.'*

Other church leaders also got the chance to attend seminars at Sanjaranda organised by Danish missionaries. Jane explained she had met Sven-Axel Conrad, the son of the founder of the Sanjaranda mission in 2019. *'He organised a big event for leaders and members of charismatic churches and preached on John 15.'* In this passage Jesus talks about Himself as the true vine and the importance of the branches being attached to that.

I was also struck by Pastor's assertions that Covid-19 as well as being an illness was also a sign of the end of the age along with the rise of the internet and *'the return of the Jewish people to Israel in 1948.'* Pastor asserted that, *'we need to keep the faith and preach so that all hear about Jesus. Our guests from the USA have also talked about the importance of preaching the Gospel in the last days.'*

Jane, Robert - and Mama David advised me that Covid-19 was a sign of the end of the age, the latter adding at the same time it that *'will pass.'* Mama David described the contemporary world as *'broken'*. Robert Jones was clear that he was ready for the return of Jesus. There is a specific course of study for Pastors at the local Bible College, where Pastor studied, on the end of the age. Reference to the State of Israel and the end of the age is something more associated with elements of US evangelical discourse, although Derek Prince, a British Pentecostal preacher, made similar claims. It is possible, these views on the establishment of the State of Israel, Covid-19, and the internet, as signs of the end of the age have been reinforced through discussion with the Danish missionaries based at Sanjaranda, who have close relationships with the US and have brought US missionaries to the village.

In my encounters with Pastor and Mama David, I explained that, in addition to Covid-19, in Scotland and across the UK, a lot of concern had been expressed around climate change. The COP 26 conference, at the time of my research, was planned for October 2021 in Glasgow. I also shared that I was aware of changes in Sanjaranda, that rains were less predictable, flood more likely and periods of drought more frequent.

Pastor informed me that in May 2020, there had been floods in the area and buildings washed away. He explained to me that God created the world and put in place the seasons, but he noticed the environmental changes around them, such as unpredictable rains and floods.

Mama David commented that *'God created the earth, but we have made the environment around us for good or ill.'* Mama David and Pastor held that these problems were caused by cutting down tree for firewood. When the rains came, there were no roots in the soil to hold the earth, and the result was flooding. Without action the result would be further flooding and the possibility of famine. *'We have caused this ourselves'* Pastor explained. Mama David and Robert Jones acknowledged that these changes had impacted on local livelihoods.

Both presented a very practical solution to this challenge: to follow government rules about not cutting down trees and aligned this with his view that we are instructed by God to take care of the environment and by doing that we honour God. Mama David advised me, '*God tells us we need to look after it and science says this.*' Mama David explained that she planted trees in her shamba and keeps it clean, as does Jane. Environmental changes, unlike Covid-19 were not interpreted in eschatological terms and these challenges, unlike the ambivalent views on the causes of Covid-19, had their causes and solution in human endeavours and following scientific and government advice.

Chapter Four: Reflections on the Research Process

Uncovering insights into the ordinary lives of rural Pentecostal Christians

I cannot claim that my encounter with four individuals allowed me to validate or challenge the findings of the scholars of Tanzanian Pentecostalism, nor can I claim that the experiences of four individuals are representative of the local church, let alone Tanzanian or, indeed, of African Pentecostalism. My research, however, has uncovered insights into the ordinary lives of rural Pentecostal Christians in Tanzania. These included interlocutors (except for the Pastor) describing themselves as exclusively as Christian, an ambivalent view toward sickness and its causes, Covid-19 as a sign of the end times; the importance of healing in the practice of mission; and the repurposing of family and community relationships for mission. There are two approaches which help inform these insights: what and where I have researched; and how I have researched. In the following sections, I will explore these.

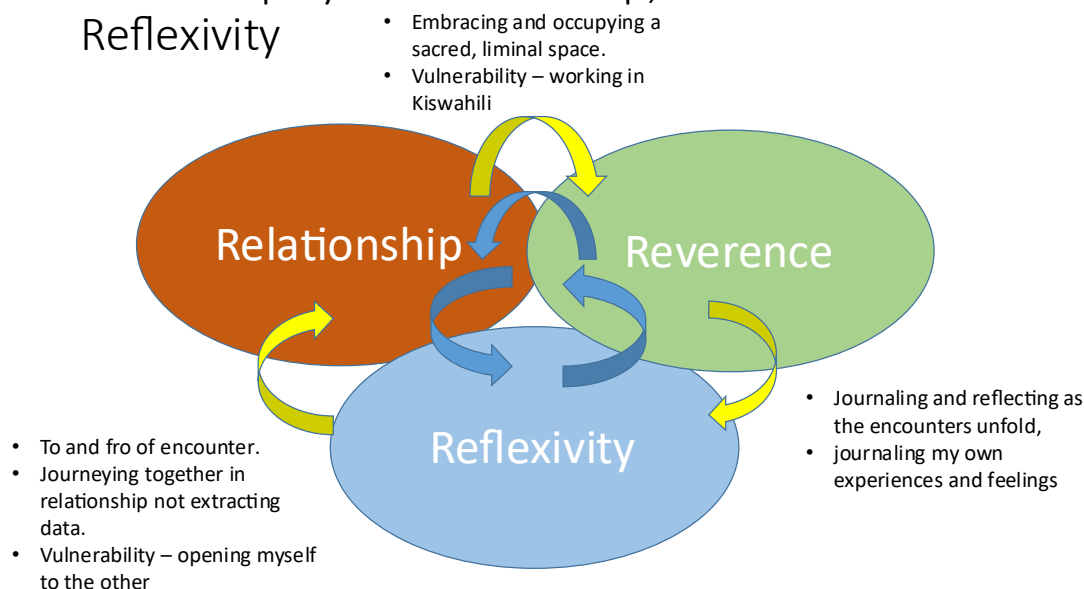
In Chapter Two, I explained that my approach to addressing my research question through encounter is informed by the existing Pentecostal practice of sharing with others what God has done for them as part of normal day-to-day conversation. This talking about God's provision was one of the first features which struck me on my first visit to a Pentecostal Church in the country in 2003. I would contend that my 'hanging out' conversational approach enabled me to tap into what people already do in Pentecostal communities in Tanzania, that is talk about God in the day-to-day of conversation with friends and family. I believe it has helped me gain new insights into rural Pentecostal lives in Tanzania and propose that the method of research through 'hanging out' could be extended to other Christian communities in Africa too. My approach is animated by the interplay of three key themes, namely relationship, reverence, and reflexivity-

Relationship – I am in relationship with those I am researching with and do not stand detached from them.

Reverence – I am on holy ground and in a privileged place as our encounter evolves.

Reflexivity – I am amid the research and my life experiences are relevant to the research. I have not bracketed them or kept them aside.

The Interplay of Relationship, Reverence and Reflexivity



Let me take each of these in turn to illustrate how the practice of one informs the other.

Relationship

In Chapter Two, I explained the centrality of relationship to my research method. I will briefly revisit that again, simply to set it in the context of reverence and reflexivity. I knew the Pastor prior to the Pandemic but did not know the people he had suggested that I speak with. To get to know those people, it was essential that I share with them my own history, my own faith experiences, and times of challenge. By doing that I could engender that two-way

conversation. Importantly, I was able to anchor myself, in the community by highlighting my familiarity with the settlement and its environs and referring to my visits to the wider community in Sanjaranda, where I worshipped at the local FPCT Church, over a period of years. I could explain that our son was born in Dar es Salaam and that I had worked there and in other parts of Tanzania. The conversational approach, outlined in Chapter Two, helped to build trust as I was able to share what was going in my life, in response to the issues they raised in conversation about theirs.

I realised that our conversations, over the weeks and months, were like friends on a long walk. In Chapter Two, I explained that the Biblical story of the Road to Emmaus idea of walking together (Luke 24, 13 – 35) served as an effective reference point as relations were built, experiences shared, and faith explored. I was on a journey of listening, sharing my own history and experiences in the ‘indigenous language’, in my case Kiswahili and doing so making myself open to or vulnerable to the interlocutors. (*Harries, 2016, page 96*) My approach to conducting the research was informed by Roland and Wicks (2009), who set out how a researcher relationship evolves as the research and the relations underpinning it proceed.

At the beginning of our conversations, I was the prompter, and the participant was the respondent as we got to know each other. I shared information about myself, and we shared about our early years and parents. This changed as our relationship deepened. I was part of the encounter as we talked about our lives and our experiences of healing. As our relationships deepened, we could pray for each other, our families, and the different challenges we faced. This was especially true as we journeyed through the Pandemic as the death tolls mounted in Europe. One of the interlocutors advised that she was praying for Europe as death tolls rose. (*Adapted from Roland and Wicks, 2009, pages 259 – 262*)

Reverence

A relationship marked by patience, humility, meekness, and mutual vulnerability and dialogue entails that I have reverence for the liminal, special space I occupy. I saw myself 'as guest, as stranger, and as someone entering into someone else's garden'. (*Bevans and Schroeder 2006, page 12*) I was guest as we shared our experiences together. I was aware of 'the privilege of being hosted' and the hospitality that had been extended to me to be with them and journey with them in their sacred space. (*Bevans 2012, page 4*) I had to match 'the hospitality of the open (shared) space' with the 'honesty of open dialogue'. (*Neilson and Currie 2005, page 67*)

In Chapter Two and earlier in this Chapter I talked about vulnerability as being open to the other and sharing myself and the challenging situations that God brought me through rather than saved me from. Vulnerability, however, also entailed a willingness to use the language of those I am working with, in this case Kiswahili. Jim Harries, a long serving British missionary in Kenya, has asserted through his work, the importance of Western missionaries using local languages and resources in their work. This he describes as a practice of vulnerability, and it was equally applicable to my research in Tanzania.

For me, this is an act of honouring and revering the languages of the people I am working with. (Kiswahili and Kinyaturu) I intentionally chose to work in a way that decolonises the mind by working in Kiswahili, respecting and embracing the language which I had decided to learn following my first visit to Tanzania in 2003.

In Chapter Two, I explained the use of imagination. The use of imagination was also relevant as I worked in Kiswahili. When, for example, Jane talked with me about hearing an '*mkesha*' - an all-night meeting or vigil in the church, it was more than simply translating a

word. I had heard a number of '*mikesha*', on my visits to Sanjaranda, I knew how they sounded, I recalled the prayers and singing well into the night and me listening to the worship. I knew the meaning and feeling of it. (*Bevans 2008, page 38*)

My method, outlined in Chapter Two, meant that I could not have a translator with me in the field. The purposeful use of Kiswahili in encounter, without a translator as intermediary, brought me closer to the interlocutors. The presence of a translator would not only have been impractical but would have inhibited rapport and the flow of our conversation and compromised the informal nature of our 'hanging out'.

My use of this casual flow of conversation, helped me gain new insights into the daily challenge faced by people. When, for example, I asked the shop keeper's wife about how she was, she set out the challenges of running a small business in a rural village dependent upon town-based suppliers and transportation. She explained to me, '*it has many challenges, such as person taking something without paying for it, saying they will pay later and not doing it. Customers can have debt and get angry at prices. There is not a lot of money.*' One day, early in our encounter, Jane shared with me that she had ordered cloth for dress making but this was packed next to a supply of fish and the material was ruined because of the smell. '*You cannot claim (that is ask for compensation) the delivery company for this – it is a loss. It is hard. There are also issues around the cost of transport, which can be high.*' At Appendix Four, I provide illustrations of how conversation in encounter worked in practice.

Reflexivity

Embracing reflexivity, the role of the self in meaning making, was essential to my research. It enabled me to embrace and practice relationship and reverence. It enabled me to bring my values which I have set out in Chapter Two, grounded in my belief in a relational, Trinitarian

God and my desire for unheard voices to be heard. Essentially, however, it allowed me to bring myself and my ‘bodily and emotional knowledge’ to the research process. (*Walton 2014, page xvii*) I am part of the research process, not separate from it. In our conversations, I could bring in my own experiences of God, growing up and struggling with my Christian faith in late twentieth century Scotland and my desire to encounter a dynamic, vital, relevant, God. I could bring my own experience of ‘rooted, changed, lost (and) claimed’ (*Bennett, Graham et al. 2018, page 7*) to the research process. Embracing reflexivity, therefore, has been an essential part of my own journey to embrace what Miroslav Volf throughout his 1996 book entitled *Exclusion and Embrace* refers to ‘otherness’. (*Volf 1996*)

Journaling, that is ‘written material that is based on reflection’, has been the vehicle of my reflection and learning, (*Moon 1999, page 187*) I have kept two forms of journal: research notebooks throughout the six years of the doctoral research and a personal journal, recording my experiences, struggles, life events and spiritual journey. Jennifer Moon (1999) further outlines the purposes of journal writing and I will use her typology to explain how journaling helped me in my own reflective practices. (*Moon, 1999, pages 89 – 93*)

My journaling journey started as simply recording my experiences as I visited Tanzania and provided the opportunity to set on paper the critical events of my life, of which my first visit to Tanzania in 2003 was one. As I moved into Doctoral research, however, and as my reading of literature expanded, writing became a way of comparing what I had read with what I have experienced. I noticed the dearth of research conducted in rural settings.

Journaling also helped me identify how I learn: I like to express myself in pictures and diagrams and find that this helps me see things clearly. I like repairing model railway engines, so perhaps seeing things from different points comes from there. Drawing pictures

or flow processes helps me explore and see things differently. For example, as I scribbled, drew, and set down my thoughts, I was aware of that the focus in the literature was on urban expressions of Pentecostalism rather than rural ones, that the researchers came from anthropological and sociological backgrounds and that they had mostly used qualitative semi structured interviews in their research. Journaling helped me slow down and draw breath and try to make sense of what, at first, seemed a lot of literature. Journaling gradually became my own sacred practice. It was time to stand back from all that I had read and consider what it was really telling, or indeed, not telling me. It was akin to the practice in Lectio, which I use through an App on my phone in my contemplative life, of ‘pausing to be still, to breath slowly; to re-centre my scattered senses on the presence of God’. Informed by the idea of journaling as sacred practice, journaling helped me identify who I was and my position as part of the research process. I recorded my own experiences of God amid the challenges of my own life which helped me to share it more effectively with others.

Finally, journaling helped me mitigate against not getting to Tanzania over the summer of 2020 and 2021 as I had planned. Referring to my journals has helped me imagine and get closer to the community and people I am worked with.

Recommendations for Future Research

Given that my sample size of four informants is small, the findings can in no way be understood to be indicative, I would recommend further research using the ‘hanging out’ method, this time in person, but with a larger sample size and extended to a wider range of Pentecostal churches in Tanzania, to ascertain if my research findings are confirmed in other settings. Possible further streams of research are:

- (a) Although Covid-19 was a sickness like any other, it was also seen as one of the signs of the end of the age although environmental changes were not. My encounters highlighted (i) the need for further research on attitudes to sickness, climate change and eschatology in rural Pentecostal communities in Tanzania; and (ii) considering the pandemic, and the merging role of faith-based communities in tackling vaccine hesitancy or in wider public health activities.
- (b) My encounters highlighted the use of spiritual gifts, in particular, healing. I have suggested that the use of these gifts shaped the local church's approach to mission, but further research could explore how this empowers men and women in rural Pentecostal churches.
- (c) My encounters revealed a nuanced approach to giving to the church. There should be further exploration of attitudes to church giving, work and savings in rural Pentecostal communities.
- (d) Jane discussed the issue of intimate partner violence on the local community. The World Food Programme (WFP) has recognised the impact of this on rural communities and has reported on how it is addressing it in rural Tanzania. This has included developing a Gender Training Manual for local and national government stakeholders and work around sensitising men around domestic duties such as fire wood and food collection. (*WFP 2021*) UNFPA, the United Nations sexual and reproductive health agency, has set up One Stop Centres (OCSs) across Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar where women can access health, psychological, counselling, and legal services. (*UNFPA 2021*) I would suggest there is a role for rural Pentecostal churches in acknowledging, preventing, and addressing issues around violence against women and girls. Further research should be undertaken into this.

(e) Throughout the duration of research, I became increasingly aware of the take up of smart phone technology. I have noticed family friends from Tanzania using clips from TikTok and other platforms in their ‘status’ on WhatsApp. This has, I believe, the potential to change what local people can watch, listen, and interact with. Christopher Mwakasege’s Mana Ministry, the Reality of Christ Church, Dodoma, and the Glory Church of Tanzania, for example, outlined in Chapter One, have their own dedicated You Tube Channels, easily accessible on a smart phone. I would suggest that these urban based ministries will have an increasing reach into rural communities as the 4G coverage of the country increases in line with the Tanzanian Government investment plans. Research should be undertaken to look at to what extent these this expansion blurs the difference between urban and rural.

Appendix One: Summary of Literature

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Anneth Nyagawa Munga, 1998	<i>Uamsho</i> : A Theological Study of the Proclamation of the Revival movement within the Evangelical Lutheran Church. PhD Thesis, University of Lund	Munga, a Tanzanian theologian, studied <i>Uamsho</i> (Revival Groups) within the context of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania. She notes that <i>Uamsho</i> , is led by Tanzanians, not Western Missionaries, is rooted in the Balokole Movement and resonates with the everyday experiences of believers in Tanzania. <i>Uamasho</i> , challenges the prevailing disciplinary codes of ECLT has led to a growing charismaticisation of the ECLT.	Tanzania Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania	An analysis of sermons, <i>mafundisho</i> (teachings) testimonies, prayers, and songs.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Elinaza E Sendoro, 2000	Uamsho na Karama (in Kiswahili) Revival and Spiritual Gifts	Sendoro, a Tanzanian Lutheran theologian, looks at the impact of Revival and Charismatic movements (<i>Uamsho</i>) on 'historical churches or mainline churches' in Tanzania, for example the Anglican, Lutheran, Orthodox and Presbyterian churches (page10) He contends, through an exploration of the person and work of the Holy Spirit, that these movements strengthen and 'bless' historical churches and are of particular importance to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania.	Tanzania Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania Roman Catholic Anglican Church Orthodox Church Presbyterian Churches	Interviews
William Fabian Mndolwa, 2004	A theological and historical analysis of the revival movement (<i>Uamsho</i>) within the Anglican church of Tanzania, Master's Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa	William Fabian Mndolwa is a Tanzanian Anglican priest. His Master's Thesis explores the impact of <i>Uamsho</i> on Christology and Pneumatology in the Anglican Church in Tanzania. Mndolwa contents that <i>Uamsho</i> is an expression of an African form of Christianity. The study's recommendations include embracing the gifts of the spirit	Tanzania – Central and Eastern Anglican Church	Interviews with parishioners from across Tanzania including the Diocese of Zanzibar, Kilimanjaro and Southern Highlands.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Marc Sommers, 2001	Young, Male, and Pentecostal Refugees in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Journal of Refugee Studies Vol. 14, No. 4 2001	Marc Sommers, an American researcher, reviewed the experiences of Burundian refugees in Dar es Salaam and suggests that young, male Burundian refugees make a major contribution to the growth of Pentecostal churches in the city. Sommers, however, does not give details of the churches in question but rather focusses on the social and urban economic networks the churches open for Burundian refugees.	Dar es Salaam Burundian Refugees	Interviews (in Kiswahili) with Burundian refugees and in English with Tanzanian Government officials. Participant Observation.
Koen Stroeken, 2017	Witchcraft Simplex: Experiences of Globalized Pentecostalism in Central and North-western Tanzania. Pentecostalism and Witchcraft: Spiritual Warfare in Africa and Melanesia, 2017	Koen Stroeken, a Belgium anthropologist based at the University of Ghent, explored Tanzanian Pentecostalism's openness to global trends, namely the prosperity gospel. He also attributed the growing success of Pentecostalism to its acknowledgement of witchcraft and magic, part of the grassroots experiences of Tanzanians, and Pentecostalism's unambiguous view that these are evil forces aligned against the Christian. He contrasts this with the Catholic Church's lack of engagement on these matters with parishioners.	Morogoro Lake Victoria Sukuma People Assemblies of God	Participant Observation through field visits.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Hansjörg Dilger, 2007	Healing the Wounds of Modernity: Salvation, Community and Care in a Neo-Pentecostal Church in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Journal of Religion in Africa no. 37:59 – 83, 2007	Hansjörg Dilger, a social and cultural anthropologist, based at the Free University of Berlin, explored the network of healing and support offered by the Full Gospel Bible Fellowship in Dar es Salaam for those living with HIV/AIDs, and the FGBFC's concern with spiritual warfare and healing. HIV/AIDS is seen by the church as having spiritual as well as biological causes.	Dar es Salaam Full Gospel Bible Fellowship Church (FGBFC)	Interviews with church members and the Pastor.
Hansjörg Dilger, 2009	'Doing Better? Religion, the Virtue-Ethics of Development, and the Fragmentation of Health Politics in Tanzania. Africa Today no. 56 (1).	Dilger explored how two Pentecostal churches in Dar es Salaam have positioned themselves within the fragmented health care sector in Tanzania in the context of HIV/AIDS. He highlights the socially conservative agendas of the two churches and their different responses to HIV/AIDS. The Mikocheni B Assemblies of God focusses on community development and initiatives, while FGBFC emphasises spiritual warfare, healing and the prosperity gospel.	Dar es Salaam Mikocheni B Assemblies of God Full Gospel Bible Fellowship Church (FGBFC)	Interviews and Participant Observation

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Jotham Mwakimage, 2014	The Historicity of the Tanzania Assemblies of God Church.	Jotham Mwakimage, a Tanzanian theologian, provided a historical account of the Tanzania Assemblies of God from its origins in American missionary activity in the 1950s, the establishment of Bible Colleges in Mbeya, Dodoma, Dar es Salaam and Mwanza and the growth of the church across Tanzania.	Tanzania Mainland	Interviews, participant observation
E S Munisi, 2014	Historia ya Kanisa La Tanzania Assemblies of God. This book is in Kiswahili	Rev Munisi, a Tanzanian Pentecostal theologian, sets out a detailed historical account of the Tanzania Assemblies of God (TAG) (in Kiswahili). He emphasises the origins of the Church in the Azusa Street Revival, the early work of American missionaries, the growth of the church and the challenges associated with this.	Tanzania Mainland	Interviews with church leaders.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Terje Oestigaard, 2014	Religion at Work in Globalised Traditions: Rainmaking, Witchcraft and Christianity in Tanzania. Chapter Six: Religions at Work	Oestigaard, based at the Nordic Africa Institute in Sweden, highlighted the impact of contemporary missionary Pentecostalism on the changing rainmaking traditions of the Sukuma Tribe, Mwanza and the tensions which have arisen with the Catholic Sukuma practice of Christianity which incorporates respect for ancestors.	Mwanza, Lake Victoria Sukuma Tribe	Interviews and observation
Moritz Fischer, 2011	‘The Spirit helps us in our weakness: Charismatization of Worldwide Christianity and the Quest for an Appropriate Pneumatology with Focus on the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania. Journal of Pentecostal Theology no. 20:95 - 121.	Fischer, a German Lutheran theologian, explored the evolving theological identity of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ECLT) in light of the charismatization of the Church from the 1980s onwards. Fischer refers to the work of contemporary Tanzanian theologians (Munga, 1998 and Sendoro, 2000) and provides a statistical and historical overview of Pentecostalism in Tanzania.	Tanzania Mainland Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania	Reference to letters, internet chat room discussions and persona testimony. The paper is mainly academic discussion.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Katherina Wilkens, 2009	Mary and the Demons: Marian Devotion and Ritual Healing in Tanzania. Journal of Religion in Africa, 2009	Katherina Wilkens is a German scholar, with an interest in the history of religions in Africa. She explored illness and healing in the Catholic Marian Faith Healing Ministry (MFHM) in Tanzania by contrasting the publications of the Group's leader the beliefs of Group members. She highlights a broad range of healing concepts held by Group members.	Dar es Salaam	Textual analysis of published material and guided interviews with members of the Marian Faith Healing Ministry.
Katherina Wilkens, 2011	Holy Water and Evil Spirits: Religious Healing in East Africa. Part 1: Introducing the Marian Faith Healing Ministry (Pluralism in Tanzania)	Wilkens, in setting the context for her research into the Marian Faith Healing Ministry provides a history of the charismatic movement in the Roman Catholic Church. She introduces parallel Pentecostal healing ministries: the Full Gospel Bible Fellowship Church and the Ephata Ministry. She contrasts these other Pentecostal Churches in the City, for example the Assemblies of God, which do not usually 'include healing prayers in their regular services' but at special healing services.	Dar es Salaam Tanzania Assemblies of God Full Gospel Bible Fellowship (FGBF) Ephata Church/Ministry	Interviews with members of the Marian Faith Healing Ministry

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Sven-Axel Conrad, 2008	Bitter Kaffe og Sode Dadler (Bitter Coffee and Sweet Dates) (English translation from Danish) Chapter Three: Pioneering Work in Africa	Sven-Axel Conrad, a Danish Pentecostal Missionary, set out the early history of the Pentecostal Mission at Sanjaranda, established in the early 1950s by his father Robert, its incorporation into the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania and the establishment of the Bible College and Rural Training Centre in the Village.	Sanjaranda, Itigi Wanyaturu Tribe	A biographical account of the work of the Conrad family from Denmark.
Faith Lugazia, 2010	Towards an African Inculturation of Biblical Pneumatology: A Response to the rise of Neo-Pentecostalism in Tanzanian Christianity. PhD Thesis, Luther Seminary, St Paul, Minnesota, USA	Faith Lugazia, a Tanzanian theologian, and researcher, sought to develop a pneumatology relevant to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ECLT). She set this in the context of the rise of contemporary Pentecostalism, its emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit and the challenge this presents to traditional ECLT churches in the country. She highlights the attraction of Neo-Pentecostalism and contrasts this with limited Lutheran engagement with the Holy Spirit.	Tanzania Mainland Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania	The Thesis is based on Lugazia's reflections on academic discourse on the work of the Holy Spirit, African approaches to pneumatology and the Lutheran Church.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Päivi Hasu, 2006	World Bank and Heavenly Bank in Poverty and Prosperity: The Case for the Tanzanian Faith Gospel. Review of African Political Economy, Religion, Ideology and Conflict in Africa no. 33 (110):679 – 692, 2006	Hasu, a Finnish development studies scholar based at the University of Helsinki, explained the rise of the prosperity gospel in light of the World Bank/IMF reforms in Tanzania. She sets out the close working relationship between traditional Pentecostal churches, Anglican and Lutheran Churches in the organisation of missionary endeavours and the establishment of media outlets. She explored, in particular, the work of the Mana Ministry, established by Christopher Mwakasege, in light of such cooperation and highlights the role of gifting, the Mana Ministry's prosperity gospel and its relationship with economic change in Tanzania.	Dar es Salaam Arusha Kilimanjaro Kilombero Dodoma Mana Ministry	Analysis of recorded preaching and participant observation at and seminars organised by Mana Ministries in 2003 and 2004.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Päivi Hasu, 2007	Neo-Pentecostalism in Tanzania: Godly miracles, Satanic interventions or human development? Anomalies of Aid: A festschrift for Juhani Koponen, edited by Jeremy Gould and Lauri Siitonen, Helsinki, 2007	Hasu explored the influence of Ghanaian religious leader, Mensa Otabil on the Ephata Ministry, Dar es Salaam, led by Josephat Mwingera. Otabil's mix of a confidence in Africans to develop their own continent, his focus on the human, rather than demonic causes of poverty and building the business skills of believers has helped shape the Ephata Ministry. Hasu advises that Ephata appeals to middle and upper middle-class adherents and focusses on wealth creation rather than spiritual warfare. She sets her analysis within the ongoing economic change in Tanzania.	Dar es Salaam Ephata Church/Ministry	Interviews

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Päivi Hasu, 2009 (a)	Rescuing Zombies from the Hands of Witches - Pentecostal - Charismatic Christianity and Spiritual Warfare in the Plural Religious Setting of Coastal Tanzania. Swedish Missiological Themes no. 97 (3).	Hasu explored the practices of the Glory of Christ Church. She focusses on the work of the Church in spiritual warfare, highlighting its work in freeing young women, at the economic margins, from exploitative work as <i>misukule</i> (zombies). She argues that the Church's stance on zombie possession is highly influenced by those of its founder Pastor Gwajima and the beliefs of the Sukuma people. Hasu also highlights the gendered nature of economic change, family ties and zombie possession and the ritual practices used by the church, such as those released from being a <i>Masukule</i> shaving their hair.	Dar es Salaam Urban migrants to Dar es Salaam working in the informal economy. Glory of Christ Church Tanzania	Participant Observation 'Testimony type' interviews.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Päivi Hasu, 2009 (b)	The Witch, the Zombie and the Power of Jesus: A Trinity of spiritual Warfare in Tanzania Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society 34(1) Spring 2009	Hasu again explored the practices of the Glory of Christ Church. She discusses, through the case study of the Glory of Christ Tanzania, the intersection of traditional beliefs around witchcraft, economic change and the practices of the church in relation to young women and zombie possession (<i>Msukule</i>). She sets out the church's practices to free the individual suggesting that occult forces associated with family ties.	Dar es Salaam Urban migrants to Dar es Salaam working in the informal economy. Glory of Christ Church Tanzania	Participant Observation Discussions with adherents Week-day consultations of the Glory of Christ Tanzania Church Analysis of audio-visual materials such DVDs produced by the church
Päivi Hasu, 2012	Prosperity Gospels and Enchanted Worldviews: Two Responses to Socio-economic transformation in Tanzania. Pentecostalism and Development, edited by Dana Freeman, 2012	Hasu discussed the wealth creation ethos of the Efatha Church Dar es Salaam, which caters for a middle-class audience, and is influenced by Ghanaian preacher Mensa Otabil. She contrasts this with the Glory of Christ Tanzania Church also in Dar es Salaam, which caters for those at the margins of the economy. She argues that contemporary Pentecostal Churches help their adherents negotiate the market economy.	Dar es Salaam Efatha Church Glory of Christ Tanzania Church.	Interviews

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Päivi Hasu, 2015	Freemasonry, Occult Economies, and Prosperity in Tanzanian Pentecostal Discourse. Pastures of Plenty: Tracing Religio–Scapes of Prosperity Gospel in Africa and Beyond, edited by Andreas Heuser	Hasu explored, in the context of economic change, Pentecostal fears about Freemasonry in Tanzania. She does so in light of popular stories in the Pentecostal and wider Christian media about alleged an alleged global Masonic conspiracy to take over the world, satanic rituals performed by Freemasons to increase wealth, their connections with the rich and powerful and an alleged Masonic conspiracy to destroy Pentecostal Christianity’ from within, through its pastors. She cites media accusations of being allied with Freemasonry, against popular Pastors. The pursuit of wealth and influence through Freemasonry is seen as akin to witchcraft.	Tanzania Dar es Salaam	Analysis of print media and blogs

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Martin Lindhardt, 2009	More than Just Money: The Faith Gospel and Occult Economies in Contemporary Tanzania. Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions no. 13 (1):44 – 67, 2009	Martin Lindhardt, a Danish cultural sociologist, examined the prosperity gospel in the context of the pursuit of wealth and spiritual warfare in the New Life in Christ Ministry, independent ministry having its origins in the Lutheran Church. He highlights the practice of what he terms ‘ritualised offerings’ and focuses on the workings of the ‘gift economy’ as a means of wealth creation for adherents.	Southern- Central Tanzania City of Iringa Wahehe, Wakinga, Wachanga and Wabena Tribes New Life in Christ	Interviews with Ministry attendees and discussion with healers in Iringa between 2003 and 2007.
Martin Lindhardt, 2010	If you are saved you cannot forget your parents: Agency, Power and Social Repositioning in Tanzanian Born Again Christianity. Journal of Religion in Africa no. 40.	Martin Lindhardt addressed how urban Pentecostals address familial and generational antagonisms. He argues, drawing in part from his research in Iringa, against an interpretation of contemporary Pentecostalism supporting individualism and breaking family ties of the past by contending that the urban Pentecostal believer has agency to improve relationships with their ‘unconverted family elders.’	Southern- Central Tanzania City of Iringa Wahehe and Wabena Tribes Elim Pentecostal Church The Assembly of God (a revival group within the Lutheran Church) New Life in Christ	Interviews and informal conversations.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Martin Lindhardt, 2010	Men of God: Neo-Pentecostalism and masculinities in Urban Tanzania. Religion 45 (2), 2010, 252 - 272.	Martin Lindhardt, a Danish cultural sociologist, explored the gendered aspects of conversion and why becoming a born-again Christian represents a more radical change of lifestyle for men. Drawing, in part, on his research in Iringa, with the New Life in Christ Ministry, an independent ministry having its origins in the Lutheran Church, he concludes that contemporary Pentecostal Christianity provides the opportunity for an expression of masculine identity as a victor and spiritual warrior.	Tanzania Mainland City of Iringa Wahehe and Wabena Tribes New Life in Christ	Interviews over a period of 18 months, from 1998 to 2011/12, participant observation, informal conversations and 'hanging out' with Christians and others in their homes, workplaces and churches.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Martin Lindhardt, 2015 (a)	Chapter Seven: Continuity, Change or Continuity, Change or Coevalness: Charismatic Christianity and Tradition in Contemporary Tanzania. Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in postcolonial societies, edited by Martin Lindhardt	Lindhardt explored the continuity and discontinuity between Pentecostalism and African traditional religion. He sets out how adherents to the New Life Church in Iringa, despite classifying traditional healing as demonic, have adapted practices from traditional magic to protect their businesses and their persons, reformulating them in Christian terms. The <i>nguvu</i> (or strength) associated with traditional healings and protection is now associated with the blood of Jesus.	Tanzania Mainland City of Iringa Wahehe and Wabena Tribes New Life in Christ Church	Participant observation, informal conversations and 'hanging out' with Christians and others in their homes, workplaces and churches. (Lindhardt does not give a definition of 'hanging out')

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Martin Lindhardt, 2015 (b)	Mediating Money: Materiality and Spiritual Warfare in Tanzanian Charismatic Christianity. The Anthropology of Global Pentecostalism and Evangelicalism, edited by Simon Coleman and Rosalind I J Hackett, 2015	Lindhardt examined Pentecostal practices around spiritual warfare and the handling of physical objects and shows how people pray over money to cleanse it from evil powers. He argues that coins and notes are significant objects of mediation and explores how Pentecostal believers attempt to influence the spiritual world by praying over money to generate wealth and prosperity in miraculous ways.	Tanzania Mainland City of Iringa Wahehe and Wabena Tribes New Life in Christ	Long term field work in Iringa. Assume: Interviews, informal conversations and participant observation.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Martin Lindhardt, 2017	Pentecostalism and the Encounter with Traditional Religion in Tanzania: Combat, Congruence and Confusion. Penteco Studies, 16 2017 35 - 58	Lindhardt explored Tanzanian Pentecostalism within the contexts of healing and spiritual warfare. He contends that Pentecostals both demonise traditional healers and at the same time highlight the similarities between God's healing power and those of traditional healing. The article differentiates traditional healing from witchcraft and provides useful background information on the growth of Pentecostalism in the country.	Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar with a focus on City of Iringa. Wahehe, Wakinga and Wabena Tribes Lutheran Church New Life in Christ Tanzania Assemblies of God -Lutheran Rival Movement.	Interviews and participant observation
Martin Lindhardt, 2019	Pentecostalism, Witchcraft, and Islamic Spiritologies in Central Tanzania. Journal of Africana Religions. Volume 7, Number 1, 2019: 82 - 93	Lindhardt explored how notions of spiritual warfare amongst Pentecostals are entangled with what he describes as 'popular Islamic spiritologies' from coastal Tanzania.	Southern- Central Tanzania City of Iringa Wahehe and Wabena Tribes Charismatics/Pentecostals (presumably based on the scholar previous interaction with those groups).	Conversation/interviews with people in Iringa, including Islamic healers and those possessed by spirits.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Marian Keller, 1933	Twenty Years in Africa 1913 – 33 Retrospect and Prospect Full Gospel Publishing, 1933	Marian Keller, a Canadian Pentecostal missionary, provided an account of early Pentecostal missionary activity in Tanganyika.	Tanzania Kenya	A biographical account of Pentecostal missionary activity in Kenya and Tanganyika before World War 2.
Allan Smith McKinnon, 2018	On being charismatic brethren: roots and shoots of Pentecostal evangelicalism in Tanzania. PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham	Allan McKinnon, a Scottish Brethren theological, explored the interaction of the Open Brethren (<i>Kanisa la Bibilia</i>) and Pentecostal movements in Northern Tanzania. He concludes that this has created a new rising African Christianity that has been defined as ‘pentecostal evangelicalism’ that is not denominational but rather akin to revivalist movements.	Northern Tanzania Kanisa la Biblia (Open Brethren)	Analysis of opinions through the Q Method survey. (a systematic study of participant viewpoints)

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Ernest Mhando Nandera, Loreen Maseno, Kupakwashe Mtata, and Matthew Senga.	Modes of legitimation by female Pentecostal-Charismatic preachers in East Africa: a comparative study in Kenya and Tanzania. Journal of Contemporary African Studies. July 2018, Vol. 36 Issue 3, p319-333.	The Tanzanian/German/South African researchers looked at the female Pentecostal-Charismatic church leaders and how they legitimize themselves in a male dominated religious field in Kenya and Tanzania through the exploration of four case studies in Tanzania and Kenya.	Dar-es Salaam Holy Ghost Power Assemblies (HGPA) Church of Jesus Christ Prayer Ministry	Ethnographic field work

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Hans Olsson	With Jesus in Paradise? Pentecostal Migrants in Contemporary Zanzibar Pneuma 37 (2015) 21-40	Hans Olsson, a Swedish researcher, explored the lived faith of migrants from mainland Tanzania to Zanzibar, a predominately Muslim archipelago. He highlights the concern of believers about the perceived presence of evil in Zanzibar and fear around the community losing their faith. He sets this within recent attacks on Christian minorities concluding that such fears 'bolster spiritual growth'. He further explores the migrants' faith in the context of political debates as to Zanzibar's constitutional future with the United Republic of Tanzania.	Zanzibar Migrants City Christian Centre (CCC) - outreach of the Tanzania Assemblies of God	Twenty-five qualitative (recorded) interviews and two focus-group interviews. Participant observation and 'chat's and 'personal communications'

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Hans Olsson	Narratives of Change: Healing and Pentecostal Belonging in Zanzibar Mission Studies: Journal of the International Association for Mission Studies, 2018, Vol. 35 Issue 2, p225-244. 20p.	Hans Olsson, drawing on his PhD research, explored the growing Pentecostal community on Zanzibar, a result, in part, of labour migration from mainland Tanzania. He highlights a key feature of the City Christian Centre – divine healing and how this influences a sense of belonging for the minority Christian community. The Christian faith of Zanzibar born members is strengthened by their experience of healing and opposition to the Muslim majority is strengthened by associating it with illness.	Zanzibar Migrants Zanzibaris City Christian Centre (CCC) - outreach of the Tanzania Assemblies of God	Life story interviews and focus groups

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Michael Castor Goliama	The Gospel of Prosperity in African Pentecostalism: A Theological and Pastoral Challenge to the Catholic Church – With Reference to the Archdiocese of Songea, Tanzania (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2013)	Castor Goliama is a diocesan priest in Songea, Southwest Tanzania. He examines the growth of Pentecostal movements in Songea in part driven by liberalisation of the mining sector and an influx of migrant workers. He explains that this has resulted in the adoption of charismatic practices, such as worship practice, by the Roman Catholic Church in Songea. Pentecostal growth in Songea has come at the expense of the Catholic Church. In examining the influence of Pentecostalism in Songea, Golima highlights the prosperity gospel and healing practices as key attractors and challenges for the Diocese and calls upon the Church to reappraise its pastoral and social ministry to the poor in Tanzania.	Songea, Southwest Tanzania Wangoni, Wandendeule, Wamatengo and Wabena Roman Catholic Church and Charismatic and Pentecostal movements in Songea.	Questionnaires, open questions, discussions ‘with experts on the field ‘and with ordinary people’; Participant observation as a researcher at various church services. Pastoral experiences.

Scholar	Title of Journal Article or Book Section	Research Summary	Geographical Focus Ethnic Group Church/Ministry	How was the research undertaken?
Lotta Gammelín	Gendered Narratives of Illness and Healing: Experiences of Spirit Possession in a Charismatic Church Community in Tanzania, Chapter 15 in Faith in African Lived Christianity: Bridging Anthropological and Theological Perspectives Edited by Karen Lauterbach and Mika Vähäkangas, 2020	Lotta Gammelín is a Finnish scholar currently based at Felm (Suomen Lähetysseura). In her study of the Gospel Miracle Church for All People (GMLC), Mbeya (a decade old church) she highlighted the genders discourse of illness in the Church. She explored issues of masculinity and femininity and spiritual attacks and how illness, gender and agency are intertwined in the community. She looks at the role of the Pastor in the healing services held by the church and highlights how the past (for example, diseased family members), in those presenting for healing, is seen as a force which holds them back.	Mbeya Gospel Miracle Church for All People	Interviews with Church attendees (mostly female)

Appendix Two: Conversation Reminders

Exploratory Theme	Prompts/Guide Questions	Kiswahili Translation
Personal Background	When and where were you born?	Umezaliwa wapi na umezaliwa lini?
	How many brothers and sisters do you have?	Una kaka na dada wangapi?
	What was your time in Primary School like	Niambieni kuhusu wakati wako katika shule ya msingi?
	Did you study out with of Sanjaranda?	Umesoma Sanjaranda au vipi?
	If so where and what?	Kama ni nje ya Sanjaranda umesoma wapi ? Umesoma masomo gani?
	What was your first job?	Kazi yako ya kwanza ilikuwa nini?
	Tell me about your friends?	Niambie kuhusu marafiki zako?
	Are you married?	Umeshafunga ndoa?
	How many children do you have?	Una watoto wangapi?
Pentecostal Faith Identity	How would you describe your Christian identity?	Unaweza kuelezea kuhusu dhehebu lako? Wewe ni Mkristo ya aina gani?

Exploratory Theme	Prompts/Guide Questions	Kiswahili Translation
	Were you born into a FPCT family either here or in another part of Tanzania?	Umezaliwa katika familia ya FPCT hapa au katika sehemu nyingine ya Tanzania?
	Why did you decide to worship at the Free Pentecostal Church?	Kwa nini umeamua kuabudu FPCT?
	How would you describe your feelings toward the Church?	Una mwazo gani kuhusu kanisa?
	Do you feel that your voice is listened to at Church and by Pastors and other leaders?	Je, mawazo yako yanasiklizwa na washirika pamoja na wachungaji na viongezi wengine?
Key Relationships: Home and Church	Looking over your life, what relationships have been important and why?	Fikiri jua ya maisha yako. Nani ni muhimu katika mahusiano yako? Kwa nini?
	How would you describe those relationships?	Unaweza kuelezea mahusiano hayo?
	How would you describe your mother or father?	Unawaeza kuniwambia kuhusu maisha ya wazazee wako?
	Who has helped you be the person you are today?	Ni nani aliyekusaidia kujengo uwezo wako?
	Who introduced you to the Gospel?	Ni nani aliyekushudia kupokea wokovu?
	How did you learn about faith from them?	Kwa njia gani umejifunza kuhusu imani kutoka kwao?

Exploratory Theme	Prompts/Guide Questions	Kiswahili Translation
Perceptions of God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit	What is your understanding of God?	Mungu ni kama nani?
	What is your understanding of Jesus?	Yesu ni kama nani
	What is the work of the Holy Spirit?	Roho Mtakatifu anafanya kazi gani?
	How do you feel God's presence in the day-to-day of life?	Kwa njia gani unasikia Mungu katika maisha ya kila siku?
	Have you ever become 'filled with the Holy Spirit' or 'baptised in the Spirit'?	Umewahi kujazwa na Roho Mtakatifu au kubatizwa na Roho Mtakatifu?
	Can you tell me more about that experience?	Je, unaweza kuniambia zaidi kuhusu mambo haya
Prayer and Personal Bible Study	How do you speak to and listen to God?	Kwa njia gani unamongea na Mungu na unamsikia Mungu?
	How do you understand prayer?	Maombini kitu gani?
	If you pray, how often do you do pray?	Kama unaomba, ni mara ngapi kwa siku au wiki? Unaomba sehemu gani?
	Where do you pray?	Unaomba wakati huohuo kila siku?

Exploratory Theme	Prompts/Guide Questions	Kiswahili Translation
	Do you do this at the same time every day?	Je, unaomba Mungu kuhusu mambo gani?
	What do you talk to God about?	Kwa njia gani unajua Mungu ni pamoja nawe wakati unaomba?
	How do you feel God's presence when you pray?	Umewahi kunena au kuomba na lugha ya Mungu?
	Have you spoken in or prayed in 'tongues'?	Unafikiriaje kuhusu mambo hayo na ilikuwa hali gani wakati huo?
	What was that like and what were the circumstances?	Unasikia lugha ya Mungu wakati unaomba? Niambia zaidi?
	Does God speak to you in tongues when you pray? Can you tell me more about that? Can you tell me how you have felt if you prayed in tongues?	Unasikiaji wakati umeomba kutumia lugha ya Mungu?
	How does God answer your prayers?	Mungu hujibu maombi yako kwa njia gani?
	Was this the answer you wanted or expected?	Je, hii ilikuwa jibu uliotaka au inavyotarajiwa
	Was there a time when you doubted that God would answer your prayers?	Kuna wakati ulikuwa na mashaka kama Mungu atakujibu
	Do you read the Bible at home and/or with other people from the church?	Unasoma Biblia nyumbani na/au pamoja na watu wengine kutoka kanisani
	Do you use any kind of published study guide?	Je, unatumia aina yoyote ya mwongozo wa masomo uliochapishwa?

Exploratory Theme	Prompts/Guide Questions	Kiswahili Translation
	How do you read the Bible?	Unasoma Biblia kwa njia gani?
	What are your favourite books or passages and why?	Je, unapenda kitabu au sura gani na kwa nini?
	How have these passages helped you?	Kwa njia gani Neno la Mungu linakusaidia?
	Who inspires you in the Bible and why?	Ni nani anakuhamasisha katika Biblia na kwa nini?
	How has their story helped you?	Kwa njia gani hadithi zao ilikusaidia?
Life/Faith Events	Tell me a bit about your Christian life.	Niambie kuhusu maisha yako ya Kikristo.
	What stands out for you in your life over the past few years and why?	Unakitu ambacho hutaweza kusahau katika maisha yako Kwa nini unakumbuka au huwezi kusahau?
	How did you relate to God during those experiences?	Unafikiriaje kuhusu Mungu wakati unapita mambo hayo?
	Do you believe that times of challenge are tests or even punishments from God?	Wakati wa changamoto na majaribio au adhabu kutoka Mungu?
	What have you learned about God/Jesus/Holy Spirit through challenging times?	Umejifunza nini kuhusu Mungu, Yesu na Roho Mtakatifu wakati wa majaribu?
Faith and Change	Is the way you see yourself now different from the way you saw yourself in the past as a result of your faith experiences?	Je, njia unayoiona sasa ni tofauti na jinsi ungejiona katika siku za zamani kama matokeo ya uzoefu wako wa imani?

Exploratory Theme	Prompts/Guide Questions	Kiswahili Translation
	What do you think caused the change?	Unafikiri mabaderiko imesababishwa na nini?
	Did God show you how to change yourself or address the challenges you faced?	Mungu alikuonyesha jinsi gani kubadilika au kushughulikia changamoto zako?
	How did God help you do this?	Kwa njia gani Mungu alikusaidia kufanya hivi?
	Have there been any other turning points in your life?	Kuna kitu ambacho katikia maisha yako kilikuangusha na ukafuta njia nyigine?
	How do you see yourself changing in the future?	Kwa njia gani utabadarisha maisha yako baadaye?
	How do you see your future?	Unaonaje maisha yako ya mbele?
Perceptions of the role of witchcraft	Are there spiritual forces which oppose the Christian?	Kuna nguvu za giza zinapinga Wakristo?
	How does the Devil impact on your daily life?	Shetani anawezaje kuathiri maisha yako ya kila siku?
	Do you testify about your Christian faith and about what God has done in your life to others?	Unashuhudia kuhusu imani yako na kuhusu kazi ya Mungu katika maisha yako mbele za watu?
Vision for the Church	What is your vision for the Church here?	Una dira yako kwa Kanisa hapa?

Exploratory Theme	Prompts/Guide Questions	Kiswahili Translation
	How did you come to this vision?	Umepata dira yako kutoka wapi?
	What are the challenges facing local Christians here?	Kuna changamoto gani kwa Wakristo hapa?
	What do you think is the task for the Christian?	Ni kazi gani kwa Mkristo?
	How do you think you can address them?	Unafikiriaje kwa njia kani utashinda?
	Tell me about ‘outreach’/mission activities organised by the Church?	Niambie kuhusu kazi ya kanisa (nk ya ‘Seminar’ na kuhubiri kijijini)?
Climate Change and the Local Economy	Do you think God plays a role in the seasons and the weather?	Unadhani Mungu anawajibu katika majira na hali ya hewa?
	Does our wrongdoing/sin make for bad harvests or famine?	Unafikiri dhambi zetu zinasababisha mavuno mabaya au njaa?
	What should we do about it?	Tufanye nini juu yake? Tu na fanya nini?
Covid-19	What do you think Covid-19 is?	Je! Unafikiria Covid-19 ni kitu gani?
	Where did it come from?	Covid-19 inayoka wapi?
	Why do you think Covid-19 has come now to Tanzania?	Unafikiria kwa nini Covid-19 imekuja Tanzania?

Exploratory Theme	Prompts/Guide Questions	Kiswahili Translation
	How has it affected you?	Imekuathiri vipi?
	How do Christians protect themselves and their community against Covid-19?	Kwa njia gani Wakristo wajikinga na watawalinda jammi?
	What do you think the Bible teaches about this disease and others?	Bibilia inatufundisha nini kuhusu ugonjwa huu magonjwa mengine?
	What else should the Christian do in this crisis?	Wakristo wafanye vitu vingine zaidi katika shida hii?

Appendix Three: Topics and themes from the four encounters (Names are Pseudonyms)

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
Christian identity	Pastor Christopher described himself as a Christian and added that he is Pentecostal. He is Myaturu. He is married with grown up children.	Mama David described herself as a Christian and Myaturu. She was brought up in the Roman Catholic Church. She is married with grown up children. Her first wedding ceremony followed traditional Wataturu traditions, and she described these in some detail. Her marriage was later blessed in the Lutheran Church.	Jane described herself as a Christian. She is Myaturu. She is the Chairwoman of the church and works closely with the Pastor. She is married.	Robert described himself as a Christian. He is Myaturu, unmarried and has recently broken off his engagement. He lives with his parents who, although worshipping at the Lutheran Church, follow traditional practices.
Change of name on baptism	Pastor changed his name on baptism from a traditional tribal name to aa Christian one and now only uses that.	Mama David did not change her name on baptism.	At her baptism she was given the name Jane.	Robert did not change his name on baptism.

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
Early life and education: Wanyaturu and Wataturu traditions	He was brought up in the traditions of the Wanyaturu Tribe in the countryside. There was no Christian influence in the family. He attended primary school for a very short time and in adulthood, learned to read and write. He trained as a Pastor at the local Bible College. He continues to use Kinyaturu in his work with older people in the community.	She was brought up in the traditions of the Wataturu Tribe. Her early Christian experiences were in the Roman Catholic Church and then the Lutheran Church, where her marriage was blessed. Both, however, rejected the mixing of Wataturu traditions and the Christian faith. She attended local primary school.	She was born into a predominately Muslim family. Her relatives adhered to the Wanyaturu traditions while, at the same time, practicing Islam. She heard about Jesus from her Christian grandmother and attended Sunday school as a young girl. She became a Christian when she was a young woman. She was educated to Form 2 and attended an Islamic Madrassa and the local Sunday School.	He was born into a nominally Lutheran family and brought up in the Wanyaturu traditions. His family practice traditional healing. He has recently broken his engagement, still lives with his parents and herds cattle for them. He is educated to secondary level but had to stop his education in Form Three, as a result of Sickle Cell Anaemia.
The importance of key influencers on the journey to faith	An older Christian man was a key early influencer on the Pastor.	There were multiple influencers on her life, including her husband, her formative years in the Roman Catholic Church as a young girl, Christians in other local churches, in particular from the Lutheran Church, and from the local Bible School at Sanjaranda.	Her Christian grandmother and her Sunday School teacher were key early influencers. The shopkeeper's wife also heard about Christianity from all night prayer meetings and from a Lutheran preacher in Dar-es-Salaam.	The Pastor, Deacon and other 'servants of God' spoke with Robert when he was in hospital and invited him to church.
The local FPCT and Sanjaranda (the mother church)	He was well acquainted with the Church at Sanjaranda and had worked with one of the Danish missionaries there.	She has heard one of the Danish missionaries preaching but was not familiar with the history of the church.	She was aware of the history of the Free Pentecostal Church and could name some of the Danish missionaries who visited the Church and preached there.	He was aware that the church at the settlement was a branch of the mother church at Sanjaranda but had limited knowledge as to its history.

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
The multiplicity of religious and faith affiliations in families	Pastor had contact with other FPCT churches across the Singida Region and with missionaries from Denmark and the US.	Her early Christian life was in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches but with influence from Pentecostal Christians.	She was brought up as a Muslim and members of her family remain Muslim. Her grandmother, however, attended FPCT. Her mother and another relative converted to Christianity.	His family worshiped at the Lutheran Church, but this did not have any impact on him. He acknowledged that the family, while worshiping at the church, continued to practice traditional healing.
Breaking with past practices and beliefs	Pastor advised that the beliefs of the past cannot mix with Christianity – you must make a complete break with them.	Through baptism in the Holy Spirit, she made her break with the past. By doing this, she contended that the evil spirits, which had tormented her, had gone.	She converted to Christianity as a young woman after hearing a Lutheran preacher in Dar es Salaam. She went to a village near to Singida and the local FPCT pastor taught her about Christianity.	He insisted that breaking with the past is essential as ancestral involvement with powers of darkness can bring about generational issues, such as illness. It was only after making a complete break with the past and receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit that he received healing.
God as healer and comforter	God healed the Pastor's headaches as medical treatment did not work. He went on to explain that God's people are not immune to suffering. Christians have suffered and continue to do so. The Christian can endure suffering by building their lives in Christ. Suffering strengthens. God does not leave the Christian with problems, but rather helps them out of these.	God healed Mama David's weak chest – hospital treatment had not worked. For God's provision in life, the Christian, must be persistent in prayer and work hard.	God gave her freedom. She underscored the importance of prayer and fasting. She made clear that Jesus was with her every day.	Robert maintained that God healed his Sickle Cell Anaemia as traditional remedies and hospital treatment did not work.

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
Healing as salvation, and related spiritual gifts	The Pastor believed that Jesus could heal his headaches, just as Jesus healed people in the New Testament. Healing, however, did not happen straight away. Pastor has received the gift of healing. He uses this across the wider community, including with non-church members.	She believed that Jesus could heal her, as he did in the New Testament. Jesus could heal her weak chest, the torment of the evil spirits and restore her health. Spiritual healing started when first when she received the Holy Spirit. Physical healing did not happen straight away. God gave her the gift of healing, which she uses for the benefit of people who are not Christians.	She believed that Jesus set her free. Her gifts are preaching, praying, giving, and advising women in their marriages and in small business endeavours. The Holy Spirit directs her in these matters.	He believed that Jesus could heal him of Sickle Cell Anaemia as was the case in the New Testament. He received his healing after receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Physical healing was not instant but took place over a year. He believed that has been given the gifts of preaching, witnessing, and singing but also, to cast out demons which he holds, in part, responsible for sickness and healing which he uses in the local community.
The nature of God - Father, Son and Holy Spirit	The Trinity is a mystery, but God is the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three in one, present at creation. The Holy Spirit is our teacher.	God is the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is our teacher.	God is the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is our teacher. The Holy Spirit is the strength of the Christian.	God is a Trinity – Father, Son and Holy Spirit. God is the healer.
Not Being Afraid and living in hope.	Jesus commanded us not to be afraid (even in the midst of Covid-19) – it is the essential message to us from the Bible. Jesus dwells amongst us.	God is with us all the time. God will never leave us, and He will provide our daily needs. The Christian must not be afraid.	When challenges come, the first thing the shopkeeper's wife does is pray. She has no doubt about God answering her prayers, as He is faithful.	Amid Covid-19 he asserted that the Christian must not be afraid but rather trust God.
God provides miracles	Pastor's sons are studying at university when he himself had to attend adult literacy classes.	God healed her son after he got burned and there was no money for hospital fees.	God enabled her to safely give birth to her second child when the pregnancy was overdue by instructing her to go to the hospital at the correct time.	God cured him from the incurable Sickle Cell Anaemia.

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
Tithing and working	The Pastor highlighted the importance of tithing, giving to God as God gave Jesus to us for salvation. Tithing alone, however, cannot bring about blessing, it must be coupled with hard work. Pastor has a small shamba to support his family. He sells sunflowers for processing and rears chickens.	Mama David asserted that giving to God through giving to the church, opens the door to blessings but she was keen to point out that these were not necessarily financial or material. The Christian, she advised was different from the world and does not seek purely financial blessings. God has given her spiritual blessings which she referred to as 'treasure in heaven.' Mama David also supports her family through small business endeavours.	Jane did not reference her direct giving to the church through tithing but rather discussed giving to the needy and the guidance of the Holy Spirit in this. Her giving is allied with her day-to-day job in her husband's shop and other small business activities. They are planning on expanding the shop. She further emphasised the importance of enterprise in addressing poverty.	Robert ki did not reference his direct giving to the church. In addition to his work as a night watchman in Itigi, he works as a herder for his family. He also has a 2-acre shamba and aims to sell crops in the marketplace, for example, sun flowers and <i>dengu</i> (used in biscuit making). He is seeking the capital to finance this enterprise.
Baptism in the Holy Spirit	Pastor sought after God in the manner of Psalm 63 and God answered. Baptism in the Holy Spirit brought great peace and brought Bible reading alive.	God spoke to her when she was praying with her husband asking her to let the Holy Spirit in. That night the Spirit touched her and the evil spirits which afflicted her were cast out. A few days later, she was baptised in the Spirit and felt great joy and peace. Her spiritual baptism was the precursor to her physical healing.	She was seeking the baptism of the Holy Spirit and received this. She contends that her prayers are now longer and more purposeful.	He sought baptism in the Holy Spirit and received it while attending one of the special prayer meetings held for young people, and felt that the Sickle Cell Disease had left his body. He started praising God in another language.

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
God speaks through dreams, the Bible and words from others	God speaks through dreams. God warned Pastor in a dream about his bus journey to Dar es Salaam and the accident. God also speaks through the words of prophecies of others. Sometimes, however, God can appear to be silent. God also speaks through His word. Pastor reads the Bible every day and uses scripture to illustrate points in our conversation.	God speaks to us through dreams, but Satan can also torment through dreams. God warns us and gives us hope in dreams while Satan frightens us. Interpreting dreams is a gift from God. God can also speak directly, and He asked her 'to let the Holy Spirit in' when she was seeking this.	God speaks through dreams. God, for example, warned her about a female relative and the challenges she would face in a relationship.	God does not speak to him in dreams but rather directly. He hears God's voice in his own heart.
Prayer and fasting	Prayer is how we communicate with God. Pastor prays all the time, not just at set times. It is important to meet to pray. God answers prayer in different ways – we must be patient in prayer.	Prayer is communication with God and the Christian must be persistent in prayer. The most powerful time to pray is very early in the morning. Fasting is important, especially when praying for healing.	Prayer and fasting are the weapons for the Christian. She prays in private and especially at night and fasts when she prays about the women she works with. Prayer and fasting prepare the way for God's blessings.	He has set times for prayer. Prayer is vital in spiritual warfare. Prayer is asking for God's help and hearing God's voice. He fasts and prays when he faces challenges as this makes him more attentive to God's voice.

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
Biblical exemplars	He cherishes the opening Chapter of John's Gospel – Jesus is the Son of God, who dwelt amongst us, was truly human and was with God at creation. The Holy Spirit teaches us to listen through His word.	She likes to read her Bible and shared several Biblical passages. Psalm 23, for example, tells us that God is with us in all circumstances. Daniel was not afraid to stand up against the King. Esther stood up for her people by going into the presence of the King. The story of Joshua encourages her not to be afraid. John's Gospel shows that God is a Trinity – Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Ephesians 6 teaches about putting on the full armour of God and Psalm 119 teaches about putting God's name in our hearts.	She likes to read her Bible in the evening. She tries to apply Biblical lessons to her life. As a preacher, when God gives her topics, she finds Bible passages to support her sermon or seminar. She set out the passages supporting her women's seminar topic of obedience. She finds great comfort in Psalm 23, the Book of Job (as he was faithful through all the challenges of life) and the story of Esther (she was a strong woman who stood up for her people).	His Biblical hero is Paul. He had been a person who persecuted the Church and was changed to be a 'great preacher and teacher'. The opening passage of the Book of Hebrews explains that God spoke in the past to the elders and prophets of Israel, but God has spoken to human beings most recently, 'in these last days' (verse 2) through His Son. It makes clear the primacy of Christ and His presence at creation. All things are upheld through His word. Christ has cleansed us from our sins. He sits at God's right hand and is above the angels. (Verse 3 onwards).
Spiritual gifts are for the benefit of the community and are related to the experience of salvation	God healed Pastor's headaches. God called him to be a Pastor but also gave him the gift of healing for use in the wider community.	God healed her chest problems and spiritual affliction. God gave Mama David the gift of healing for use in the wider community.	God gave her freedom. Her gifts of preaching, teaching and giving are how she can bring God's message of freedom to others in the community.	God healed his Sickle Cell Anaemia. He now has received the gift of healing and has used this in the wider community. God has also given him the gift of sharing with others about God's goodness and he exercises this at church meetings, relating his own story of healing.

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
Acknowledgement of spiritual warfare and the existence of evil spirits	Spiritual warfare is a reality. The Devil is everywhere trying to disrupt and destroy. Evil spirits can also be a source of illness. This is overcome by putting on the full amour of God and casting out fear. Pastor emphasised the importance of breaking with the tribal but not family relationship past.	Evil powers confront the Christian, but we should not be obsessed with this. They can be defeated with God's authority. Evil Spirits can torment a person through dreams. The Christian must stand in the faith and goodness of God. It is important to make a break with traditional practices and beliefs but not with the family members who practice them	Spiritual warfare is a reality. Prayer and fasting are vital in this warfare. The Christian should not be afraid of such forces but should, rather put on the full amour of God. It is important to make a break with traditional practices and beliefs but not with the family members who practice them. .	Spiritual warfare is a reality. Family relationships can continue but the answer to spiritual warfare and curses from the past is to break with them and be washed in the blood of Jesus. The way to break the devil's influence in the day-to-day is to pray and fast.
Ambivalent views about Covid-19 and sickness	Covid-19 has come into Tanzania, but the Christian must not be afraid. Covid comes from Satan to kill and destroy the economy. It is not a punishment from God. God brings good things, not bad. Sickness can be caused by many things including bacteria. It is a new disease and will pass. There is a need to follow sensible precautions. Pastor leads volunteers to clean the church building.	Covid-19 will pass. It has come into Tanzania from out with. It is sickness like malaria. It is necessary to follow the government advice. The church is fasting and praying about this, amongst other things. God sometimes brings sickness but not all the time. The Holy Spirit can also work through medicine, doctors, and learning to bring healing.	Covid-19 is a sickness that will pass through our prayers and following government advice. Sickness is not a punishment from God. Latterly she referred, approvingly, to the government encouraging citizens to take up the vaccine offer.	Covid-19 is an illness. God does not punish people with sickness, although some sicknesses can be caused by evil spirits. If an ancestral family member has been involved with the powers of darkness, this can open the door for generational sickness. A curse can remain in the family. It can only be broken by being washed clean in the blood of Jesus.

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
Covid-19 as a sign of the last days	Covid-19 is one of the signs of the last days. The last days have been ushered in by the founding of the State of Israel in 1948 and Pastor has preached on this topic.	Covid-19 is one of the signs of the end of the age. Mama David contended that the world is broken.	The Covid-19 pandemic is a sign of the last days.	Covid-19 is a sign of the last days and is one the pestilences that Jesus described. He is ready for the return of Jesus and at the same time welcomed the availability of the vaccine.
Role in the Church and community.	His role is to build the church - people and building. Pastor organises meetings and seminars and leads the fund-raising efforts to build a new church. The Church supports a village ministry, and he also has a healing ministry in the local community.	Her role is to tell others how God helped her and minister to them through healing. God told her that her work is to build the church so that people can be saved.	Her aim is to move forward God's work with women. She is chair of the church and works closely with Pastor in meetings. She organises the women's prayer ministry, visits the sick and needy and those who have fallen away from the faith and people with problems.	His role was as a teacher of young people in the church, but his main role is as a healer.
Church initiatives to help the community	The Church has established a small shamba so that widows can grow their own food. Poverty and hardship can be overcome through working together. The Church, for example, provided practical support to those affected by the May 2020 floods.		She teaches women small business skills so that they can increase household incomes. The Church provides clean clothes for converts who did not have access to them. She visits the sick and needy. God tells her to whom to give clothes and money. She works in her husband's shop and has other small business activities.	

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
Personal initiatives	The Pastor has his own shamba to grow crops and sell them	God told her that she would build a house with a corrugated iron roof. She sold goats, put her money in a revolving fund and raised enough to buy the roof.	She works in her husband's shop and plans with him to expand this business. She also has other small business activities.	Robert related his plans to establish a small business.
Environmental Awareness.	God gives good things, but we have destroyed the environment by cutting down trees. There is a need to look after what God has given us.	God gave us the world around us and Christians, must look after it. Lack of care for the environment threatens the economy. Sin does not cause hunger, but laziness and not looking after the environment can.	It is everyone's responsibility to take care of the environment. Cutting down trees causes drought. The late President had ordered Wednesdays and Saturdays as local clean up days.	Through his work as a herder, he is aware of the environmental changes round him. Rain patterns have changed and lack of care for the environment by cutting down trees is a concern for us all.

Topic	The Pastor: Christopher Mwezi	The Mother: Mama David	The shop keeper's wife: Jane Shaba	The Night-watchman/herder: Robert Jones
Women's Experiences and Voices	The Pastor's wife is his closest advisor, and she teaches young women about marriage. Pastor believes that women's voices are important in the Church. He acknowledged that women face economic, parenting and problems with unfaithful husbands. That's why he has classes for young men to teach them their responsibilities.	She contended that the church does not listen to women's voices. In other churches, women can be pastors, but not yet in FPCT.	She highlighted the challenges many women face in terms of violence and abusive partners and that for some it is best that they move with their children to a place of safety and revert to the law. She contended that the first response to these abusive relationships was prayer. A Christian woman should not further provoke her husband's anger. Women experiencing such problems can also speak with the Pastor in private. Women can be a big movement for change in the church and be effective entrepreneurs.	He related how he worked with young people, teaching them about God's faithfulness and how to live the Christian life. Specific teaching about marriage is, however, a role for the Pastor and his wife.

Appendix Four: Extracts from transcripts of my hangouts with the Interlocutors

Pastor Christopher

1. Introduction

Steven: Hello Pastor Christopher, Praise the Lord. My name is Steven Paxton, we met last year when Shanis' father passed away. Thanks so much for your time and help then.

Just to say again as we start, I was born and educated in Glasgow – primary school, secondary school, university. I married Shani in Dodoma in 2008 but first came to Tanzania in 2003 with MAF. We have one child called William – he was born in Dar es Salaam. Now, I work for the Scottish Government, mostly on Covid matters... and guidance for universities.

I was brought up in the Church of Scotland..... but now we worship at Queens Park Baptist Church. Everything is now online and I do not like that. I am doing this research because, you know, I lived in Tanzania, and I experienced a different God in there. God was close to me when I was very sick, and He was with me through my fears and the big challenges I faced. My reason for doing this research is to know more about God.

Pastor Christopher: 'I am a Christian' ... 'I am a Pentecostal. I am a Pastor. The good news of Jesus Christ was brought by angels to ordinary and humble people.... It was not brought to the rich or the well-educated but ordinary people: people like us. The good news of Jesus Christ is for all people – rich poor, white, black, Europeans and Africans. It is for the educated and those with very little or no education. The Gospel is for all people, and all can

receive Christ.’ He urged me also ‘not be afraid’ and that he had made this command of Jesus the foundation of his life.

Steven: I went to Primary School and secondary school in Glasgow. My mum and dad worshipped in the Church of Scotland. What was life like when you were young? Were there Christians in your family?

Pastor Christopher: I am an ordinary person. I lived out in the bush, we followed the ways of the tribe, remembering the *babu wa zamani* (ancestors). We celebrated births and marriages. None of my family were Christian and they followed the culture of the Wanyaturu tribe.

Steven: My dad was always working, although I do remember going on holiday when I was small and going to Sunday school.

Pastor Christopher: My parents brought us up well. If children became unwell, my father knew which plants and roots could treat us, as there no hospitals near where we lived.

2. Journey to Christian faith

Steven: How, then did you get to know about God?

Pastor Christopher: Ok, the person who introduced him to Christianity was [REDACTED}. As I approached my twentieth birthday’ he explained, I was troubled by headaches, all day and every day. They would not go away, despite me trying different types of traditional medicine and modern medicine.

Steven: Who was [REDACTED]...is he still around?

Pastor Christopher: He still lives in Sanjaranda. Now he was a deacon in the Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania. Many people liked him and knew him! I told him about my headaches, and he told me that Jesus not only forgave sins, but he healed. [REDACTED] gave me examples from the Bible. Luke 8: 43 where a woman was cured of bleeding by touching Jesus's garment. John 5: 2 where Jesus cured a man at the Pool of Bethesda.

When I heard these stories of how Jesus cured people, I took heart. Jesus can cure me of headaches, I simply have to ask for healing as God is near.

Jane Shaba

1. About her business

Steven: Hi Jane. How are things over there? How are you? How is your family?

Jane: We are fine here and you?

Steven: I thank God we are doing well. It is good to get time to talk. Been a busy day here with lots going on at work.

Jane: You know, I ordered cloth for dress making but this was packed next to a supply of fish and the material was ruined because of the smell. You cannot claim (that is ask for compensation) the delivery company for this – it is a loss. It is hard. There are also issues around the cost of transport, which can be high.

Steven: Ok, I am sorry to hear that. I remember seeing a lot of lorries on the road and thought they must be delivering things. So, what's it like to run a shop in the settlement?

Jane: It has many challenges, such as person taking something without paying for it, saying they will pay later and not doing it. Customers can have debt and get angry at prices. There is not a lot of money.

2. Her journey to Christian faith

Steven: We went to church when we were young, and I remember going to Sunday School. My mum, however, was the key person in my life – she was the one who believed. My dad less so but he got saved before he died.

Jane: My grandmother was Christian but my main education was Muslim.

Steven: So your grandmother was an import person in your journey to becoming a Christian?

Jane: Yes.....she was a great influence for me. She was Christian. She loved us. I remember that when we were small and ill or afraid, she would be there to cuddle us and pray with us. She said that Jesus could help us in our problems and not to be afraid. When we got up in the morning to go to school, she would pray with us, that God would bless us and keep us safe. The seeds my grandmother planted stayed with me until I grew older.

3. About God

Steven: For me, Jesus, is the second person of the Trinity, my saviour who died and rose again. Through him my sins are forgiven. The Holy Spirit is the third person of the Trinity, who helps me and works in my life.

Jane: Jesus is the Son of God. He is my Saviour, and He is my friend. I speak to Jesus all the time when I am at home. I hear His voice in lots of ways. He speaks to me in my heart. The

Holy Spirit is like oil; the Holy Spirit is the strength of the Christian and is like a burning fire. Without the Holy Spirit, we are weak. The Holy Spirit is our teacher also. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Truth.

4. Spiritual Warfare

Steven: One thing that is a big difference between Tanzania and Scotland is that people in Tanzania are open about spiritual warfare... people know about evil spirits, how they destroy people's lives. They talk about it. Not like here in Scotland! It's like nothing here, although people talk about Freemasonry like that.... First time I saw this I was in Dodoma. I remember the Pastor call out a spirit of sickness and weakness... he said that this made the person sick.

Jane: Spiritual warfare is all around, and witch doctors can be found everywhere. The Christian must not be afraid... we need to pray especially at night. We need to put on the spiritual armour in our daily lives and know how to defend ourselves. We need to pray and fast - it is like investing in savings.

5. Sickness

Steven: I have heard people say that God can bring sickness, like a punishment.

Jane: God does not give his children bad things. God does not make people sick, but Satan uses sickness to torment people. The Christian needs to depend upon God and not go to witch doctors for treatment.

Robert Jones

1. Robert's illness, healing and receiving the Holy Spirit

Steven: (Robert told me that he finished Primary School in the late 2000's and then went to study at Sanjaranda Secondary School but left in 2012 – he could not complete beyond Year 3 as his health was poor.) Can you tell me more about that?

Robert: All my life, I suffered from Sickle Cell anaemia. I am the only person in my family that has this condition. The doctors explained this to me and my parents and that there was no cure to this illness only treatments. It made me very ill and I was pain. It made weak... with infection. My feet were swollen, and I could not walk and stayed at home or sometimes in hospital. It was a very hard life.

Steven: When did things start to change for you?

Robert: While I was there, servants of God from the local FPCT church came and visited the sick. They told people about how Jesus cures sickness. They offered to pray with people, and I accepted their offer.

Steven: I remember when I was very sick in Dar es Salaam, a nurse prayed with me. I had a very high fever and was very sick. She prayed for me, and I know that God healed me. The next day I was weak, but my fever had gone.

Robert: There was no change right away. One day, in 2016, I was coming back from one of my many visits to the Hospital. I met Pastor Christopher and a Church Deacon. They asked me how I was and again they told me about Jesus. Jesus can cure illness they told me. They invited me to attend the church, so I eventually agreed. They encouraged me a lot. I listened but I was still not saved. I asked God for healing, but nothing happened.

Steven: Tell me more, what did you hear in church – how did it help you?

Robert: Jesus can heal – a woman was healed by touching His clothes. There are special prayer meetings for young people, and I went to one. One particular evening, the Deacon was leading the service, and the teaching was on prayer. I was looking earnestly for baptism in the Holy Spirit. Suddenly, I felt God's strength. My body felt different, something had changed. I was speaking and praising God in another language. I knew I had the strength of God in me, and my body would be strong. At first, I cried and then I felt great joy and peace. I knew, like a voice in my heart, that the Sickle Cell illness had gone.

Steven: How did you feel when you received the Holy Spirit? What did you feel in your body? I have not experienced this!

Robert: The first thing I noticed was that my feet were warm; with Sickle Cell they had been cold. I had prayed for strength and healing and God had answered me. At the end of the evening prayer meeting, we rested and thanked God for his blessing. After that, I went home.

Steven: Were you healed there and then like I was in Dar es Salaam, like the next day?

Robert: No, the Sickle Cell Anaemia did not go straight away. It came back twice, even after being baptised in the Holy Spirit.

Steven: What then? Back to hospital?

Robert: When the illness returned Pastor Christopher sat with me and prayed. Slowly over the next year the Sickle Cell went away. I am cured of Sickle Cell and it is Jesus who healed me. The doctors would be astonished. I have not needed to go back there for treatment.

Mama David

1. Spiritual gifts and their use

Steven: I hear about people in church talking about the spiritual gifts that God gave them. I often thought that I had none of them. It was a long time until I listened to people at church said that my gift was music, and I did not ask God for this gift. You know I play the violin in church. I have always played the violin and music was always there. Now I cannot do that because of Covid.

Mama David: God has given me the gift of healing. It is not something I asked God for but a gift I received for the benefit of the Church and the wider community. I should not be surprised as God healed me physically and through the power of His name cast out unclean spirits. I believe I received the gift of healing as God had healed me. I have no doubt that this is my calling.

Steven: When did you notice you had the gift of healing?

Mama David: I was asked to go to see a child sick with fever. I held the child's hand, prayed and the child was healed. A certain woman in the regional capital heard about my gift and told us about a neighbour who had become sick and wandered about the bush. They brought her to me, and we prayed together. That very day she was cured, and her behaviour returned to normal. A woman was brought to me - she refused to eat or drink and was becoming very weak. I held her and prayed, after that, she returned home. She then started to eat and drink normally, and her strength returned.

Steven: The nurse in Dar es Salaam when I was sick, asked if she could pray with me. She held my hand and prayed. After that I went to sleep. I had a lot of medicine. People were asking you to pray for them. Were there others?

Mama David: There was a young man in the village who lost his voice completely from a virus infection. Despite getting medicine, his condition remained poor. His parents called us to the house, and I went with my husband and son to pray for him. We held his throat and chest and prayed.

Steven: Did he get healed immediately?

Mama David: No, he got worse.

Steven: What did you do?

Mama David: Prayed and prayed until he got better. His voice is back, he is working and has got married. God has told me I have more healing work to do in [redacted] Prayer and fasting are important.

2. Causes of sickness and Covid-19

Steven: I have heard, online, some people say that Covid-19 is a punishment from God or that is manmade...designed to kill. Life is hard and many people are suffering. William has home schooling, going online at home for a few hours each day. I also work from home. At the end of March 2020, the church closed, and we no longer met in person for worship and fellowship. Very hard. In shops you have to wear a mask.

Mama David: The Coronavirus is a new disease. It has come to Tanzania from out-with. It is not an evil spirit; it is a sickness, and it will pass. I am praying for our brothers and sisters in Sweden and the UK that this virus will pass. Covid-19 is a sign of the end days as the world is broken.... not a punishment from God.

Steven: I miss getting to church. I need to see people. It is very hard – work is online, church is online.

Mama David: We must have faith in God who will see us through it. If you have faith and follow the government rules, it will pass. There are other sicknesses like malaria. You can get better by taking medicine and praying. The Holy Spirit also works through medicine, doctors, and learning.

Bibliography

Ackerly, B. and J. True (2008). "Reflexivity in Practice: Power and Ethics in Feminist Research in International Relations." International Studies Review **10**: 14.

Anderson, A. H. (2014). An Introduction to Pentecostalism. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Asher, R. E., et al. (2007). Atlas of the World's Languages, Routledge.

Banks-Wallace, J. (2002). "Talk thatTalk: Storytelling and Analysis Rooted in African American Oral Tradition." Qualitative Health Research **12**(3): 16.

Barclay, W. (1975). The Daily Study Bible: The Gospel of Luke. Edinburgh, The Saint Andrew Press.

Battaile, W. G. (2020). "What does Tanzania's move to lower-middle income status mean?", Worls Bank Group

BBC (2020). "Tanzania President John Magufuli: The man who declared victory over coronavirus." Retrieved 15 June, 2021, from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-54603689>.

BBC (2022). "Country Profile, Tanzania." from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14095776>.

Belenky, M. F., et al. (1986). *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind*. New York, Basic Books.

Bennett, Z., et al. (2018). Invitation to Research in Practical Theology. London, Routledge.

Bergunder, M. (2014). "What is Religion?" Method and Theory in the Study of Religion 26: 40.

Bevans, S. (2012). Mission as Prophetic Dialogue: Three Understandings of Mission. RFC Transformation of Religious Life in North America: An Action Orientated Initiative. L. M. Saffiotti, N. J. Davis and F. Sheeran. San Antonio, Texas, USA, Congregation of Divine Providence: 16.

Bevans, S. B. (2008). Models of Contextual Theology. New York, Orbis Books.

Bevans, S. B. and R. Schroeder (2006). "We were Gentle Among You: Christian Mission as Dialogue." Australian eJournal of Theology 7.

Bishop, R. (2005). Freeing Ourselves from Neo Colonial Domination in Research: A Kaupapa Maori Approach to Creating Knowledge. The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, California, Sage.

Bolton, G. and R. Delderfield (2018). Reflective Practice: Writing and Professional Development London, Sage.

Bosch, D. J. (2011). Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission. Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Books.

Bridges, John C. (2005). Pentecostalism. Christianity: The Complete Guide. J. Bowden, A. Bergquist, H. Bowden, N. A. Hjelm and M. Lydamore. London, Continuum: 3.

Brueggemann, W. (1978). The Prophetic Imagination. Minneapolis, Fortress Press.
204

Bruner, J. (2012). "Public Confession and the Moral Universe of the East African Revival." Studies in World Christianity **18**(3): 14.

Chase, S. E. (2005). Narrative Inquiry: Multiple Lenses, Approaches, Voices. The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, Sage.

Cohen, N. and A. Tamar (2011). "Field research in conflict environments: Methodological challenges and snowball sampling." Journal of Peace Research **48**(4): 8.

Conrad, S.-A. (2008). Bitter Kaffe og Sode Dadler. Copenhagen, Denmark.

Cook, L. S., et al. (2003). "The Reliability of Telephone Interviews Compared With In-Person Interviews Using Memory Aids." Annals of Epidemiology **13**: 6.

Coulson, A. (2013). Tanzania: A Political Economy. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Couture, P. (2016). We Are Not All Victims: Local Peacebuilding in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Zurich, Lit Verlag GmbH and Co. K G Wein.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design. University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Sage.

de Certeau, M. (1980). The Practice of Everyday Life. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Dilger, H. (2007). "Healing the Wounds of Modernity: Salvation, Community and Care in a Neo Pentecostal Church in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania." Journal of Religion in Africa **37**(1): 24.

Dillard, C. (2010). "The substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen: Examining an endarkened feminist epistemology in education research and leadership." International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education **13**(6): 20.

Dillard, C. B. and C. Bell (2011). Endarkened Feminism and Sacred Praxis: Troubling (Auto) Ethnography through Critical Engagements with African Indigenous Knowledges. Counterpoints: Indigenous Philosophies and Critical Education. G. S. J. Dei. New York, Peter Lang. **379**.

Dube, M. S. (2000). Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible. St Louis, USA, Chalice Press.

Dwyer, S. C. and J. L. Buckle (2009). "The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research." International Journal of Qualitative Methods **8**(1): 8.

Edwards, R. and J. Holland (2013). What is qualitative interviewing? London, Bloomsberry.

Edwards, S. (2014). Toxic Aid: Economy, Collapse and Recovery in Tanzania. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Fischer, M. (2011). "'The Spirit helps us in our weakness': Charismatization of Worldwide Christianity and the Quest for an Appropriate Pneumatology with the Focus on the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania." Journal of Pentecostal Theology **20**: 26.

Fontana, A. and J. H. Frey (2005). The Interview: From Neutral Stance to Political Involvement. The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications.

Fouéré , M.-A. (2014). "Julius Nyerere, Ujumaa and Political Morality in Contemporary Tanzania." African Studies Review **57**(1): 24.

FPCT (2012). "Uongozi (Leadership)." Retrieved 10 August, 2021, from <http://www.fpct.or.tz/uongozi>.

Gallegos, J. (2014). African Pentecostal Hermeneutics. Pentecostal Theology in Africa. C. R. Clarke. Eugene, Oregon, Pickwick Publications.

Gammelín, L. (2020). Gendered Narratives of Illness and Healing: Experiences of Spirit Possession in a Charismatic Church Community in Tanzania. Faith in African Lived Christianity: Bridging Anthropological and Theological Perspectives K. Lauterbach and M. Vähäkangas, Brill: 358.

Garrard, D. J. (2009). "African Pentecostalism." Journal of Values of Beliefs **30**(3): 13.

Geanellos, R. (2000). "Exploring Ricoeur's hermeneutic theory of interpretation as a method of analysing research texts." Nursing Inquiry **7**: 7.

Given, L. (2008). "Conversational Interviewing." The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods. from <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909>.

Godin, M. (2015). "Sexing the Author: Can a Man Write Feminist Theology." Practical Theology **2**(1): 11.

Goliama, C. M. (2013). Prosperity in African Pentecostalism: A Theological and Pastoral Challenge to the Catholic Church – With Reference to the Archdiocese of Songea, Tanzania University of Vienna. **Doctoral Thesis**.

Goto, C. (2018). *Taking on Practical Theology: The Idolization of Context and the Hope of Community*. Leiden, Netherlands, Brill.

Gulliver, P. H. (1959). "A Tribal Map of Tanganyka." Tanganyka Notes and Records **52**: 13.

Hardy, E. (2021). *Beyond Belief: How Pentecostal Christianity is taking over the world*. London, Hurst and Company.

Hartman, T. (2017). "The Promise of an Actualistic Pneumatology: Beginning with the Holy Spirit in African Pentecostalism and Karl Barth." Modern Theology **33**(3).

Haspelmath, M., et al. (2005). The World Atlas of Language Structures. Oxford, Oxford Linguistics.

Hasu, P. (2006). "World Bank and Heavenly Bank in Poverty and Prosperity: The Case of the Tanzanian Faith Gospel." Review of African Political Economy **33**(10): 11.

Hasu, P. (2007). Neo Pentecostalism in Tanzania: Godly miracles, Satantic interventions or human development? Anomalies of Aid: A festchrift for Juhani Koponen. Helsinki, Interkont Books 15.

Hasu, P. (2009). "Rescuing Zombies from the Hands of Witches - Pentecostal - Charismatic Christianity and Spiritual Warfare in the Plural Religious Setting of Coastal Tanzania." Swedish Missiological Themes **97**(3): 22.

Hasu, P. (2012). *Prosperity Gospels and Enchanted Worldviews: Two Responses to Socio-Economic transformation in Tanzania*. Pentecostalism and Development. D. Freeman. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Hasu, P. (2015). Freemasonry, Occult Economies and Prosperity in Tanzanian Pentecostal Discourse. Pastures of Plenty: Tracing Religio-Scapes of Prosperity Gospel in Africa and Beyond. A. Heuser. Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang. **161**.

Haustein, Jörg and Wilkinson, Michael (2023) Remaking the Pentecostal World The Pentecostal World, Routledge,

Healey, J. and D. Sybertz (1996). Towards an African Narrative Theology. Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Books.

Hellawell, D. (2006). "Analysis of the Insider-Outsider Concept as a Heuristic Device to Develop Reflexivity in Students Doing Qualitative Research." Teaching in Higher Education **11**(4): 11.

Hodd, M. (1988). Tanzania after Nyerere. London, Pinter Publishers.

Horsfall, D. and A. Titchen (2011). Telling People's Stories. Creative Spaces for Qualitative Researching: Living Research. J. Higgs, A. Titchen, D. Horsfall and D. Bridges. Rotterdam, Netherlands, Sense Publishers.

Iliffe, J. (1979). A Modern History of Tanganyika. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Isasi-Diaz, A. M. (2002). "Lo Cotidiano: A Key Element of Mujerista Theology." Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology **10**(1): 17.

James, N. and H. Busher (2006). Creating and enriching interviews in qualitative online research, Paper given at the British Educational Research Association (BERA) Annual Conference, Coventry, UK: University of Warwick, Sept 2006. British Educational Research Association (BERA) Annual Conference. Coventry, UK: University of Warwick, University of Warwick.

Jensen, A. (2007). "My Story Going from China to Africa." My Story Going from China to Africa <https://alfredjensensblog.blogspot.com/2007/03/my-story-going-from-china-to-africa.html> 2023.

Kalu, O. (2008). African Pentecostalism: An Introduction. Oxford, Oxford Scholarship Online.

Keller, M. (1933). Twenty Years in Africa. Toronto, Canada, Livingstone Press.

La Cugna, C. M. (1991). God With Us: The Trinity and Christian Life. San Francisco, Harper One.

Land, S. J. (1993). Pentecostal Spirituality: A Passion for the Kingdom. Cleveland, Tennessee, CPT Press.

Larbi, K. (2002). "African Pentecostalism in the Context of Global Pentecostal Ecumenical Fraternity: Challenges and Opportunities." PNEUMA: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies **24**(2): 29.

Laurentin, R. (1977). Catholic Pentecostalism. Virginia, USA, Doubleday.

Likwe, Servacius (2018) Decentralisation and Development in Tanzania – Tanzania Institutional Diagnostic. University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam

Liming, S. (2023). 'hanging out': The Radical Power of Killing Time. London and New York, Melville House Publishing.

Lindhardt, M. (2014). Miracle Makers and Money Takers: Healers, Prosperity Preachers and Fraud in Contemporary Tanzania. Minority Religions and Fraud: In Good Faith. A. Van Twist and D. Van Eck. London, Routledge.

Lindhardt, M. (2015 (a)). "Men of God: Neo Pentecostalism and masculinities in urban Tanzania." Religion **45**(2): 20.

Lindhardt, M. (2015 (b)). Mediating Money: Materiality and Spiritual Warfare in Tanzanian Charismatic Christianity. The Anthrpology of Global Pentecostalism and Evangelicalism. S. Coleman and R. I. J. Hackett. New York, New York University Press.

Lindhardt, M. (2017). "Pentecostalism and the Ecounter with Traditional Religion in Tanzania: Combat, Congruence and Confusion." Penteco Studies **16**(1): 27.

Lindhardt, M. (2019). "Pentecostalism, Witchcraft, and Islamic Spiritologies in Central Tanzania." Journal of Africana Religions **7**(1): 9.

Lugazia, F. (2010). Towards an African Inculturation of Biblical Pneumatology: A Response to the rise of Neo Pentecostalism in Tanzanian Christianity. St Paul Minnesota, USA, Lutheran Seminary, St Paul Minnesota. **PhD**.

Magesa, L. (1997). African Religion: The Morals and Traditions of Abundant Life. Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Books.

Makundi, P. and J. G. Lyimo (2015). "Influence of Soil Management Practices on Crop Production in the Changing Climate, a Voice from Farmers: The Case of Sanjaranda Village in Manyoni District, Tanzania " Research Journal of Agriculture and Environmental Management **41**: 9.

Malmberg, A. (2015). Aspects on free Pentecostal church in Tanzania in Health service delivery. A minor field study of Public-Private Partnership in Health Care Sector in Tanzania. Public Administration. University of Gothenburg, Sweden, University of Gothenburg. **Bachelor Thesis in Public Administration**.

Maltese, Giovanni, Bachmann, Judith and Rakow, Katja (2019). "Global Entanglements, Identity Politics and the Future of Pentecostal Studies." Penteco Studies **18**: 12.

Mason, J. (2002). Qualitative Researching. London, Sage Publications.

Mbiti, J. (1971). The Crisis of Mission in Africa. Kampala, Uganda Church Press.

McConaughy, S. (2005). Clinical Interviews for Children and Adolescents: Assessment to Intervention. New York, The Guilford Press.

McGuire, M. B. (2008). Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life. New York, Oxford University Press, USA.

McKinnon, A. S. (2018). On being charismatic brethren: roots and shoots of Pentecostal evangelicalism in Tanzania. Department of Theology and Mission. Birmingham, University of Birmingham. **PhD**.

Melillo, S., et al. (2021). Promising Practices for Engaging Local Faith Actors (LFAs) to Promote Uptake of COVID-19 Vaccination: Lessons Learned from Four Countries: Ghana, Indonesia, Sierra Leone, and Uganda. MOMENTUM Country and Global Leadership, USAID/MOMENTUM: 71.

Meredith, M. (2006). The State of Africa, A History of Fifty Years of Independence. London, Free Press.

Meyer, B. (2004). "Christianity in Africa: From African Independent Churches to Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches." Annual Review of Anthropology **33**: 30.

Mockler, N. (2011). Being Me: In Search of Authenticity. Creative Spaces for Qualitative Researching: Living Research. J. Higgs, A. Titchen, D. Horsfall and D. Bridges. Rotterdam, Netherlands, Sense Publishers.

Moltmann, J. (1967). Theology of Hope London, SCM Press.

Moon, D. (2017). "The Conversion of Yosiya Kinuka and the Beginning of the East African Revival." International Bulletin of Mission Research **41**(3): 10.

Moon, J. (1999). Reflection in learning and professional development. London, Kogan Page.

Munga, A. N. (1998). Uamsho: A Theological Study of the Proclamation of the Revival Movement within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania. Lund, Sweden, Lund University Press.

Munisi, E., et al. (2014). Historia ya Kanisa la Tanzania Assemblies of God. Dar es Salaam, Hakimiliki, Idara ya Unanafunzi na Maadiko TAG (HQ).

Musselwhite, K., et al. (2007). "The telephone interview is an effective method of data collection in clinical nursing research: a discussion paper." International Journal of Nursing Studies **44**(6): 6.

Mwakimage, J. (2014). The Historicity of the Tanzania Assemblies of God. Dar es Salaam, SGL Systems.

Mwaura, N. (2011). Women Lost in the Global Maze: Women and Religion in East Africa Under Globalisation. Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theology. S. Briggs and M. M. Fulkerson. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Nadar, S. (2014). "'Stories are Data with Soul': Lessons from Black Feminist Epistemology." Agenda **28**(10).

Nair, D. (2021). "'“hanging out” while Studying “Up”: Doing Ethnographic Fieldwork in International Relations." International Studies Review **25**(4): 132.

Nandera, E. M., et al. (2018). "Modes of legitimation by female Pentecostal-Charismatic preachers in East Africa: a comparative study in Kenya and Tanzania." Journal of Contemporary African Studies **36**(3): 14.

Neilson, P. and D. Currie (2005). You're an Angel - Being Yourself and Sharing Your Faith. Glasgow, Covenanters Press.

Ng'atigwa, F. X. (2014). "'Othering' and 'Others' in Religious Broadcasts in Tanzania: Cases from Radio Maria and Radio Imaan." Journal of Religion and Popular Culture **26**.

Odiit, M. (2022). "Country: United Republic of Tanzania." Retrieved 13 January, 2022, from <https://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/unitedrepublicoftanzania>.

Oestigaard, T. (2014). Religion at Work in Globalised Traditions. Cambridge, New Castle.

Okou, C., et al. (2021). Tanzania Economic Update, February 2021 : Raising the Bar - Achieving Tanzania's Development Vision. Economic Updates and Modelling W. B. Group. Washington, DC.

Olsson, H. (2015). "With Jesus in Paradise? Pentecostal Migrants in Contemporary Zanzibar." Pneuma **37**: 19.

Olsson, H. (2018). "Narratives of Change: Healing and Pentecostal Belonging in Zanzibar." Mission Studies: Journal of the International Association for Mission Studies **35**(2): 19.

Paliadelis, P. and M. Cruickshank (2008). "Using a Voice Centered Relational Method of Data Analysis in a Feminist Study Exploring the Working World of Nursing Unit Managers." Qualitative Health Research **18**.

Pattison, S. (1989). "Some Straw for the Bricks: A Basic Introduction to Theological Reflection." Contact **99**(2 (9)).

Pillow, W. (2003). "Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research." International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education **16**(2).

Pols Jeanette (2023) "Generative Hanging Out: Developing Engaged Practices for Health-Related Research" Medical Anthropology **42** (8).

Rodgers, G. (2004). "'hanging out' with forced migrants: methodological and ethical challenges." Forced Migration Review **21**: 2.

Rohr, R. (2016). The Divine Dance. London, SPCK.

Roland, D. and D. A. Wicks (2009). "A Conversational Model for Qualitative Research: A Case Study of Clergy and Religious Knowledge." Australian Academic & Research Libraries **40**(4): 252-265.

Romanyshyn, R. D. (2010). "The Wounded Researcher: Making a Place for Unconscious Dynamics in the Research Process." The Humanistic Psychologist **38**(29).

Sawe, J., et al. (2018). "The Impacts of Climate Change and Variability on Crop Farming Systems in Semi-Arid Central Tanzania: The Case of Manyoni District in Singida Region." African Journal of Environmental Science and Technology **12**(9): 11.

Schneider, H. K. (1966). "Turu Ecology: Habitat, Mode of Production, and Society." Africa **36**: 14.

Schneider, H. K. (1968). "People as Wealth in Turu Society." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology **24**(4): 20.

Schreiter, R. (1985). Constructing Local Theologies. Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Books.

Sen Nag, O. (2022). "Religious Beliefs in Tanzania." World Atlas Series. Retrieved 25 June, 2022, from <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/religious-beliefs-in-tanzania.html>.

Sendoro, E. E. (2000). Uamsho na Karama: Roho Mtakatifu Katika Mekanisa ya Kihistoria Tanzania. Moshi, Tanzania, New Millennium Books.

Sexton, C. (2019). "Method as contemplative enquiry: from holy listening to sacred reading and shared horizons." Practical Theology **12**(1): 10.

Slee, N. (2013). Feminist Qualitative Research as Spiritual Practice: Reflections on the Process of Doing Qualitative Research. The Faith Lives of Women Girls: Qualitative Perspectives. N. Slee, F. Porter and A. Phillips. Farnham, Ashgate.

Sommers, M. (2001). "Young, Male and Pentecostal in Dar es Salaam." Journal of Refugee Studies **14**(4).

Stinton, D. (2004). *Jesus of Africa: Voices of Contemporary African Christology*. Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Books.

Stroeken, K. (2017). *Witchcraft Simplex: Experiences of Globalised Pentecostalism in Central and Northwestern Tanzania*. Pentecostalism and Witchcraft: Spritual Warfare in African and Melanesia. K. Rio, M. MacCarthy and B. Blane. London, Palgrave Macmillan.

Stückelberger, C. (2009). "Dialogue Ethics: Ethical Criteria and Conditions for a Successful Dialogue Between Companies and Societal Actors." Journal of Business Ethics **84**: 10.

Swinton, J. and H. Mowat (2013). Practical Theology and Qualitative Research. London, SCM Press.

Synan, V. (2004). "The Pentecostal Movement in America and Beyond." Journal of Values of Beliefs **25**(2): 12.

Tarimu, C. S. and J. Wu (2020). "The first confirmed case of COVID-19 in Tanzania: recommendations based on lesson learned from China." Tropical Med Health **26**.

Todd, J. and G. A. Zurlo (2020). "Christian Traditions, World Christian Encyclopaedia On line - <https://www.gordonconwell.edu/blog/pentecostal-charismatic-christianity/> " World Christian Encyclopaedia On Line. Retrieved 10 February, 2023, from <https://www.gordonconwell.edu/blog/pentecostal-charismatic-christianity/>.

UNFPA (2021). "Gender Based Violence." Retrieved 16 June, 2022, from <https://tanzania.unfpa.org/en/topics/gender-based-violence-10>.

United Republic of Tanzania, M. o. A. (2015). *Tanzania Livelihood Baseline Survey Profile: Green Gram, Sunflower and Livestock Zone*. Dar es Salaam.

United Republic of Tanzania, N. B. o. S. (2013). 2012 Population and Housing Census. M. o. Finance. Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania: 46.

United Republic of Tanzania, N. B. o. S. (2023). 2022 Population and Housing Census - Administrative units Population Distribution and Age and Sex Distribution Reports. N. B. o. Statistics. Dar es Salaam, National Bureau of Statistics.

Volf, M. (1996). Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation. Nashville, Abingdon Press.

wa Thiong'o, N. (1986). Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature. Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers.

Walton, H. (2014). Writing Methods in Theological Reflection. London.

Waruta, D. W. (1991). Who is Jesus for Africans Today? Priest, Prophet, Potentate. Faces of Jesus in Africa. R. Schreiter. New York, Orbis Books.

Weber, S. (2022). Practical Theology Rooted in and from Africa: The Tide Is Turning. The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Theology and Qualitative Research. P. Ward and K. Tveitereid. London, John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Westerlund, D. (1980). "Christianity and socialism in Tanzania, 1967-1977." Journal of Religion in Africa/Religion en Afrique **11**(1): 26.

WFP (2021). World Food Programme: United Republic of Tanzania: Annual Country Report 2021: Country Strategic Plan 2017 - 2022. Annual Country Reports. W. F. Programme.

Wilkens, K. (2011). Holy Water and Evil Spirits: Religious Healing in East Africa. Berlin, LIT Verlag.

Woodhead, L. (2009). Christianity. Religions in the Modern World. L. Woodhead, H. Kawanami and C. Partridge. London, Routledge.

Wrogemann, H. (2016). Intercultural Hermeneutics. Downers Grove, IL, IVP Academic.

Zandt, M. (2011). The Situation of Christians in Sub-Saharan Africa. KAS International Reports. Berlin, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.