

*UAMSHO, UHURU NA UMOJA (REVIVAL, FREEDOM AND UNITY):*  
THE TRANSNATIONAL FAITH AND IDENTITY OF TANZANIAN CHRISTIANS  
NEGOTIATING DIASPORA LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

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By

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### INTEREST AND CONCERN

As soon as I first arrived in Tanzania in June of 1998, I began to personally witness and experience the influence of the East African Revival. As a guest in the homes of Christians in both rural and urban areas of Tanzania over the past seventeen years, I have seen how the East African Revival has awakened and inspired generations of Tanzanians. I have seen pastors begin every morning leading services at dawn for those who want to worship before going to work. I have seen pastors and laity visit those in need of prayer day by day, praying for the sick, grieving and overwhelmed in homes and hospitals. I have seen entire extended families gather for household Bible study and prayers before going to bed. I have seen students pray over their studies and over one another as they organize and lead prayer fellowships and worship services.

The East African Revival began flooding into Tanzania from neighboring countries approximately eighty years ago. In fact, because this revival entered what is now Tanzania in 1938 and quickly spread, hardly a Tanzanian alive today can remember a time when the people of Tanzania were not influenced by revival. Andrew Walls (2002, 46) calls the East African revival a “remarkable and essentially African phenomenon” that “stubbornly refuses to go away.” To this day, huge outdoor revival meetings still pack and overflow soccer stadiums in both the most rural and the most urban areas of Tanzania with crowds that are larger than ever. In the chapters that follow, I will share how Tanzanians themselves define and describe this enduring revival they call *uamsho* (awakening) and its effects.

## PROBLEM STATEMENT AND PURPOSE OF STUDY: HOW CAN TANZANIANS CARRY REVIVAL WITH THEM AS THEY LIVE ACROSS BORDERS TODAY?

During my eight years of full-time ministry in Tanzania (2000-2008), I occasionally heard stories of Tanzanians living in the United States. The vast majority of these stories involved young Tanzanians who had voluntarily moved to the United States in order to study. After completing degrees, they often faced difficult decisions regarding their futures. Their experiences, recounted by relatives in Tanzania who were both very proud and very concerned, ranged from very positive “success stories” to very negative tales of tragedy.

In 2009, a brief conversation with a fellow passenger on a flight from London to Dar es Salaam (Tanzania’s global city) helped me begin to understand how complex these issues surrounding migration are for Tanzanians today. As I spoke with this young Tanzanian, who had been living with older siblings in London for fourteen years, I discovered that he was returning to Tanzania for the first time since he had emigrated. When I simply asked him how he found life in London, he hesitated before responding, “It’s both good and bad.” When I asked him if he and his siblings were able to connect with other Tanzanians living in the United Kingdom, he looked at me almost dumbfounded and said, “Sure.” I persisted in showing my ignorance and asked him exactly how they were able to connect, assuming he would mention an African diaspora church. He answered, “There is a website.”

As I began listening to the stories of Tanzanian Christians living and worshiping in the United States today, I learned three things very quickly. First, Tanzanians are very honest about their experiences here, which are all “both good and bad.” Stories of hope

are mixed with stories of discouragement. Secondly, while they may not always extensively use or need “websites,” Tanzanian Christians place a high priority on staying connected and helping one another negotiate life in the United States. They connect and worship with fellow Tanzanians, with fellow African immigrants and with their American hosts. Finally, I learned Tanzanian Christians living here continually and intensely reflect on their faith and religious practices as they strive to live out an awakened faith in new contexts. Just as Tanzanian Christians, raised in revival, find their lives here in diaspora are “both good and bad,” they also find their faith and spiritual practices are “both similar to and different from” their experiences back in Tanzania.

#### MOTIVATION FOR RESEARCH: RE-DISCOVERING, PRESERVING AND SHARING REVIVAL

Personally, I can relate on some level to these joys and struggles. My parents were “born again” in a revival that swept across the United States in the 1970s. As a young child, I too was raised in revival. My earliest memories of church, prayer and Bible study are vivid and enduring. By the time I finished elementary school, however, this revival had faded and many churches began struggling to reach youth like myself who were encountering a rapidly changing world outside the walls of the church shining brightly on cable television.

Walls (2002, 65-67) helps us understand how even as revival recedes in one part of the world church, revival is always flourishing elsewhere in the world church. Christianity is not “in decline” globally but rather “Africa has quietly slipped into the place once occupied by Europe” in the world church (Walls 2002, 66). Mandryk (2010, 808:) reported that in 2010, the Christian population in Tanzania experienced 3.7%

annual growth, including 4.3% annual growth for “charismatics” and an “evangelical” population that grew from 9.2% of the population in 1990 to 17.9% of the population in 2010. In the same year, the Christian population in the United States grew by only .5% as the evangelical population grew by only .8% (Mandryk 2010, 862).

Today, the American church needs revival, “true revival with conviction of sin, repentance and an outpouring of the Holy Spirit” (Mandryk 2010, 864). These are the very things the East African Revival has called Tanzanians to experience for eight decades now. Thankfully, now more than ever, with advances in transportation and communication, those of us who can only remember “true revival” on a national scale, have unprecedented opportunities to pray with and learn from those who still experience it as part of their daily lives.

Part of my motivation for research was a concern that our brothers and sisters in Christ from Tanzania, a land of ongoing revival, who carry great potential to help us revive the church in the United States as our neighbors, may instead be overwhelmed by the growing secularism in America. Unfortunately, many I spoke with immediately confirmed my concern as legitimate. When I began asking how Tanzanians maintain spiritual growth in the United States, many of those I first interviewed sadly reported that it is so difficult to maintain this awakened faith in diaspora that many, including some pastors, lose their faith completely. This is a very sad and very real danger. As American Christians, and as their hosts, I feel we need to understand how some Tanzanians do, in fact, manage to maintain this revival faith in diaspora. Their perseverance and wisdom can inform and inspire the larger world church and the entire Body of Christ.

Christians from the majority world now often view Europe as the “prodigal continent” that has become dark, dead and secularized (Adogame 2013, 169). Similarly, I have found many in Tanzania now also view the United States as the “distant land” where the prodigal son went to “squander his wealth in wild living” (Luke 15:13). Just as many Americans have lost their Christian faith and zeal to growing secularism, so too have many Tanzanians who come to live here. America's “massive cultural and social influence makes it the world’s greatest force for good and its greatest purveyor of sin” (Mandryk 2010, 864). The Tanzanians I interviewed confirmed that America is seen as a place overflowing with great opportunity but also fraught with great peril. They understand that America is a place where many of Tanzania’s best, brightest and most faithful can experience either great success or great ruin.

Fortunately, many Tanzanian Christians who come to live in the United States do maintain their faith very well, however, and work very hard to help others do so. I am grateful that many of these spiritual survivors were willing to help me. All of those interviewed reflected critically on their own experiences in ways that could help others contemplating and preparing for emigration from Tanzania. They have also left oral histories of revival and migration that could benefit future generations of both American and Tanzanian Christians.

#### **SIGNIFICANCE OF AND NEED FOR THE STUDY: A SMALL, YET SIGNIFICANT IMMIGRANT MINORITY GROUP, OVERLOOKED BUT EASILY FOUND**

As studies on the African Christian diaspora have become increasingly common, Tanzanians are rarely mentioned. Tanzanians are late arrivers and a minority group making up only 1% of the black African immigrant population in the United States

consistently from 1980-2009 (Capps, McCabe, Fix 2011, 4). In 2008-2009, when 10,000 Tanzanians were admitted to the United States, 201,000 Nigerians, 110,000 Ghanaians and 68,000 Kenyans were admitted during the same period (Capps, McCabe, Fix 2011, 4). In 2010 alone, when 1, 042,625 immigrants were legally admitted to the United States, only 101, 355 of these immigrants were from nations in Africa. Only 1,850 of these African immigrants were from Tanzania (Capps, McCabe, Fix 2011, 9).

Geertz (2001, 221) reminds us, “In a splintered world, we must address the splinters.” With double immigrant minority status (as 1% of African immigrants who only make up approximately 10% of all immigrants legally admitted to the United States), Tanzanian Christians can appear (or disappear behind others) as tiny splinters in the diverse landscape of the African diaspora in the United States. As fellow members of the body of Christ, their unique voices are just as significant (I Cor. 12) as those from West Africa but these voices have yet to be heard. When we intentionally choose to look for Tanzanians, we can easily find them and learn from them.

As Nigerians, Ghanaians and others from West Africa living in the United States greatly outnumber Kenyans, Tanzanians and others from East Africa, it is not surprising that the majority of studies on African diaspora Christianity in the United States, all excellent and valuable, focus on West African immigrant churches: e.g. *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration, and the Transformation of the West* (Hanciles 2008), *Word Made Global: Stories of African Christianity in New York City* (Gornik 2011), *The African Christian Diaspora: New Currents and Emerging Trends in World Christianity* (Adogame 2013), *Scattered Africans Keep Coming: A Case Study of Diaspora Missiology on Ghanaian Diaspora and Congregations* (Wan and Edu-Bekoe

2013). Hanciles (2008, 345:357) notes, “For now the African immigrant church movement is dominated by West African pastors and congregations” as “African immigrant churches in the United States are overwhelmingly products of West African Pentecostalism.” I felt this research on the Tanzanian Christian diaspora was important to fill the gap in literature that has concentrated on the much larger West African Christian diaspora in the United States with its own specific and unique theologies, denominations and church plants.

Occasional, isolated studies on Swahili services in Europe and the United States exist, but in these studies the unique experiences of Tanzanians remain obscured by and indistinguishable from the diverse stories of their Swahili-speaking East African neighbors. For example, in another excellent collection of studies, *African Christian Presence in the West: New Immigrant Congregations and Transnational Networks in North America and Europe* (Ludwig and Asamoah-Gyadu 2011), Tanzanians are mentioned in only twelve pages of a 449-page book, specifically in three pages (157-159) of Allison Adrian’s chapter highlighting five African congregations in Minneapolis/St. Paul, one of which is a Swahili service founded by a Tanzanian. In her article, Tanzanian Elieshi Mungure (339-349) describes her pastoral ministry to Swahili-speaking immigrants in Minnesota but again the voices of Tanzanians are indistinguishable from those of fellow worshippers from Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Congo, who represent vastly different cultural contexts and vastly different levels of proficiency in the Swahili language.

United by the Swahili language, which has shaped a unique history and culture, Tanzanians have developed unique expressions of Christian faith but often remain nearly



invisible as a minority group in the larger landscape of the African Christian diaspora. The unique voices and experiences of Tanzanians are routinely obscured as they so often share the stage with fellow African immigrants.

I wanted to help fill this gap in literature by learning exactly how Tanzanians specifically carry this unique revival faith, which I have seen so clearly and consistently in Tanzania over the past seventeen years, with them as they come to the United States. I hoped to understand how Tanzanian Christians in the United States today live out their faith during every stage of the migration process as they develop complex identities and interact with their American hosts.

As demographic shifts and new diaspora communities create an “unprecedented opportunity to fulfill God’s redemptive mission,” Wan (2011, 309-316) calls for more case studies to “provide a holistic picture on diaspora.” I hope this case study on a small part of the Christian diaspora will contribute to the overall picture of how God is at work in and through the larger African Christian diaspora. As we listen to and understand the experiences and faith of Tanzanians living in the United States, we, as their American hosts, may learn new strategies for cooperative mission that help us all overcome the “mutual suspicion and ignorance” found by Adogame (2013, 207) to promote mutual enrichment.

I found many Tanzanian Christians in the United States negotiating these challenges that too often plague relations between African immigrant Christians and American Christians quite well. I wanted to share this wisdom from Tanzanians who have had both positive and negative experiences worshipping, praying and studying the

Bible together with Americans. I hope these experiences and lessons can help inform models of diaspora missiology based on transnational faith and mission together.

## METHODOLOGY: SPIRITUAL LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEWS AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

### THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

With an emphasis on spiritual life histories, I personally met with and interviewed 27 Christians (14 men and 13 women, including three married couples) born and raised in Tanzania who have now lived and worshipped in the United States for at least one year as first-generation Tanzanian immigrants. Seven of the twenty-seven people I interviewed are pastors (six men and one woman). I conducted these interviews in Alabama, Illinois, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Texas with Tanzanians currently living in each of these states as well as with others currently living in the states of Georgia, Minnesota and Mississippi. Some of those I interviewed had also previously lived in the states of Arkansas, Iowa, Missouri, New York and Pennsylvania. I met these contacts largely through the snowball technique. Tanzanian friends I had already met here in the United States introduced me to their friends and family. Approximately one-quarter of those I interviewed followed family members to the United States while most of the rest joined or at were at least in contact with Tanzanian friends already living here.

By studying Tanzanians alone, who are all fluent in their national language of Swahili regardless of region or language group, language differences were never a problem among the Tanzanians in this study. Swahili language has greatly helped to unite all Tanzanians. People from every region and language group of Tanzania communicate freely and worship together in the national language of Swahili without any language

group barriers or divisions. In contrast with many African immigrant groups, Tanzanians in the United States never worship in local languages and always happily provide English translation to accommodate the non-Swahili speaking guests they invite to worship with them.

I conducted most of these interviews in churches before and after services and events as I joined Tanzanians in Bible study, prayer and worship in their contexts. During research, I visited nine different congregations in six different states worshipping in more than a dozen services regularly attended by Tanzanians living in the United States. As both worshiper and participant observer, I asked those I interviewed to explain in their own words what these worship services and congregations meant to them as they shared their own stories. Tanzanians are extremely gracious hosts and enjoy sharing meals with guests. Several of those I interviewed invited me into their homes and many hours of interviews were conducted at the family table over meals.

Even though Tanzanians represent a very small minority (only 1%) of the total African diaspora in the United States, they are easily found if one cares to look for them. Tanzanians in the United States, especially worshipping Christians, make great efforts to stay extremely well connected in diaspora. This was probably the most pleasant surprise in all of my research and a quite significant fact in and of itself. Minority groups may remain seemingly invisible, not because they are hiding, but because we have never really bothered to look for them.

Throughout research, I never specifically asked anyone's age but I was able to approximate as people shared dates regarding family life and education. Using my best guesses, I was able to interview six people in their twenties, nine people in their thirties,

three people in their forties, two people in their fifties and seven people in their sixties. While I only interviewed one generation of any one family, limiting my research to first-generation immigrants, seven people I interviewed were definitely old enough to be the grandparents of six of the youngest people I interviewed. Interviewing people from all three generations of Tanzanian adults living in the United States allowed me to at least begin reflecting on generational comparisons.

Compared with the West African diaspora, Tanzanians have a shorter history of living in the United States. This helps to explain their minority status in the African diaspora. My sample reflected this. Nineteen of the twenty-seven people I interviewed arrived in the United States in 2000 or later. Only three people I interviewed had arrived before 1990, two in 1982 and the other in 1989. One arrived in each of the years 1991, 1993, 1996 and 1997 while two arrived in 1999. The year 2000 marked a turning point after which Tanzanian immigration to the United States increased suddenly. Those who arrived before 2000 all noted how few Tanzanians there were here when they arrived compared with the last fifteen years. Three of the people I interviewed arrived in 2000, one arrived in 2001 while two arrived in each of the years 2003, 2007 and 2009. Five arrived in 2010, three arrived in 2012 and one arrived in 2013.

Stressing this late and new arrivers status of Tanzania immigrants, one of the elder men I interviewed explained, “Any Tanzanian over the age of thirty living here was born in Tanzania.” I found this to be true as the oldest second-generation Tanzanians I encountered in every location were all university students. This indicates university-age students currently form a unique group among adults, as there are both American-born and Tanzanian-born members of the Tanzanian diaspora in this age group alone. This

presents interesting dynamics and opportunities for comparison outside the scope of this study, which I hope Tanzanians themselves will explore.

I conducted all 27 interviews in person. I began by establishing exactly where each person had lived throughout his or her life beginning with regions of Tanzania where each had actually resided. Without any special effort I was able to interview Tanzanians who had resided in 18 of Tanzania's 26 pre-2012 regions, (four new regions were added in 2012 after the vast majority of the people I interviewed had already emigrated) including: Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Iringa, Kagera, Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, Lindi, Manyara, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mtwara, Mwanza, Pwani, Ruvuma, Shinyanga, Tabora, Tanga.

The majority had been raised in Kilimanjaro, Kagera and Mbeya, three regions specifically known for their histories of Christian mission schools and education (Nyerere 1967, 179). Others named the global city of Dar es Salaam as home even though it is not their ancestral homeland, citing church membership, familiarity and long-term residency. Dar es Salaam is a rapidly growing global city of over 4.3 million people where roughly one in eleven or so of Tanzanian's 49.6 million people currently live. Almost every single person I interviewed had lived for at least some time in "Dar," often with relatives. Living for some time in Dar is almost assumed today. One noted, "I don't think I know anyone who doesn't have relatives living in Dar." While many still have very close ties to ancestral homelands, more and more Tanzanians are actually calling the global city of Dar "home" today.

Tanzania has always been a linguistically diverse land with 127 distinct language groups (Mandryk 2010, 807). This was reflected in my sample. The 27 Tanzanians I

interviewed represented at least 20 different language groups including: Bena, Bondei, Chagga, Hangaza, Ha, Haya, Hehe, Kaguru, Luo, Makonde, Ndali, Nyakusa, Nyambo, Nyamwezi, Nyasa, Nyiha, Pare, Safwa, Shambaa, Sukuma. Several noted their parents were from different language groups. Others explained a parent or grandparent was actually from a language group on one of Tanzania's border regions with members residing in bordering nations of East Africa as well (e.g. Luo).

Many of those I interviewed had also resided outside of Tanzania in other nations before coming to the United States including: Botswana, Cameroon, Germany, Japan, Kenya, Malawi, Turkey, Uganda, and Zambia. This was most often as the result of a parent's work or studies or their own personal opportunities for work or studies. Capps, McCabe, Fix (2011, 13) report 24% of Tanzanian immigrants to the United States have earned advanced degrees compared with only 10% of the native-born population here. The Tanzanians I interviewed were indeed very well educated and committed to academics and continued learning. In line with the Migration Policy Institutes statistics, I found that approximately one quarter of those I interviewed have already earned advanced degrees while others are in the process of pursuing advanced degrees in the United States. Many had earned their first degree before leaving Tanzania to pursue advanced degrees here. Others have just arrived to attend university here after excelling in high school in Tanzania. Almost every one of them, in fact, came to the United States primarily to study and earn specific degrees.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEWS IN RESEARCH ON  
MIGRATION AND TRANSNATIONAL LIVES

After establishing where those I interviewed had actually resided throughout their lives, I used my research questions as a general guide to conduct life history interviews. I asked basic open-ended questions in order to understand how Tanzanians have grown in faith throughout their lives and how they have travelled with this faith.

Yow (2005, 14) believes, "There is no better way to glean information on how the subject sees and interprets her experience than to ask in the context of the life review." The in-depth interview "offers the benefit of seeing in its full complexity the world of another" and gives us "some understanding of the process by which we got to be the way we are" (Yow 2005, 23). Emphasizing the importance of life histories for research on migration, Brettel (2003, 25) notes a "handful of personal narratives can teach us a good deal about pattern, structure, culture, and the role of the individual in the migration process." She finds that through these narratives of migration, migrants are able to "weave their experiences into a coherent whole, document both their successes and their failures...drawing conclusions from these that help explain the life choices they have made" so that life histories help us "understand how people make sense of their world" (Brettel 2005, 23).

I went over the informed consent form with each one I interviewed, allowing each the opportunity to ask questions. I explained my three main interests involved understanding how they grew in faith in Tanzania, how they decided to move to the United States, and how they grow in faith as they live and worship in the United States. The overwhelming majority of those I interviewed were very comfortable answering these basic questions. I emphasized their participation was entirely voluntary. Even with consent, they did not need to answer every question. I asked them to simply share as

much as they were comfortable sharing. Most were very eager to share their stories, and reflected deeply as they did. Their participation often supported the claim, “We want to make sense of our lives, and one way to do this is by explaining it to others” (Yow 2005, 227).

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS: SPIRITUAL LIFE BEFORE MIGRATION, AFTER MIGRATION AND TOGETHER WITH HOSTS

As I listened, I sought answers to my first set of research questions: “How do stories that Tanzanian Christians hear before migration create a narrative or dream of a successful, ideal migration experience in light of Christian faith? How do those preparing to migrate construct a ‘cognitive model’ (Brettel 2003,62) regarding how a Tanzanian Christian migrant should ‘think and behave?’” As people began to share how they grew in faith in Tanzania and how they made the decision to move to the United States, these answers began to emerge. I will discuss and analyze these findings in Chapter 4.

My second set of research questions included, “How do descriptions of prayer, Bible study and witness in the United States reflect the reinforcement of local Tanzanian Christian identities and/or the creation of new global and transnational Christian identities?” As people shared how they have grown in faith throughout their lives both before and after migration, these answers also began to emerge. I will discuss and analyze these findings in Chapters 5 and 6.

My final set of research questions included, “Which factors determine if, how, why, when and where Tanzanian Christians pray, study the Bible and witness together with their American Christian neighbors?” and “How do Tanzanians understand and



reflect on the realities of mutual enrichment and/or ‘mutual suspicion and ignorance’ in their interactions with American Christians?” I will discuss and analyze these findings in Chapter 7.

Open-ended questions “allow interviewees to volunteer their own accounts, to speculate on matters and to have enough time to include all the material they find relevant to the subject” (Ritchie 2003, 92). As I began interviewing, I remembered the importance of using open-ended questions and allowing people time to completely finish their own accounts before asking specific follow-up questions. I found this very helpful. Some I interviewed even remarked, “I am doing all the talking. Do you need to ask another question now?” I would reassure them that all of the information they had shared would be extremely helpful and that I wanted to hear their complete stories before I continued asking follow-up questions. This always seemed to reassure them and help them understand how important their stories and thoughts actually are. Everyone I interviewed was very willing to answer my follow-up questions after they finished sharing their stories. I found open-ended questions empower interviewees by “encouraging them to relate and to interpret their own stories” in a way that “shifts the balance of power” back to the interviewee (Ritchie 1992, 93).

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: TESTING ADOGAME’S USE OF TRANSNATIONAL THEORY TO FOCUS ON “RELIGIOUS TRANSNATIONALISM FROM BELOW”

In order to analyze the data from these twenty-seven life history interviews with Tanzanian Christians, I used transnational theory to focus on how their beliefs, practices and initiatives in the United States reflect “religious transnationalism from below” as

described by Adogame (2013, 15-16). In his research on Nigerian and Ghanaian Christians from West Africa living in the United Kingdom, Germany and the United States since 1995, Adogame (2013, 15-16) cites Hagan and Ebaugh (2003) as he explores how, "Migrants use religion in six stages of the migration process: decision-making; preparing for the trip; the journey; the arrival; the role of the ethnic church and immigrant settlement and development of transnational linkages." Kalu 2007 (2008, 282) notes, African immigrant Christianity often "serves as a balm in the entire process."

Adogame (2013, 161) uses transnational theory to focus on what he called, "religious transnationalism from below" exploring how the networks and connections formed through "transnational initiatives from below...may help to generate, strengthen or stultify social, cultural and religious capital." He traces links between specific African congregations in diaspora with other Christian groups as well as with non-African groups and non-religious groups in ways that "cultivate religious internationalism" (Adogame 2013, 162). Adogame (2013, 147) analyzes these "reverse mission dynamics" as "an evolving dimension of the transnational process."

Adogame builds on the work of Levitt (2001, 4), who found in this "era of heightened globalization, the development of transnational lifestyles may become not the exception but the rule." Levitt (2001) asks questions that helped me understand the unique experiences of Tanzanians: How and why do those living in diaspora keep "their feet in both worlds"? How do they send and receive "social remittances"? How do both host and guest change as a result of this interaction? These questions helped me to compare and contrast my findings with those of Adogame.

Transnational identities are complex and dynamic. Adogame (2013, 100) finds an "ambivalent sense of hope...self rediscovery, empowerment, and socioeconomic mobility is juxtaposed with a profound feeling of helplessness, frustration, and uncertainty." As a result, immigrants often "reproduce beliefs, re-create socio-religious identities, and re-enact rituals" for survival in diaspora. Testing these findings of Adogame in his seminal studies on West African Christians in diaspora, I began to understand how Tanzanian Christians in the United States use religion in all stages of the migration process, develop fluid, transnational identities and experience both hope and hopelessness.

Almost every Tanzanian I interviewed reported returning to Tanzania as often as possible. Roughly half of them reported returning for short visits to Tanzania almost every year. By phone and through social media, they also communicate with Tanzanians living both in Tanzania and in diaspora every day as they live among and work alongside American neighbors. They truly live transnational lives with one foot in the United States and one foot still in Tanzania. They often struggle to negotiate this stance and keep their balance.

Through this research, I was able to test transnational theory and Adogame's focus on "religious transnationalism from below." I was able to compare my findings with Adogame's as well as those of Asamoah-Gyadu, Hanciles, Wan and Edu-Bekeo, and Gornik. This helped me understand how Tanzanian Christians living and worshipping in the United States negotiate living with one foot in Tanzania and one foot in the United States culturally, socially and spiritually in unique ways. This allowed me to begin understanding how Tanzanians develop and reflect upon complex and unique transnational identities.

Tanzanian Christians in diaspora have moved from a culture marked by ongoing Christian revival, cooperation and growth to an American culture marked by Christian stagnation, polarization and confusion. I hoped to learn how Tanzanian Christians, like those I have worshiped with over the past seventeen years in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT), travel with their faith and how they are able to maintain this unique faith throughout the migration process and immigrant experience.

While I did not specifically seek out Lutherans or Lutheran congregations during my research in the United States, I easily found Tanzanians from Lutheran backgrounds living in every state I conducted interviews. In Tanzania, I have seen how Christians from the ELCT are largely free to worship in both Lutheran and Pentecostal churches alternately and simultaneously as participants in ongoing revival. In fact, at least 13 of the 27 Tanzanians I interviewed mentioned that they had worshipped in both Lutheran and Pentecostal churches in Tanzania. I have seen how the historically inter-denominational East African Revival has allowed Tanzanian Christians freedom to be both Lutheran and Pentecostal simultaneously in spite of tensions in the past.

At least twice every year since 1998, I have passed through Amsterdam's thoroughly modern, thoroughly European, Schiphol International Airport on my way to and from Tanzania. In 2014, over 426,930 people flew from Amsterdam to Nairobi making this global flow the airport's seventh busiest intercontinental route. Inside the halls of this global hub, I have seen African families in transit huddled together wearing winter coats, hats and gloves completely uncomfortable and miserable in the ultra-efficient European climate control. Adogame (2013, 100) and others find African migrants carry their spirituality and "theologies" with them like "hand baggage" across

borders. I wonder if African Christians actually “wear” their spirituality more like warm winter clothes that keep them safe and comfortable in “spiritually cold” climates of Europe and North America. I sought to understand how Tanzanian Christians “feel” and describe this revival spirituality and faith that they travel with and hold on to tightly living in diaspora even as they encounter, negotiate and embrace new global ideas and transnational practices at the same time.

## STRUCTURE AND OUTLINE

Before I begin looking in depth at the findings from twenty-seven life history interviews in Chapter 4, I will use the next two chapters to describe the interwoven spiritual, historical, political contexts of the Tanzanian culture in which the people I interviewed were born and raised. In Chapter 2, I will explain the history and enduring influence of the East African Revival that entered Tanzania in 1938, before almost everyone I interviewed was born. It has greatly shaped and influenced, and continues to greatly influence, Tanzanian culture and society and, in turn, every single person I interviewed. In Chapter 3, I will briefly explain how Tanzania gained independence in 1961 and became a unified nation in 1964. This is important as many of the people I interviewed were born in the decades just before and after independence and were raised in a new nation greatly influenced by the ideas and character of the first president, Julius Nyerere. At the same time, I will briefly describe the intertwined histories of urbanization and globalization, particularly in the global city of Dar es Salaam, which preceded and helped to set the stage for nationhood in Tanzania.

All of these influences (revival, independence/nationhood, urbanization/globalization) greatly affected the history of emigration from Tanzania and

are important for understanding how, when and why Tanzanians have formed a very small, yet equally significant portion of the African Christian diaspora in the United States. In Chapter 5, I will briefly look at the word “diaspora” in order to introduce how Tanzanians themselves understand and use this word and concept as they live here and connect with one another in the United States.

After describing the social, historical, political and spiritual contexts that influenced those I interviewed, I will borrow the titles of three influential books of speeches and essays by President Nyerere as titles for Chapters 4 -7 that discuss and analyze the findings of the three sets of research questions. Nyerere dedicated all three of these books, *Freedom and Unity* (1966), *Freedom and Socialism* (1968) and *Freedom and Development* (1973), “TO THE PEOPLE”.

In my interviews, freedom emerged quickly as, by far, the most consistent, as well as the most complex, theme throughout all the interviews. Almost everyone I interviewed used the word “freedom” at least once, but in quite diverse ways. Throughout every chapter I will discuss and analyze the ways in which Tanzanian Christians view the complex blessings (good/hope) and curses (bad/hopelessness) of “freedom” in a globalized world.

In Chapter 4, I will share the findings from the interviews regarding the first set of research questions intended to understand how Tanzanian Christians think about and plan for the ideal migration experience in light of their faith. Borrowing Nyerere’s title, “Freedom and Development” seemed appropriate for this chapter as I quickly learned that so much of the difficult decision to emigrate from Tanzania involves the desire for freedom to develop one’s God-given gifts and talents. Tanzanian Christians, like most

migrants, grapple with ideas about how to balance self-actualization and personal development with the economic, professional, social and spiritual development of extended family, clan and nation. Along with the faith of the East African Revival, the ideas of Nyerere, a Catholic believer, whom Tanzanians affectionately refer to as *Mwalimu* (Teacher), have greatly influenced Tanzanians' views regarding ideal ways to "think and behave" and, more specifically, how to think about and pursue "development" both at home and abroad.

In Chapters 5-6, I borrow Nyerere's title, "Freedom and Unity" as a way to frame the analysis of the answers to the second set of research questions. Through these questions I sought to understand if and how descriptions of prayer, Bible study and witness in the United States reflect the reinforcement of local Tanzanian Christian identities as well as the creation of new global and transnational Christian identities. Unity, a value passed down by the ancestors, has been absolutely central to the culture of Tanzania. Even long before President Nyerere called Tanzanians to cooperate as one people with one language (Swahili) to build a new independent and unified nation, every Tanzanian had already been taught one of the most well-known Swahili proverbs of all: *umoja ni nguvu* (unity is strength) (Healey 2009, 55 in Njogu, Ngeta, Wanjau). In accordance with this traditional belief in the importance of unity, the East African Revival also stressed Christian unity as a revival that allowed and often encouraged the "born again" to remain within their traditional denominations and work for revival without creating unnecessary divisions. From childhood, Tanzanians have all been taught the importance of unity and community. Those who now live and worship in the United

States, the “land of the free,” bring these values and skills promoting unity and community with them.

In Chapter 7, I borrow Nyerere’s title “Freedom and (African) Socialism” to frame the analysis of the answers to the final set of research questions. I hoped to understand which factors determine if, how, why, when and where Tanzanian Christians pray, study the Bible and witness together in community with their American Christian neighbors. In doing so, I hoped to understand how Tanzanian Christians specifically understand and reflect on both the potential for mutual enrichment as well as the challenges of “mutual suspicion and ignorance” (found and documented by Adogame (2013, 27), Wan and Edu-Bekoe (2013, 183) and others studying the West African Christian diaspora) in their own interactions with Americans both inside and outside of church. Almost every Tanzanian I interviewed stressed that religion and spirituality are “part and parcel” of life in Tanzania. Negotiating life in an increasingly secular land where many, including many claiming to be Christians, seem to “no longer fear God” and no longer believe in spiritual power or spiritual warfare, poses great challenges.

In Chapter 8, the conclusion, I summarize my findings and analyses in light of my original research questions. Finally, I make recommendations for Tanzanian Christians and for my fellow American Christians regarding how these findings can help us move forward in ways that promote mutual enrichment and help us overcome “mutual suspicion and ignorance.” Because the scope of this research is limited, I also make suggestions for further research that may help others act on these recommendations.

Tanzanians themselves are already thinking about these next steps. I am grateful that many of those I interviewed shared great ideas regarding needs for further research



outside the scope of this dissertation. I explained to them that it is my hope and prayer that this dissertation will only be a beginning. I hope and pray that Tanzanians living both in Tanzania and here in the United States will be inspired and encouraged to conduct their own further research and write their own dissertations that may help all Christians striving to live revival faith in an increasingly globalized world. Hopefully, this small study can inspire others to research how Christians continue to carry awakenings and revivals across borders, from new heartlands of the world church to old ones and back again.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE EAST AFRICAN REVIVAL AND THE UNIQUE SPIRITUAL CONTEXT OF THE PEOPLE OF TANZANIA

#### INTRODUCTION

Before presenting and analyzing the data shared by and collected from the twenty-seven Tanzanians interviewed for this research, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the complex and intertwining spiritual, historical and political contexts of the Tanzanian culture in which these people were all born and raised. The Tanzanians I interviewed mentioned the spiritual context of Tanzania (in sharp contrast with the one they encounter in America) so often and with such conviction that I have decided to devote an entire chapter to this unique spiritual *mazingira* (environment, surroundings, context) which includes the ongoing practices and influence of traditional African religion as well as those of ongoing Christian revival.

The East African Revival entered Tanzania in 1938, before almost everyone I interviewed had been born. The recurring waves of revival in this evangelical “awakening” have greatly influenced and continue to greatly influence, every single person I interviewed. In just eight decades, the majority of people in Tanzania (54.07%)(Mandryk 2010, 808) have shifted from trusting primarily in their ancestors as mediators of the power of life to trusting in the power of Christ as the source and sustainer of the power of life. Sahlberg (1986, 179) documents how in just nine years from 1967 to 1976, Tanzanians identifying with traditional religion fell from 37% (a

majority at the time) to 28% while those claiming Christian faith rose from 32% to 45% (overtaking the majority) during the same period. Tanzanian Christians continue to write their own histories of this radical change.

Tanzania provides a unique spiritual context in which the revival has had a major influence across all denominations without causing major independent or separatist movements within the church. In 1968, Barrett (1968, 30) noted, “In contrast to its neighbors Kenya and Uganda, Tanzania has never had large-scale independent church movements.” In 1986, Sahlberg (1986, 147) also remarked, “As a whole, the African independent churches have been astonishingly few in Tanzania and most of those which have appeared have originated from neighboring countries.” Recently, Mandryk (2010, 806) provided statistics to document this unique lack of independent churches in Tanzania where 27% of Christians are Catholic, 17% Protestant, 7% Anglican and only 2% Independent. This is in stark contrast with neighbor Kenya where 24% of Christians are Independent as well as with Ghana and Nigeria with 22% and 15% respectively. In Tanzania, the revival continues largely within denominations, maintaining its evangelical revival roots while adopting and appropriating the new passion and power of charismatic/Pentecostalism at the same time.

In this chapter, I will begin by sharing how Tanzanian Christians describe the traditional religion of their ancestors and its ongoing influence today. Then I will share how Tanzanians describe the history of the East African Revival and its ongoing influence in Tanzania. This chronological history will end with an explanation of how this revival is, in fact, an evangelical awakening. This background will provide a context to understand how many Tanzanian Christians in diaspora seek, first and foremost, the

freedom to express this revival faith of their home context and why they see this faith as absolutely necessary to negotiate the worldly freedoms of globalization and its rapidly changing contexts.

#### THE TRADITIONAL SPIRITUAL CONTEXT OF THE PEOPLES OF TANZANIA

Tanzanian parish priest Laurenti Magesa is one of Africa's best-known Catholic theologians and scholars. Magesa has written extensively on the traditional religious background and environment of the people of Tanzania. Building on the work of Kenyan pioneer theologian, John Mbiti and fellow Tanzanian Catholic scholar Charles Nyamiti, Magesa (1997, 16) notes most African scholars "studying African religion from the inside" now agree "African religion is one in its essence." While its diversity and "varieties cannot be denied" there is a "basic worldview which fundamentally is everywhere the same." Diverse practices of African religion share a "sameness of spirit and intention" (Magesa 2014, 4).

The Tanzanians I interviewed expressed this as well. They understand and identify greatly with testimonies of Christians from other nations in East Africa as well as other parts of Africa, like Nigeria. They watch movies and televangelists from Nigeria to South Africa and recognize the familiar stories regarding the ancestors and the realities, activities and powers of the *ulimwengu wa roho* (spirit world).

While the spiritual environment of Tanzanian culture is similar to spiritual contexts elsewhere in Africa in many ways, Tanzanians are also aware that each people group, clan and family has its own unique activities and traits that call for their understanding and awareness as they seek to follow Christ. Addressing these unique spiritual contexts, Christopher Mwakasege (2014) has recently published a book, *Toba ya*

*Kujinasua na Madhara ya Utoaji Sadaka kwa Miungu Mingine* (Repentance to Free Oneself from the Trap/Harm of Offering Sacrifices to Other Gods) specifically to help Tanzanian Christians pray as they live among family, friends and business partners who may be following traditional religions and offering sacrifices to ancestors and other gods in ways that may affect them. He compares various family situations to those of families in the Bible and recommends prayers based on Scriptures. The Scriptural references are countless and Tanzanians I interviewed found this book and Mwakasege's teaching on the topic very helpful.

Everyone I interviewed respected how much time Mwakasege spends in prayer and in the study of God's Word as he seeks to help fellow Tanzanians pray through these issues. Even as they live in the United States, Tanzanians are aware that each extended family has its own dynamics and that the spiritual activities of family members as well as those of friends and business partners back in Tanzania may still potentially affect them.

Most of those I interviewed would also quickly note that there is much that is good and helpful in the wisdom and truth of African religion as passed down to them from their ancestors. Following pioneers like Mbiti, Magesa (1997, 34) has made great efforts to document the positive and healthy aspects of traditional African religion. He finds this appreciation important for the "sake of the dignity and survival" of all Africans as a "distinctive and psycho-religiously healthy people." He warns Africans to neither disregard nor hide African religious beliefs and practices.

Magesa (1997, 114) explains Africans are greatly concerned with the "mystique of life" and seek "abundant life" so that "there is no other purpose to life but fostering life." All rituals through the cycles of life are meant to foster life and to connect human

beings with all of the living forces of creation in the spirit world: God, the ancestors and the spirits. All the vital forces of life work together in harmony to create balance in the world so that human beings may experience abundant life (Magesa 1997, 114).

Those who “understand God as powerful...relate to each other (and the world) in commensurate ways” (Okesson 2012, xxiii). Traditionally, power in the “dynamic, living, powerful” African universe is “ultimately from God” but mediated through physical objects and spiritual beings (Mbiti 1989, 197). Africans are constantly aware of “the power of God and /or the ancestors” and their dependence on them (Magesa 1997, 195-196).

When life and harmony are “threatened or weakened,” Africans pray for the restoration of “wholeness and balance in life.” They ask God and the ancestors for help to protect them from all forces that are “anti-life” (Magesa 1997, 195). Against the promotion of life, Africans are constantly aware of sorcery, “the very incarnation of evil in the world” that distorts and upsets the balance of the universe through human relationships (Magesa 1997, 287). As a result, it is “incumbent on every person to protect herself or himself against it or to counteract it when need be” to preserve life.

Traditionally, Africans use divination to help them discover the “causes and reasons of calamity.” The ability to name these anti-life forces gives them power to eliminate and neutralize them and thereby restore humanity, life and good relations with other people, the ancestors, the spirits and God (Magesa 1997, 243). In his research and ministry as parish priest, Magesa (2004, 55-56) finds even some devout Christians in Tanzania find it difficult to resist the temptation to consult traditional diviners out of

desperation in times of great distress. In Tanzania, desperation combined with great pressure from family and community can be overwhelming to some.

Across African cultures and languages, Africans understand the concept of *Ubuntu*, full and perfect humanity, as the goal of life. *Ubuntu* always requires self-giving, cooperation and communication for harmonious living (Magesa 2013, 13). In African community, “everyone is welcome” so that “gatecrashing does not exist” (Magesa 2013, 157). In the end, *Ubuntu* always resembles Christ's love and compassion for all, especially the marginalized, as seen in Matthew 25:31-46. The wisdom of African religion regarding the need to foster and promote abundant life for all can find its fullness in Christ. This Christian *Ubuntu* “extended to all humanity as the new clan” is a great force that can promote “peace and stability” in the world (Magesa 2013, 113).

In conclusion, Magesa (2013, 195) reminds us “no type of spirituality can endure without firm roots.” The ultimate goal of African religion, the good life of full, perfect humanity greatly resembles the “abundant life” promised by Christ in John 10:10. Finally, Africans believe spirits are “part and parcel the cosmos” that humans must always acknowledge by welcoming the good and driving away the bad. This spiritual awareness cannot be “condemned wholesale by Christian theology.” This belief in spirits and the power of God “acting mysteriously in the world” is evident throughout the Bible. African spirituality can actually “inspire Christian theology and pastoral approaches” as believers seek to understand and embrace the guidance and work of the Holy Spirit in new ways (Magesa 2013, 197).

The Tanzanians I interviewed would applaud Magesa’s appreciation of all that is good in the wisdom of the ancestors and in traditional African spirituality. They would

agree with Magesa (2013, 197) that traditional African spirituality and African Christianity share the same goal in the abundant life of John 10:10. At the same time, almost all of them would also strongly agree with Mwakasege that Tanzanian Christians should have nothing to do with divination (to identify and neutralize anti-life forces) or sorcery (to cause harm on others), or with traditional ceremonies offering sacrifices to the ancestors (to seek blessing and protection).

Magesa (2013, 196) emphasizes the need for “patient dialogue over forced conversion.” While many of those saved in revival would appreciate this emphasis on peace and patience, especially in their relationships with Muslims, they also feel compelled to share their faith and conversion experiences with family and friends with great passion. Many explained how family and friends persistently and passionately encouraged them to convert and seek abundant life in Christ. Many love to share these testimonies of their own dramatic conversions and the “evangelists” who were both patient and passionate in their efforts to share the love and life of Christ with them.

In 1900, there were only 10 million Christians in Africa. Only a century later, in 2000, there were 400 million (Shaw 2010, 11). Many witnessed Africa “becoming a Christian continent” (Sundkler 1974, 221). This number continues to grow as roughly half of the continent professes faith in Christ making Africa arguably the world’s most Christian continent today. Global revivals, such as the East African Revival have been “at the heart of the global resurgence of Christianity” (Shaw 2010, 12). People all around the globe today continue to live out the faith they see in the book of Acts.

In this wider spiritual context, Christianity in East Africa has spread very rapidly in a very short time. The East African “*Balokole*” (a Luganda word meaning ‘the saved



people’) Revival lit a fuse that would lead to the explosive growth of Christianity in Tanzania. Tanzanian Christians, along with Western scholars, continue to describe and analyze this dramatic shift throughout much of Africa in the past century from trust in the power of the ancestors as spiritual mediators to trust in the power of Christ alone over life and death.

Kevin Ward is a leading scholar on the East African Revival. He notes that it began as a “movement within African Protestantism in the late 1920s and early 1930s” and continues to strongly influence Christianity in East Africa today (Ward 2010, 3). This revival often manifests “classic traits” of American Evangelical Revivalism (“sin and repentance, the cross, the baptism of the Spirit, sanctification and the quest for holiness”). While the works of Charles Finney and Keswick holiness inspired early evangelists, the unique passion and faith of these pioneer African leaders ensured that the revival was also “distinctively African” from the beginning (Ward 2010, 5; Kalu 2014, 150). Noll (2000, 186-187) describes the East African Revival as “a distinctly African chapter” in the history of the Christian church when “Christianity assumed an African shape” in East Africa as a “strange mix of the local and the global” to outsiders, “all made sense” to insiders. Sundkler (1980, 115), a witness and participant in this “African revival movement” noted, “everything about it was genuinely African.”

Even where the revival has been “overshadowed by Pentecostalism” as the newest “dynamic force of revitalization” the East African’s Revival’s “legacy remains fundamental to the language and culture of evangelicalism in East Africa as a whole” (Ward et al. 2013, 9). Bebbington identified four main pillars of evangelicalism (conversion, Bible, cross and activism) still present in global evangelicalism today (Noll

2014, 20). All four of these pillars have been evident in the East African Revival from the beginning.

Shaw (2010) notes how the East African Revival began during a time of simultaneous global awakenings from Azusa Street to Pyongyang. Oliver (1952, 234) reports, “In East Africa the numerical growth of Christianity between 1914 and 1944 was phenomenal. By 1938, Christians were about 8 per cent of the population of Kenya, 10 per cent in Tanganyika and 25 per cent in Uganda.” Oliver (1952, 236) reports that in Tanganyika “the Lutheran Churches of the German societies increased, in spite of two serious interruptions in European missionary work from about 20,000 in 1914 to 92,000 in 1938 and to 150,000 in 1949.” Oliver (1952, 291) concludes by emphasizing “during the thirty-five years from 1914 to 1949, while the missions have been declining, or at least ceasing to expand, the membership of the Church has increased five-fold.” Oliver describes and documents revival without naming it. Iliffe (1979, 543) also seems puzzled by “striking” church growth noting, “This post-war expansion was a continental phenomenon whose causes are little understood.” Iliffe (1979, 544) does, however, credit the hard work and “enthusiasm” of the local volunteer lay evangelists of the “expanding Revival movement.” Young African pastors and leaders took responsibility immediately and churches grew and flourished during the absence of missionaries (Sokile 2011, 70-71; Iliffe 1979, 257).

During the interwar years of the 1920s and 1930s, as Western efforts at evangelism were suffering from “debilitating malaise” and “churchly enemia,” the younger churches of Asia and Africa experienced “surge after surge of spiritual power, issuing in revival of true believers, restoration a backsliders...and the awakening of

masses” marked by “healthy indigenous evangelism” (Orr 1975, 158). During this very period, the interwar years, in the early 1930s, the East African Revival broke out from humble beginnings.

This “most outstanding far-reaching and long-lasting revival-awakening began in a newly opened mission field in one of the remotest countries of the African continent” the twin kingdoms of Rwanda-Burundi (Orr 1975, 158). The Anglican Ruanda Mission hospital at Gahini was a remote outpost but also a bastion of conservative evangelicalism where British missionary Joe Church, who had attended a Keswick convention in 1921, stressed the holiness of the British Keswick movement (Sahlberg 1986, 121). At this time, many Ugandan Christians in the Native Anglican Church of Uganda were lamenting the loss of the evangelical zeal shown by their forefathers as younger generations seemed compromised by colonial privilege and modernity (Ward 2010, 3). In 1936, revival leader Blasio Kigozi called Ugandan Christians to *Zukuka!* (“Awake!”) from spiritual slumber (Olwa 2013, 63).

Those who were awakened and “on fire” with evangelistic zeal spread this revival quickly across borders and denominations. African leaders in neighboring Tanganyika (the name of Tanzania before union with Zanzibar in 1964) were “revived” in 1937 (Orr 1975, 165). In his research, Tanzanian Lutheran Bishop Elinaza Sendoro (2000, 15) concludes that most can agree the East African Revival entered the Bukoba region of Tanganyika from Rwanda and Uganda sometime in the 1930s with 1938 accepted as the best guess.

In 1940, Tanganyikan representatives attended a conference at the Anglican Church of Namirembe in Kampala, Uganda where they heard the testimonies of

revival from Uganda, Kenya and Rwanda. They returned to Tanganyika and spread the flames of revival starting in the Katoke district of the urban district of Bukoba.

Revivalists emphasized making the decision to receive Christ, public confession and repentance of sin, restoration, public testimony and witness, and “walking in the light” (1 John 1:7). Focused on Christ and the “work of the cross,” these revival fellowships in Tanganyika never registered with the government as a separate organization and remained under the umbrella of the various denominations of the church (Sendoro 2000, 22-23).

In 1945, Ugandan revival leader Festo Kivengere moved to Dodoma in Tanganyika to teach at a secondary school run by an Anglican, Moravian, and CMS mission alliance. During this time, he also traveled widely throughout Tanganyika as a “preacher of revival” (Olwa 2013, 78). Kivengere’s ministry was extremely influential in Tanganyika during his thirteen-year stay. In 1959, he returned to Uganda to become one of most prominent bishops in all of East Africa (Mlahagwa 1999, 297). In 1960, Kivengere returned to Tanganyika as an interpreter for Billy Graham at an historic revival meeting in Moshi (Olwa 2013, 80-81).

Olwa (2013, 400) explains how Kivengere was influenced by five main sources (Keswick theology, revival, Karl Barth, Markus Barth and Pauline theology) as he developed and preached a “doctrine of reconciliation.” While Kivengere preached the Keswick emphases on “sin, repentance, new birth, separation, the Holy Spirit, the victorious life and gospel service,” he also clarified and stressed that the “Spirit-filled” life is, in fact, the “Jesus-filled” life (Olwa 2013, 389-394). In the same vein, the influential Tanzanian Lutheran Bishop of Bukoba, Josiah Kibira, emphasized a “Jesus-

centered Revival” (Sahlberg 1986, 122). Kivengere’s lifetime of revival ministry and theology had a tremendous impact on the Christian awakening in Tanzania.

#### THE IMPACT OF THE EAST AFRICAN AWAKENING/REVIVAL IN TANZANIA

Around 1938, the revival entered in the Bukoba district of the Kagera region of Tanganyika among the Haya people. While there were multiple, early reports of stirrings of revival in Tanganyika, according to Munga (1999, 71) “what becomes clear is that this phase of the *uamsho* [awakening] movement entered Kagera (the region of which Bukoba is the capital city) from more than one direction before World War II and spread vigorously as a chain process within and outside the region.” The 1948 Synod of the Lutheran Church in Bukoba embraced the revival movement and “its teachings were accepted by a majority of the delegates” (Munga 1999, 71).

Those awakened in revival emphasized repentance leading one to “walk in the light” (1 John 1:7) and repent daily of all sins in order to receive God's forgiveness. Salvation was received through the “blood of Christ.” Revivalists formed a “new clan of Christ” with Jesus Christ as the new “head of clan.” They formed a “new community in modern times” as they walked in the light together and studied the Bible with a great burden to share their faith with others through evangelism (Munga 1999, 73).

The East African Revival helped Tanzanians transcend denominational barriers with its vision of the church as the “new clan of Christ” and as a united “extended family” (Sundkler 1974, 218). Church (1981), the missionary involved in the very beginnings the revival, concludes his diary by noting how people from every tribe of East Africa can meet and praise God in Swahili, the *lingua franca* of Tanzania. Church (1981, 259) notes how he witnessed the revival spread in Tanzania across the “vast nation” and

across denominations until he saw East Africa resembling the Asia Minor of the Apostle Paul on his missionary journeys. Church reported that the characteristics of the multitudes saved in the revival could be summarized as: “love of the brethren, confession of sin, willingness to be challenged and to challenge, concern for the lost and bereaved, team witness, freedom in prayer and preaching, wanting light and openness, lack of embarrassment between the races, joy, singing and laughter and lastly, the safety of homes where Christ dwells” (Church 1981, 259).

Beginning in the late 1930s, the East African Revival in Tanzania inspired new converts to respond to God’s Word with repentance and confession of sins as it instilled them with a heavy burden to share their faith with others. Many I interviewed noted suddenly feeling convicted of a need to surrender to God. They felt a new, indescribable peace and a burden to share God’s Word and offer of forgiveness and salvation with others. Many described a sudden realization of the need to invite Christ into their hearts as their personal Savior.

On February 28, 1960, during a Billy Graham revival in Moshi, the capital city of Kilimanjaro region, 10,000 Tanzanians responded to the altar call gathering “under the cross of the Lord Jesus” (KKKT 2013, 80-82). As noted, Kivengere, who had lived, taught, traveled and preached revival in Tanganyika for more than a decade at that time, was Graham’s interpreter at this revival. Evangelical messages like those of Graham and other international evangelists sounded familiar and compelling to Tanzanians who had already been influenced for decades by the East African Revival and its emphasis on personal repentance and holiness.

Beginning in 1970, during a new wave of the ongoing revival, many African evangelists began emphasizing the works of the Holy Spirit and miracles even more than before as many prayed more specifically for healing in the name of Christ (Sendoro 2000, 37). This emphasis became even more pronounced beginning in the 1990s, coinciding with the rise of new Pentecostal movements and the new awareness of globalization after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Beginning in the 1970s, miracles and healings often formed the foundation of personal testimonies and evangelism.

As this charismatic wave of revival began to sweep over Tanzania in the 1970s, many also emphasized Bible study to develop both stronger fellowship and a deeper understanding of the Bible. During this time, public testimonies were common. This wave of revival caused tensions as well as remarkable growth. Some revivalists accused mainline pastors of quenching the work of the Holy Spirit while some pastors condemned revival preachers as false prophets. Young African pastors assumed leadership of Pentecostal churches in the early 1960s (Sahlberg 1986, 177). Some Pentecostals also split off and formed the Tanzania Assemblies of God church at this time. The majority of pastors in Tanzania, however, attempted to “steer a middle course” by contending they were “shepherds of the whole flock” serving those “saved” in the revival as well as those yet to experience dramatic awakening (Mlahagwa 1999, 298).

At this time, beginning in the early 1970s, there were countless reports of miraculous healings in Tanzania. Anglican deacon Edmond John was found to have a gift for prayer, fasting and healing the sick (Namata 1990). John received a visitation from God during which he was instructed to call people to repent and prepare for the imminent return of the Lord Jesus Christ. He was a powerful lay preacher with a healing touch. His

interdenominational ministry was marked by evangelism and prayer conducted house to house. John emphasized prayer and fasting as he worked to heal the sick and cast out demons (Mlahagwa 1999, 300).

John worked closely with Lutheran Bishop Sendoro. Together they emphasized the interdenominational blessing of the revival. John preached at large outdoor revivals where thousands of people came for healing. On June 1, 1973, Sendoro and John were invited to lead a revival meeting at Mt. Albans Anglican Cathedral in Dar es Salaam. Church records show that on this day 115 people were delivered of evil spirits, 24 people who had been lame walked, 41 people without sight were able to see, and 16 who were deaf were able to hear. In addition, church documents state, 57 people with various mental disabilities were healed and one person with cancer was healed. More than 189 people gave up witchcraft until a total of 443 people were saved. The entire city of Dar es Salaam was amazed by these miracles (Sokile 2011, 214; Namata 1990). Sendoro remembers John as truly humble. He prayed for people calmly and with gentleness. Sendoro notes how he never heard John speak in tongues and praised him as one who promoted revival while working under the authority of the church and respecting its leaders (Sokile 2011, 215).

Describing revival in 1974, another extremely influential leader, Bishop Kibira, wrote, "Let it be clearly stressed that revival in the East African Church is the very life of the Church"(Sendoro 2000, 4). In 1976, the Eastern and Coastal Synod (now diocese) of the ELCT called for all congregations to open their doors to and welcome charismatic revival fellowships. Throughout the 1980s, there was a great wave of revival during which influential leaders like Moses Kulola and Emanuel Lazaro held countless outdoor



revival meetings where thousands were healed and saved (Sendoro 2000, 214-217).

Kivengere preached to thousands in Dar es Salaam in 1985 (Sahlberg 1986, 182).

While the revival swept over all denominations in Tanzania, many of the youth who were saved in revival left mainline churches in order to join charismatic/Pentecostal churches. Instead of leaving mainline churches, many others formed revival prayer fellowships within mainline congregations. Leaders like Bishop Sendoro worked very hard to prevent and minimize divisions and conflict.

Kalu (2008, 97) describes this tension explaining “by the late 1960s, the mainline churches became alarmed because of their loss of control and desertion by members...and subsequently sought to douse the fire of the charismatic movement.” When Kulola and Lazaro joined forces to found Tanzania Assemblies of God, the mainline churches began to panic. Catholics and Protestants felt a need to unite in response as they “threatened to excommunicate deserters.” These tensions lasted for two decades from 1970 to 1990. The humble, healing ministry of Edmond John and the “rise of crusades” like the interdenominational Big November Crusade in 1986 greatly helped end this tension (Kalu 2008, 97).

In 1986, an inter-denominational lay movement organized the first inter-denominational revival, the Big November Crusade. With an intentionally “unadulterated” non-denominational gospel message, it joined charismatic and mainline Christians at *Mnazi Mmoja* in Dar es Salaam. Ironically, *Mnazi Mmoja* was a space originally cleared out and created by the Germans in 1915 as a “neutral zone” between the African population and the European and Asian populations “zones” of Dar es Salaam (Brennan 2012, 31; Sykes and Wadie 1997, 30). It became the “largest and most

central square in town” and a “natural gathering place for political demonstrations and mass meetings” eventually “converted into a landscaped park” after independence (Teisen 1969, 83-84). This space, created by foreign rulers to separate and divide, was reclaimed by Tanzanians to gain independence. Awakened Christians used this space to unite all in the name of Christ.

The 1986 Big November Crusade was a huge success with Lutheran support from Bishop Sendoro. Blessed with broad non-denominational support and cooperation, the Big November Crusade marked the first time pastors and laity from charismatic and mainline denominations all sat down together to plan and organize a revival crusade. They succeeded in attracting multitudes of Christians and non-Christians alike to listen to an “unadulterated non-denominational gospel message.” As a result, hundreds were saved and “multitudes were delivered from disease and demonic bondage” (Mlahagwa 1999, 300).

Leaders carefully crafted a twelve-point doctrinal statement that affirmed the need and right for believers to be “filled with the Holy Spirit,” healings and miracles in the name of Jesus today, and “sanctified life, separate from sinful worldly living” as a way to build bridges between charismatic fellowship and mainline believers (Mlahagwa 1999, 302). They “painstakingly avoided sowing seed of discord” and avoided debates on the “mode of baptism or tongues” (Mlahagwa 1999, 302). While these omissions upset some originally, they greatly helped unity in the church. Many charismatic Lutherans became more comfortable within the Lutheran church.

The Big November Crusade was so successful that it became an annual event. It soon moved from *Mnazi Mmoja* to the more central *Jangwani* Grounds in Dar es Salaam,

home of the Yanga (Young Africans) Football Club. The crusades also went regional as major annual crusades were soon held in each of Tanzania's twenty plus regions. Leaders invited international speakers like Reinhard Bonke, Peter Yangren, Roy Durman, Don Double and others as part of this ministry of New Life Crusade (now New Life Ministry) (Sendoro 2000, 214-217).

Mlahagwa (1999, 296) studied revival fellowships within ELCT congregations inspired by an "unprecedented conference at the foot of the Uluguru Mountains in Morogoro" in January of 1997 where Lutheran bishops and pastors met to discuss revival in the largest non-Catholic denomination in Tanzania. They recognized revival as the "spinal cord of the church" and resolved to more actively "promote and direct momentum of the revival" by working closely with revival fellowships. Now, those drawn to "fiery preaching," calls to repentance, exorcism and healing often join revival fellowships within the ELCT rather than leave for Pentecostal churches (Mlahagwa 1999, 297).

Like elsewhere in Africa at this time, revival fellowships and charismatic prayer groups in Tanzania reminded the historic mission churches that the early church of the New Testament treated the gifts of the Holy Spirit as "'essential gifts' and not optional extras that the church could do without" (Asamoah-Gyadu 2008, 201). Re-enacting Ezekiel 37, revivalists sought to breath the new life of the Holy Spirit into the dry, dead bones of the "overly-formalized liturgical practices" of these churches (Asamoah-Gyadu 2008, 206).

Mlahagwa (1999, 296) finds the "quantitative aspect of revival in Tanzania is very conspicuous" as almost every evangelical church in the city of Dar es Salaam is building or remodeling to make more space for growing congregations. Those unable to

build quickly enough “cater for increased churchgoers by launching more worship services” so that many churches now conduct three different worship services every Sunday to accommodate all who want to worship (Mlahagwa 1999, 296). Churches in Dar es Salaam that once simply rang a bell on Sunday morning to call worshippers are now “bustling with group activities throughout the week” with a “noticeable increase in midweek activities” (Mlahagwa 1999, 296).

Regarding the “qualitative dimensions” of revival, Mlahagwa (1999, 297) notes, “hardly a week passes without one seeing or hearing about a seminar crusade meeting or denominational evangelical rally taking place somewhere in the city.” Many of the meetings attract huge crowds of people drawn to “fiery preaching” followed by a call to repentance. People are invited to come forward, repent and invite Jesus as Lord and Savior of their lives as born-again Christians.

These meetings include open prayers for deliverance and healing conducted by preachers. Many are drawn by the “hope of healing and deliverance from social problems just as much as they are drawn by the gospel message and popularity of the principal speaker” (Mlahagwa 1999, 297). Afterwards, all are encouraged to join revival fellowships close to their homes so they may continue to receive help to live out faith in Christ.

Reflecting on the success of the Big November Crusade and the many revival fellowship groups that it has birthed, Sendoro (2001, 38) maintains these revival fellowships should always remain under the church and never become “churches within a church” that cause divisions. He emphasizes that the work of Christ is to build and unify the church while the work of Satan is to tear apart and divide the church. He explains that

the differences that divide denominations are much smaller than those that unite them as he promotes continued ecumenical efforts to overcome fear, doubt and mistrust among fellow Christians (Sendoro 2001, 59).

One of the most influential leaders of the revival movement in Tanzania for the past three decades has been Mwakasege, who has operated within established denominations (especially the ELCT) and become one of the most charismatic revival teachers in Tanzania. Beginning in the 1980s and continuing until today, Mwakasege draws huge crowds to his revival meetings. Mlahagwa (1999, 303) believes the secret of Mwakasege's success is found in his interdenominational approach to ministry and his ability to work closely with the established order as much as it is found in his charismatic character.

With a ministry spanning four decades now, Mwakasege continues to hold huge revival meetings in every region of Tanzania. For the past fifteen years, he has also visited Tanzanians living in the United Kingdom and in the United States. In 2015, he visited the United States multiple times to hold revival meetings in four different states. In doing so, Mwakasege has become the primary and most well-known revival preacher of the Tanzanian diaspora in the United States. His wife Diane often joins him and teaches as well. Almost every Tanzanian I interviewed was very aware of this ministry, Mana Ministries, through social media. Most had personally attended Mwakasege's revival meetings repeatedly both in Tanzania and in the United States.

New generations of Tanzanians continue to be transformed and saved by ministries that flow out of the ongoing revival. In addition to Mana Ministries, Scripture Union and TAFES (The Tanzanian Fellowship of Evangelical Students) continue to

develop new leaders. The impact and influence of the fellowships of the revival movement is clearly evident throughout Tanzania. Mlahagwa (1999, 305) notes “few dispute that the quality of Christianity has improved tremendously over the past decades” and that “the time when born-again Christians were unceremoniously thrown out of their churches is long past.” Christians born-again in revival are “playing a significant role in bringing revival inside their own churches” as the church has shown a “growing seriousness as well as renewed dedication to the spirit of revival.” Mlahagwa (1999, 305) believed this historic meeting in Morogoro was demonstrative of a “growing spirit of unity and purpose” that is facilitating greater cooperation and slowly eroding “denominational barriers.”

Analyzing data collected over three decades (1970-1995), Munga provides “thick description” (Geertz) of a context she knows well. As a scholar and pastor, Munga is a living, contemporary example of the gender equality embraced by the East Africa Revival from the very beginning. She rightly identifies Mwakasege as a leader in the revival movement who consistently and clearly preaches and personifies Tanzanian revival theology. Many of those I interviewed have been spiritually raised in revival fellowships identical to those Munga studied over three decades. Most are also very familiar with the teaching of Mwakasege.

Sendoro (2000, 45-46) lists the blessings of revival noted by Rev. Dr. Fredrick Shoo. As the result of revival, laypeople take ownership of the church with renewed commitment to spiritual growth, evangelism and witness in church, at home and in daily life. Those revived, including youth and students, are also moved to volunteer and sacrifice their time and efforts for the work of the church and kingdom. They experience

peace at home and at work. The gifts of the spirit are evident as people receive healing and deliverance. True revival leads to greater equality, unity and cooperation with the larger body of Christ and in communities at large. Revival helps Christians realize that the Great Commission is a call for every single Christian to be an evangelist. Revival calls the church to be a prophetic voice and a witness of God's kingdom. Finally, revival leads Christians to greater repentance and the desire to overcome sin and live new, deeper lives in Christ. Sendoro and Shoo both emphasize that these blessings and gifts are poured out on all denominations for the benefit of the entire body of Christ (Sendoro 2000, 45-46). Sahlberg (1986, 182) notes, "A new pattern for the last decades is also the revivalistic or "evangelical" mood over all the denominational borders."

While fully promoting revival as a blessing, Sendoro (2000, 109-110) has also constantly worked to address the chaos, disruption and divisions that the excesses of the revival movement can cause. He urges revivalists to guard against self-righteousness and judgmental attitudes that have often caused bitterness and division. Magesa (2004, 48-49) presents the views of Catholics on both sides of this tension. One priest explained, revivalists think they are "closer to God than everyone else" and refuse to listen to leaders who they do not believe to be revivalists. In response, a revivalist explained, "We have great respect for priests and leaders...the real problem is that...we believe that through prayer God can heal" and some leaders find this passion "unacceptable."

In spite of tensions, revival fellowships thrive in Catholic churches throughout Tanzania today. I have seen a Catholic priest and a Catholic revival fellowship graciously welcome Lutherans to join them in remote areas until Lutheran pastors arrived. Polycarp Cardinal Pengo of Dar es Salaam believes the charismatic wave of revival that entered

the Catholic Church following Vatican II in 1965, reached the Catholic Church of Tanzania in 1981 through a conference held at Mzumbe in the Morogoro Region (Sendoro 2000, 27-29).

Regarding the overall influence of the revival in Tanzania, almost all of those I interviewed agree revival in the churches of Tanzania has led to an increase in hope and a decrease in sin. In general, those saved in revival strive for and demonstrate greater victory over the power of sin, greater emphasis on equality, greater stewardship, greater accountability, and greater trust in God's Word and in the power of the Holy Spirit. Most of those I interviewed stressed that one can easily find awakened and revived faith, an evangelical faith that believes in the power of the Holy Spirit to heal and deliver, in every denomination in Tanzania today; Catholic, Protestant and Pentecostal.

The revival emphasis on equality includes gender equality and opportunities for women like Munga, Mwaura and Diane Mwakasege to be teachers, pastors and leaders. From the beginning, the revival has given women new status, freedom and opportunities for leadership (Munga 1999, 74-77). Nthamburi (2004, 79) explains, "Women are allowed to participate fully in all Revival activities...on equal terms with men."

This revival emphasis on equality also extends to the poor and marginalized. Power is a gift from God "flowing from the divine into human image-bearers" so that theology "cannot afford to neglect the issues that matter most to humans" (Okesson 2012, 227). Human power is "power from God, and predicated upon the ways of God" (Okesson 2012, 225). In Chapter 3, we will see how Nyerere, a Catholic believer, emphasized both equality before God and the image of God, in ways that have helped to



ground the revival in compassion for the poor and marginalized. Many revivalists stress using Christian freedom to “serve one another in love” (Gal. 5:13).

The Swahili word Tanzanians use to describe the ongoing Christian awakening as well as its many revival fellowships and services is always *uamsho*, literally “awakening” from the verb *kuamsha* “to awaken.” In the most general sense, the Tanzanians I interviewed saw revival faith as one that was “awake” and “alive.” Many strive to follow 1 Thessalonians 5:6, “So then, let us not be like others, who are asleep, but let us be alert and self-controlled.” They do not want Christ to find them “sleeping” but heed the Lord’s call, “Watch!” (Mark 13:36). Many described themselves as having once been nominal Christians who were “not yet saved” before they “woke up” and received God’s gifts of forgiveness and salvation. They were nurtured through involvement with various ministries flowing out of revival. A new history written in celebration of fifty years of Tanzanian Lutheran independence, explains, “*Uamsho, kwa maelezo rahisi kabisa, ni hali ya kuamka kiroho* (Revival, in the simplest terms, is the condition of being awake spiritually)(K.K.K.T. 2013, 80)”.

One of Tanzania’s most popular choirs, *Mapigano Ulyankulu Kwaya* (2000) recorded a song, *Zamani Ninyi* (...you were once...) on their extremely popular album, *Mwenye Mamlaka* (The One with Authority). Quoting Ephesians Chapter 5, they sing, “For you were once darkness, but now you are light in the Lord. Live as children of light...Have nothing to do with the fruitless deeds of darkness...” (Eph. 5:8-11).

Tanzanians are fully aware of the fruitless and shameful deeds of darkness. Sorcery is still a great concern, as it always has been in many traditional religions. This very popular song reminds people of Ephesians 5:8-20, that in many ways, could be seen

as the very core of Tanzanian “awakening” theology. Wake up. Repent. Receive God’s gifts of forgiveness and eternal life. Help one another to walk in the light of Christ. Reject darkness. Call and help everyone to do the same.

Most of those I interviewed spoke of dramatic transformation from nominal “sleeping” faith to “awakened” revival faith. Many stressed the need for Christian honesty and accountability to help one another walk in the light of Christ. This awakening always led to a great burden to share this revived faith and experience with others.

As Tanzanians describe the revival as an “awakening”, it would be helpful to look briefly at this term with special reference to how historical descriptions of Christian awakenings relate to the descriptions of those I interviewed.

An evangelical awakening is a “movement of the Holy Spirit bringing about a revival of New Testament Christianity and the Church of Christ and its related community” as the “outpouring of the Spirit affects the reviving of the church, the awakening of the masses and the movement of uninstructed peoples towards the Christian faith” (Orr 1975, vii). Awakenings always involve “some repetition of the phenomena of the Acts of the Apostles followed by the revitalizing of nominal Christians and by bringing outsiders into vital touch with the Divine Dynamic causing all such awakenings—the Spirit of God” (Orr 1975, vii). Evangelical awakenings have been “one of the major factors, perhaps the greatest, in the winning of... all Africa to faith in the Good News of Christ as revealed once for all in the New Testament” Orr (1975, 200).

While noting its uniquely African nature, Nthamburi (2004, 77) places the East African Revival within the “broad pattern of Evangelical awakenings that were a fixture

of European and American Protestantism since the 18<sup>th</sup> century.” In his analysis of the great periods of spiritual awakenings in America, McLoughlin (1978, xiii) explains awakenings are crucial periods of “cultural revitalization” that often begin during a general crisis of beliefs and values but extend over a period of a generation or so during which time a “profound reorientation of beliefs and values takes place.” Awakenings transform the lives of individuals but are also “likely to alter the worldview” of an entire people or culture (McLoughlin 1978, xiii).

Unwilling to reduce the causes of awakenings and revivals to “depressions, wars or epidemics,” McLoughlin (1978, 2) believes, “Great awakenings are not periods of social neurosis (though they begin in times of cultural confusion). They are times of revitalization. They are therapeutic and cathartic, not pathological.” Reminding us how revivals and awakenings “occur in all cultures,” he sees them as a “means by which a people or nation reshapes its identity, transforms its patterns of thought and action” for a more “sustained and healthy relationship with environmental and social change.” Those converted in revival “move from anxiety and inhibition to function constructively” personally and socially. Awakenings and revivals greatly influence and impact entire communities and nations for decades and generations. Awakenings are “fruitful and necessary for a culture to survive the traumas of social change” as people seek “more relevant, functional and useful ways to understand and cope with changes in the world they live in” (McLoughlin 1978,8)

McLoughlin (1978, 10) builds on Wallace’s 1956 study of a “single prophet” among the “preliterate and homogenous” Seneca Indians. While Wallace’s theory is “not totally applicable to complex, pluralistic and highly literate people” of the United States,

McLoughlin (1978, 10) believes the “general configuration” of Wallace’s model can be applied to American history. Each Great Awakening in America “provided the continuity that sustains the culture” during times of great social change (McLoughlin 1978, 10).

The ongoing influence of the East African Revival cannot be reduced to a haven from deprivation or crisis. It has impacted and drawn people from all socio-economic levels of Tanzanian society from the beginning. In fact, many of those I interviewed were extremely successful in many ways before they “woke up” and repented. Since the revival entered Tanzania in the late 1930s, the people of Tanzania have seen both good times and bad. Throughout generations, during this evangelical awakening, millions of Tanzanians have “awakened” and turned to Christ as the true source of God’s power and life as they negotiate success and failure, joy and sorrow, wealth and poverty, health and sickness day by day in community. They help one another and hold one another accountable as they walk in the light of Christ.

Like Americans (described by McLoughlin) Tanzanians are complex, pluralistic and highly literate. Tanzanian pastors and scholars, like Magesa and Munga, are writing their own histories and developing their own theories. With countless and often nameless prophets, the East African Revival has helped Tanzanians to maintain and preserve the very best of traditional Tanzanian wisdom and spirituality while negotiating the modern world, embracing new freedoms and opportunities in an era of rapidly intensified globalization. Migration has contributed to the globalization of evangelicalism and now indigenous, non-Western forms of evangelicalism [like the East African awakening] engage with, shape, critique and oppose globalization simultaneously (Lewis 2014, 76-80).

Spanning decades and generations, the East African “Awakening” and its continuous waves of revival have significantly shaped and transformed not just individuals, families and churches in Tanzania at micro- and meso-levels of society, but also the entire culture and worldview of the diverse peoples of Tanzania at a macro-level consistently since 1938. In homes, fields, schools, churches, markets, and government offices, the influence of this ongoing Christians awakening has helped Tanzanians cooperate to build a new, peaceful, unified nation. It continues to help new generations who strive to understand and negotiate this new era of increasing and intensified globalization.

## CONCLUSION

The spiritual context of the ongoing evangelical Christian awakening in Tanzania continues to weave together elements of traditional African awareness of spiritual power and community, Catholic ecumenism, Protestant evangelicalism and Pentecostal power and freedom. The awakening in Tanzania is unique in that it has allowed members to remain in older denominations. As a result, the number of independent churches in Tanzania remains “astonishingly low” and significantly lower than in other African nations.

The ongoing revival in Tanzania has influenced believers of all language groups, all socio-economic classes and all denominations. It has simultaneously promoted both unity and freedom based in the power of God’s Word and Spirit through Christ. The power of Christ provides freedom from power of Satan, sin and sorcery. Christian community provides a new broader, more inclusive clan in Christ and freedom from the fear of rejection, non-belonging and non-being. Women have been free to participate and

recognized as essential leaders in the awakening from the beginning. Generations of students have also found roles as lay leaders and mentors in revival. Accountability is essential to help all enjoy freedom in Christ while rejecting freedoms of darkness.

The power of “the experience of the Spirit can become the unifying factor that transcends petty differences and brings people together” (Anderson 2015, 127). In Tanzania, the experience of the Holy Spirit during the awakening has largely unified Christians for generations. Christ “orients humans to God by imaging God for humans. Power is thus *from* Christ’s life and it is *for* human growth (through the Holy Spirit)”(Okesson 2012, 194). For many Tanzanians influenced by the ongoing awakening that uniquely blends African spirituality, Catholicism, evangelicalism and Pentecostalism, Christ has become the true source and sustainer of the power of life. The Holy Spirit is the very real, immanent presence of this power meant for the abundant and eternal life of all created in the image of God.

In Chapter 3, we will begin to see how the Pentecostal emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit provides freedom from not just Satan, sin and sorcery but also the material and spiritual poverty of secularism (viewing belief in God as optional), individualism and consumerism in today’s globalized world. This power through the Holy Spirit, “greater than any other power threatening survival in this world, is good news” in a global world (Anderson 2015, 116).

## CHAPTER 3

### FREEDOM, UNITY AND AFRICAN SOCIALISM: THE POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS OF TANZANIA SHAPED BY THE FATHER OF THE NATION, JULIUS NYERERE

Inseparable from the spiritual context, unique social, cultural and political contexts helped Tanganyika gain independence from British rule in 1961 and become the United Republic of Tanzania, a new nation unified with Zanzibar, in 1964. These ideas on unity and nationhood are important because most of the people I interviewed were born in the decades just before or after Tanzanian independence. As a result, like millions of Tanzanians living today, they were raised and educated in a new nation greatly influenced by the ideas and character of the first president, *Baba wa Taifa* (Father of the Nation), *Mwalimu* (Teacher) Julius Nyerere.

In general, Tanzanians fondly remember *Mwalimu* as a humble leader who unified the nation and promoted lasting peace even as they freely acknowledge his failure to deliver economic development. Tanzanians today still struggle to negotiate and thrive in a globalized world without abandoning the community spirit and wisdom of their Tanzanian ancestors that Nyerere constantly promoted.

In addition to Nyerere and his ideas, the intertwined histories of urbanization and globalization in Tanzania, particularly evident in the global city of Dar es Salaam, are crucial for understanding as these forces set the stage for nationhood. Every Tanzanian I interviewed has lived at least temporarily in “Dar.” Most also has family living there.

One woman remarked, “I don’t know a single person (Tanzanian) who doesn’t have relatives living in Dar.” Long before Tanzanians began leaving their new nation to live in diaspora, they began leaving their villages to live in the new cities of Tanzania, especially “Dar.”

These interwoven influences of the East African Revival, nationhood, urbanization and globalization have all greatly shaped the history of emigration from Tanzania. At least a basic understanding of each of these influences is crucial in order to understand the stories of Tanzanians explaining how, when and why they have come to form a small, yet significant portion of the African diaspora here in the United States.

Influenced by Nyerere, Tanzanians have always reflected deeply on how to live, study and work in the global city of Dar without abandoning the wisdom and values of the villages of their ancestors. In the same way, during this era of rapid globalization, Tanzanian Christians continue to reflect deeply on how to live, study and work outside of Tanzania, in diaspora, without abandoning the values of community and accountability they learned as they were raised in the Christian awakening in Tanzania.

#### THE ROAD TO POLITICAL FREEDOM

From November 15, 1884 to December 26, 1885, European leaders met at the Berlin Conference and initiated the “scramble for Africa.” The German Society for Colonization, founded in March of 1884, sent Karl Peters to lead an expedition to East Africa. Peters ambitiously signed dubious treaties and set in motion decades remembered for violence and forced labor that broke up families and clans throughout Tanganyika. Tanzanians remember Peters for his deception and lies as well as for the brutal system of forced labor for the benefit of German settlers that he established. As a result, Africans



now refer to Karl Peters as “*mkono wa damu*” (“blood-stained hands”) (Gwassa 1969, 98).

Many indigenous leaders and their people fought bravely to resist German foreign rule. Germans and their soldiers were always outnumbered and lived in continual fear of African resistance (Gwassa 1969, 104). In 1894, Hassan bin Omari Makunganya led an attack on Kilwa. At the end of 1895, he was captured and hanged on a mango tree the Germans continued to use afterwards for mass executions. This tree became known as *Mwembe-Kinyonga* (the hangman's mango tree) (Gwassa 1969, 107). Chief Mkwawa of the Hehe people led a guerilla warfare campaign against German occupation from 1891 until 1898 marking the “greatest challenge to German authority in the nineteenth century (Gwassa 1969, 113).

The *Maji Maji* (Water Water) War from 1905 to 1908 was led by spirit medium Kinjikitile Ngwale, who claimed to be sent by God to save the people from German oppression. Fighters drank or were sprinkled with water provided by traditional priests of Kolelo (a spirit believed to reside in the Uluguru Mountains) that they believed had the power to protect them from German bullets (Iliffe 1969, 51). Kinjikitile promised the ancestors would be resurrected to create a new world and restore order (Gwassa 1969, 117). The water and the resistance failed.

The *Maji Maji* resistance was costly. Many indigenous people were caught up in the crossfire and forced to flee for their lives. Germans burned down villages and destroyed crops, using a scorched-earth policy so mercilessly that the indigenous people could not even find seeds to plant new crops after the war ended (Henderson 1965, 141; Gwassa 1969, 120).

German guns had brutally destroyed the power of traditional chiefs and shook the faith of the people in the power of the ancestors. *Maji Maji* fighters had trusted spiritual power and failed leaving a legacy of enduring nightmares. As a true movement of the people across tribal lines, however, *Maji Maji* provided a spark of inspiration for a later movement of the people across tribal lines. Nyerere would turn the failed efforts of *Maji Maji* fighters into a source of inspiration and pride for a new movement of the people for independence (Gwassa 1969, 117).

Apostle Kolumba Msigala of the Yao people explains the mixed emotions that many indigenous people felt regarding the *Maji Maji* rebellion. Msigala believed in spiritual power noting the “right medicine” could indeed protect a man from bullets (he had seen proof of this with his own eyes in Mozambique) but he did not believe this “medicine” worked on a large scale as he had also seen with his own eyes the carnage left in the wake of German guns at Kilwa (Ranger 1973, 9). Msigala was sympathetic with the *Maji Maji* fighters’ desires and sufferings but believed armed resistance was futile so that education was the only path to self-reliance and self-rule (Ranger 1973, 9-10).

Msigala’s views are very similar to those preached by Nyerere in the drive for independence. Addressing the United Nations in 1956, Nyerere (1967, 41-44) noted the *Maji Maji* rebels, “rose in great rebellion not through fear of a terrorist movement or superstitious oath, but in response to a natural call, a call of the spirit, ringing the hearts of all men, an of all times, educated or uneducated, to rebel against foreign domination.” Nationalism was the same spirit and desire for independence. Nyerere went on to note that the function of the Tanzanian Nationalist Union (TANU) was “not to create the spirit of rebellion but to articulate it and show it and new technique.” For generations, the

people of Tanzania had been longing for and fighting for independence. Nyerere reminded people how the drive for independence could build peacefully on the spirit of *Maji Maji*, sharing its natural human, desire for freedom (Gwassa 1969, 118). Nyerere (1968, 79) also emphasized “human equality before God.”

While many sought to gain freedom through armed resistance, others turned to diplomacy and education. At the same time, many indigenous Tanzanians heard the good news of Jesus Christ and would make decisions to seek freedom through faith in Christ in ways that would prepare fertile grounds in which the seeds of the great East African Revival would soon take root and flourish. This freedom all desired would soon be realized more fully both politically and spiritually as Tanzanians gained independence and the revival rapidly increased its pace after the end of British rule. Political freedom would help Tanzanians to more fully express spiritual freedom both at home and eventually in diaspora.

#### TANGANYIKA: BRITISH INDIRECT RULE AND THE RISE OF NYERERE

According to the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, Germany was forced to surrender her colonies. Instead of allowing victorious nations to directly annex these colonies, the League of Nations asked them to administer these regions as trustees on behalf of and under the supervision of the League of Nations. Great Britain received German East Africa which was renamed Tanganyika (Hall and Albion 1946, 893)

Britain, like Germany, lacked the manpower and resources as well as the true will to govern in Africa. Like Germany, Britain also had to rely on “indirect rule” through native administrators. Iliffe (1979, 261) notes Britain had a long history of spreading itself to thin and failing to develop its territories. The British never invested heavily in

Tanganyika. Brendon (2008, 375) describes a British Governor of Tanganyika complaining his territory was kept “in mothballs” and a judge, noticing how one lone District Officer with only half a dozen indigenous agents was assumed to be in charge of 100,000 indigenous Africans, realized Britain’s “whole position rests on bluff.” Nyerere clearly understood this untenable situation and would become the first leader in East Africa to actually call this bluff.

Tanganyika was able to gain independence peacefully as the first country in East Africa to regain its independence (Katare 2006, 35). The League of Nations’ mandate allowed Tanganyikans to represent themselves before the United Nations (which replaced the League of Nations in 1945) describing and demonstrating their preparation for independence. In Kenya, Europeans fought to hold on to land and positions of authority. Tanganyika, by contrast, had no such problems regarding European settlement. Britain had intentionally sought to avoid these problems in Tanganyika (Katare 2006, 36).

In 1925, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) was founded and provided an opportunity for the new urban educated elite in Tanganyika to discuss and develop political strategies to promote independence and democratic rule. In 1954, the TAA was transformed into the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). TANU “inherited from the TAA a country-wide institution and movement which was non-discriminatory with respect to African membership with branches in the regions” (Cliffe 1973, 212). The Swahili language, as a common, national language of the people, helped promote and solidify this national unity.

Nyerere was the first student from Tanganyika to enroll in a British University (Edinburgh) and the first to earn a Master’s Degree in 1952 (Kurtz 1978, 152). Having

studied and taught at Tabora and Makerere, Nyerere knew almost every Tanganyikan secondary school graduate of the 1940s (Ilfie 1979, 510). An educated Catholic from one of the smallest language groups in Tanganyika, the Zanaki, Nyerere would inspire this new educated elite, leading TANU as a young man before becoming the Father of the Nation (Munga 1998, 50-52).

Under the leadership of Nyerere, TANU was able to mobilize and represent all people not just one group or interest. TANU did this using a simple message and slogan, *uhuru na umoja* (freedom and unity). In 1953, Nyerere appeared on the landscape of Tanganyika “as manna from heaven” and was recognized immediately as the Moses who would lead them out of “*balaa na fedheha ya kutawaliwa na wageni*” (the calamity and disgrace of foreign rule)(Nsekela 1965, 157). This young charismatic leader would emphasize and insist *umoja ni nguvu* (unity is strength) confidently reminding the people of Tanganyika that this wisdom and truth, which had always served their ancestors well, would continue to help them overcome all obstacles (Nsekela 1965, 218).

On January 27, 1957, Nyerere told a crowd estimated at 30,000 people in Dar es Salaam that Africans had difficulty gaining independence only where European settlers were entrenched. He reminded them there were only 3,000 European settlers in Tanganyika. He believed, in spite of this lack of presence, the British still intended to rule Tanganyika indefinitely, encouraging the indigenous people to live together peacefully and quietly. In the end, Nyerere told the people that TANU would succeed in gaining independence for Tanganyika because the British simply did not have the manpower or the will to stop them. Nyerere noted, “in the old days the Germans might have prevented

it with guns,” but assured the people that this was a new day in which “right, not might, would prevail” (Ilfte 1969, 175).

Nyerere had officially called the British bluff. British security forces in Tanganyika were far too weak to quell civil disobedience. Furthermore, Tanganyikans were almost wholly united behind Nyerere and TANU (Ilfte 1969, 183). TANU won elections in 1958 and 1959 in landslides (Cliffe 1973, 212). The British could not stop or even slow the drive to independence in Tanganyika.

During a time when others did not dare oppose the British, Nyerere openly and publicly demanded they leave. Even as he publicly called the British bluff, the British knew Nyerere was far too popular to be thrown in prison. His followers took note and were encouraged (Feierman 1990, 212). Nyerere gave the people courage to believe independence was possible. In 1959, Nyerere declared, “Good gentlemen of England... You are not being vanquished by arrows, nor by guns or *pangas* (machetes). No indeed, you are being vanquished by the spirit of the people whom you rule.” For the people of Tanganyika, Nyerere embodied and articulated this God-given spirit and desire for freedom and equality more than anyone.

Nyerere guided Tanganyika to independence without bloodshed on December 9, 1961 (Munga 1998, 50-52). The new independent nation of Tanzania was completed when Tanganyika formed a union with Zanzibar on April 26, 1964. Tanzania was a new independent nation with peoples who spoke over 120 different languages all unified by one common language, Swahili. Tanzania’s peaceful achievement of political independence was remarkable for its “absence of conflicts between different leadership elements and/or racial, tribal or religious groups” (Cliffe 1969, 240).

## UNITY: ONE PEOPLE, ONE NATION, ONE LANGUAGE, ONE GOAL

As Nyerere guided Tanzania to peaceful independence, he was keenly aware of two very important factors that greatly helped him unite the people of Tanzania. The first factor is the great diversity of languages and people groups in Tanzania that prevents any one group from being able to dominate the others. Shortly after independence, Svendsen (1969, 26) noted, “Tanzania is characterized by a large number of comparatively small tribes the largest of them having about 1.3 million members.” In contrast with Kenya where the ten largest tribes are estimated as constituting 85% of the entire population, “the fourteen largest tribes together contain only 55% of the population” of Tanzania. This diversity created, “obvious consequences for political development” (Svendsen 1969, 27). The largest language group in Tanzania, the Sukuma, comprises only 10% of the total population (Kurtz 1978, 202). This major difference was an advantage that helped Tanzania gain independence unencumbered by any serious ethnic conflicts or ethnic political parties and interests like those in northern neighbor Kenya (Katare 2006, 35).

Describing Tanzania shortly after independence, Svendsen (1969, 26) noted, “no history of strong tribal conflict exists, and apart from the migration to the towns, the tribes have more or less remained in their own regions.” As a result, he saw “no likelihood today of certain tribes taking over trading and other economic activities in ‘alien’ territory” as has been the case of the Ibos in Nigeria-with strong conflicts as a result.” Political efforts to prevent tribalism during and after the drive for independence were so successful that “in the Tanzanian environment, tribalism cannot become a significant political factor” (Svendsen 1969, 26-27).

## *KISWAHILI: THE HISTORIC LINGUA FRANCA OF UNITY*

The second factor that has greatly contributed to Tanzanian unity is the historic and common language of the people, *Kiswahili* (Swahili) derived from the Arabic word *sahil* meaning coast (Kurtz 1978, 203). Swahili began to develop into its present form in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. At the time of independence, it was estimated that several hundred thousand people along the East African coast spoke Swahili as their first language (Whiteley 1969, 111). Developed in Zanzibar and on the coast as a *lingua franca*, a simplified combination of Bantu languages and Arabic to facilitate trade, Swahili quickly outgrew claims by any single ethnic group or tribe. As a result, this common language promoted unity and served to prevent ethnic divisions. TANU realized this and was able to carry out a nationwide political campaign in one language in ways that were not possible elsewhere in the region. The wide use of Swahili as the people's language made it easier for TANU to communicate ideas to the people in Tanganyika, unlike in Kenya and Uganda, where there is no such common language (Katere 2006, 35). TANU used Swahili as the language of national unity to build and foster a sense of unity across Tanzania's numerous and diverse language groups (Whiteley 1969, 115).

In colonial Tanganyika "whatever else it meant to 'be Swahili', it meant identifying with the trans-tribal African society—a society open to men and women from throughout the interior and from other parts of the coast, as well as other parts of Africa—who 'became Swahili' through intermarriage, mixed parentage, by choice and by birth" (Geiger 2005, 281). The complex stories of ordinary Swahili women who worked tirelessly as mobilizers and activists for TANU show the importance of pan-ethnic solidarity based on "dignity, self-respect and equality regardless of ethnicity or level of



education” in this Swahili society (Geiger 1997, 204). This common language allowed diverse people’s to build unity as one people with one language and one culture.

From the beginning of the Christian revival described in Chapter 2, the Swahili language was crucial. Long before revival broke out, J.L. Krapf, the first missionary to East Africa buried his wife and newborn child while working to translate the Bible into Swahili (Krapf 1882, Nthamburi 2004). With few exceptions, throughout the ongoing revival, the Swahili language and Bible have enabled evangelists from diverse language groups to preach and share testimonies in one common language to people in any region of Tanzania without the need for interpretation.

In a similar way, politically, this common language enabled the diverse peoples of Tanzania to seek and gain political independence as one people. Nyerere used Swahili as he preached *uhuru* (freedom/independence) to peoples in all corners of the land without the need of an interpreter. This language continued to unite Tanzanians after independence as they sought to build a new nation together.

Today, as it has for generations, the Swahili language continues to unite the diverse peoples of Tanzania and to greatly influence their spiritual, historical and political contexts both at home in diaspora, across all barriers of language, religion, class, education and ethnicity. This affection for Swahili as a great source of continuity, peace and unity, vividly highlights one of the great tensions Tanzanians face in the era of rapid globalization. The unity created and fostered by the use of Swahili perpetuates the wisdom of the ancestors. In order to find their place in today’s world, however, many Tanzanians find they need to master the English language in order to pursue advance degrees. Tanzanians master the English language and earn PhDs in diaspora like their

fellow Africans do. Many also often note how much Swahili helps to anchor them to their traditional values. This has caused debates among Africans both inside and outside of Tanzania questioning whether this great love for the Swahili language, tied to peace and unity, helps or hinders the progress of Tanzanians in a global world today (Smith 2011; Poyo 2015).

## FREEDOM AND DEVELOPMENT THROUGH URBANIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION

After uniting his people and winning the independence he had promised them, Nyerere called them to unite behind new efforts to build their own nation in the fashion they themselves, as the indigenous people of the land saw fit. Nyerere (1973, 27) stated, “Development brings freedom, provided it is development of people. But people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves.” In the original Swahili pamphlet Nyerere (1968, 14; 1974, 45) calls Tanzanians to be unified in this struggle *kwa pamoja* (together) and concludes, “*Maendeleo ni yetu na ni juu yetu wenyewe; na maendeleo tunayotaka ni maendeleo ya watu: yaletwe na watu; yaendeleze watu; yafae watu.*” (Development belongs to us and is our own responsibility; and the development we want is the development of people: generated by people to help people flourish through means that befit them.) Nyerere envisioned this human development of the people, for the people, and by the people could only begin in villages through programs based on traditional African communal values. These programs and policies came to be known as *ujamaa* or African socialism.

*Ujamaa* (literally familyhood) was Nyerere’s attempt to revive “African values that had been distorted by colonialism,” (Keshomshahara 2008, 76) and to apply the spirit

of communal life to all humankind in a way that would help Tanzanians modernize and develop on their own terms according to their own values. *Ujamaa* countered post-independence neo-colonialism. *Ujamaa* rejected both the exploitation of capitalism and the class warfare of communism (Nyerere 1968, 12). Nyerere (1968, 77-79) believed in the Bible as the Word of God, noting books on socialism were written by mere men. Nyerere stressed human equality before God as the basis for *ujamaa*.

*Ujamaa* development demanded hard work and self-reliance. Unfortunately, agriculture has always been difficult in Tanzania. Only one-third of Tanzania receives sufficient rain for intensive agriculture (defined as a 95% chance of receiving more than 30 inches of rain annually) and this aridity leads to the constant threat of extended draught, hunger and famine (Svendsen 1969, 8). This constant threat has caused low population density. Tanzania is slightly larger than Nigeria but is home to less than 50 million people today while Nigeria is home to almost 175 million people in approximately the same number of square miles. Svendsen (1969, 9) concludes, “In other words, too much of Tanzania is too dry.” It still is today. The lack of water remains a key issue highlighted in the recent presidential campaign (Mwananchi 2015).

Two-thirds of Tanzania is “too dry or too wet to permit high food crop yields” while poor soil, bush that is difficult to clear and the tsetse fly all further complicate development (Yeager 1982, 26). All of these factors have had a profound impact on the history, culture and “development” of a people who have traditionally seen agriculture as they key to life.

Nyerere’s villagization program was an effort to develop the new nation using traditional cooperation and work ethic. The land, however, was just too dry for large-

scale agriculture and urbanization was a force that could not be stopped. Nyerere's failed economic policies, especially forced villagization, have been harshly critiqued by many, both inside and outside of Tanzania (Keshomshahara 2008, 86). *Ujamaa* is "important, however, for understanding why intelligent people of goodwill who wished to serve Tanzania worked very hard to build a bureaucratic state (Feierman 1990, 240). Many educated Tanzanians "believed passionately in the goals of *ujamaa*: to eliminate poverty and disease from the lives of ordinary Tanzanians in the countryside and in the city; to bring an adequate standard of living to all Tanzanians, not merely a privileged few; to avoid the emergence of forms of exploitation which accompany the growth of concentrated private wealth; and to escape from dependency on the powerful nations of the West" (Feierman 1990, 240).

Many Tanzanians, including many awakened Christians, still passionately believe in these goals. Many still struggle to find ways to practically achieve them today. While most agree Nyerere's economic policies failed and many have criticized his suppression of free speech, most believe his intentions seemed to be noble. Most Tanzanians still credit Nyerere with promoting and ensuring lasting unity and peace for which they remain extremely grateful. While he failed to provide the economic development he promised, many believe his heart was in the right place and truly with the people.

Mwakikagile (2006, 67) explains, "Although most Tanzanians, and millions of other Africans, were indeed inspired by Nyerere, there were many who disagreed with him and did not like his policies especially socialism and one-party rule." In 1985, Nyerere taught humility by voluntarily and peacefully stepped down from power, making

a move that is rarely seen among leaders of one-party states (Msimbe 2012, 25).

Nyerere's departure from power was truly unique and endeared him to many.

Nyerere is still revered today by many Tanzanians as a leader who in many ways embodied all the best wisdom, qualities and values of the ancestors and traditional communal life. He attempted to maintain and foster these values even as he attempted to help Tanzanians engage with the rapidly changing, modern and globalized world on their own terms based on their own values. While his efforts helped Tanzanians maintain much of their spiritual and cultural legacies, they failed to help them develop economically in a changing world. Tanzanians are left with the conundrum: How do we achieve economic development in a global age without losing our Tanzanian souls in the process?

Tanzanian Christians ask, "How do we maintain our traditional spirituality and values compatible with biblical revival values in a globalized world? Many of the peoples of today's Tanzania began to ask this question, individually and collectively, as more and more experienced life in the rapidly growing global city of Dar es Salaam following World War II at precisely the same time the Christian awakening began to spread rapidly throughout Tanganyika.

## URBANIZATION

While the people of Tanzania traditionally saw agriculture as the key to success in life, more and more of them had moved to the city even before independence. In a society "in which some members still recalled pre-European days and ways, a westernized and entirely twentieth-century generation was beginning to appear" (Bates 1965, 638).

Approximately 87,000 Tanganyika Africans were conscripted to serve during WWII, and

as they returned after 1945 “an acceleration of pace was to be expected” (Bates 1965, 638)

The boom in migration to Dar es Salaam did indeed begin in the late 1940s after WWII (Ivaska 2011, 8). Between 1938 and 1944, Dar es Salaam's African community increased by over 50% from 26,000 to 40,000, signifying “a lasting shift in both the scale and nature of urbanization” (Brennan and Burton 2007, 38). Difficult conditions in the rural areas combined with an increasing need for access to cash available through work in the city fueled urbanization as more and more Tanzanians wanted to experience the “glamour of life in the capital” (Brennan and Burton 2007, 38).

Between the last colonial census of 1957 and the first census after independence ten years later in 1967, Dar es Salaam's African population almost tripled from 93,363 to 272,821 (Brennan and Burton 2007, 53). Dar's population rose from 517,000 in 1975 to 609,000 in 1977 just two years later (Kurtz 1978, 43).

The economic disparity in Dar es Salaam began early, “While for educated Tanzanians, urban prospects were quite good, for most migrants getting by through informal economic activities, poorly paid and often irregular, unskilled labor, life remained a struggle” (Brennan and Burton 2007, 44). During his 1963 survey, Leslie received a response expressing what many felt, “I must go to town. They are all saying this from the bottom of their hearts... Here in the country we live, but what a life! It is nothing but work.” The lyrics of popular songs like, “*Baba Anna*” (Father of Anna) by Dar International Orchestre (2009) and “*Kassim Amefilisika*” (Kassim is out of money) and “*Visa Vimenichosha*” (I am sick of complaints against me) by Mlimani Park

Orchestra (2009) clearly depict these decisions as well as the daily struggles of life in Dar for so many who went with high hopes.

In his survey of Dar es Salaam, Leslie (1963, 1-2) found,

“They are drawn by success stories (not necessarily always true) of those who have gone before; the sight of goods brought home by those who have done well; and their polish; and their disbelief in such stories as they hear of unemployment, and a converse belief in stories of available jobs; a mistaken confidence in an inadequate education; the discontent with country life of the boy who has been to school; a dislike of irksome duties and disciplines at home and in the village and tribal society; the search for an uncontributing anonymity in town; and by the glamour of the town’s reputation; all come basically because it is in town that they can get on to a cash basis of living.”

Stories of friends and relatives in the growing coast city of Dar led many to believe education and city life were, in fact, the new keys to success. Many in the new generation, like their peers throughout the world, did not want to spend their new freedom working the land as their ancestors did. They wanted to be free to develop their minds and careers studying and working in the city. Others just wanted to try their luck.

Nyerere and new national leaders saw urbanization as a scourge and constantly attempted to discourage Tanzanians, especially the young and unskilled, from moving to Dar. At best, they saw city life as a temporary and necessary evil, only for the best and brightest as they studied and worked to build the new nation. Nyerere’s ultimate goal was always for Tanzanians to build their new nation up from the grassroots level in the fields living together in villages. When Nyerere forced Tanzanians to live in villages and farm the land, many resisted and refused. Most “modern” Tanzanians wanted to live in the city and enjoy the opportunities and freedoms of city life in a new independent nation.

As early as the 1930s, the British called rapid urbanization with its loss of a moral consensus a “lamentable phenomenon to be avoided at all costs” but by the 1950s, they

viewed it as a “difficult but necessary phase of the modern development of urban Africa” (Ivaska 2010, 10). In 1955, M. J. B. Molohan (1959) was appointed to study the social problems caused by African “detrribalization” (urbanization) in Tanganyika and asked to make recommendations to the British administration regarding how to address them. These social problems were described as the result of “the translation of the individual from the closely knit social structures of his rural home with its spiritual and tribal sanctions, codes of behavior and respect for tradition to a new agglomeration of individuals to whom he feels he has no sense of belonging and who have little feeling of fellowship amongst themselves” (Molohan 1959, 48). This angst over African urban anomie became a “metaphor for the greater difficulties colonial administrations faced in maintaining order and exercising control over diverse and ever-changing African urban populations” (Geiger 1997, 20).

As the people of Tanganyika flocked to the cities long before independence, the British noted the need to develop new community values fit for urban life. They recognized the importance of religious groups and their ability to develop and foster community. A Social Survey of Dar es Salaam had found problems reminiscent of anomie, including, loneliness and frustration, as well as the absence of morals and religion, all exacerbated by the breakdown of tribal connections and influence along with the loss of the status, values and guidance provided by them (Molohan 1959, 49).

Teisen (1969, 87) described this process in post-independence Dar es Salaam:

“Every day a new stream of people comes to the capital for the first time. Young people make the break from their isolated tribal societies with their fixed patterns of tradition and duty. They all migrate to the town in hope of finding new possibilities and bettering their living conditions. Often all they possess is the address of a distant relative or friend who may possibly help them through the first difficult days. Many seek adventure



and the impossible. But even those who wish simple things like work, food, and clothing frequently seek in vain. Many are disappointed and return home...He who attaches himself to urban life experiences in the marrow of his soul the consciousness that while he has shrugged off the severe behavior patterns of rural society, he has also relinquished its close fellowship. Such men may become lonely and rootless as a result. Or they may find one another and cultivate their traditions rituals and religion”

Leslie (1959, 4) describes again this frustration and disappointment stating,

“..his aim in coming to town has been to get cash; yet he finds that he is poor (whereas in the country, with far less money, he was not): yet being poor he is surrounded by tempting things which can be had only for money; all the glamour which helped draw him to town-dances, women, drink, clothes, cinemas, taxis, require money before you can enjoy them; they are so near yet out of his reach...there's always somebody to be seen enjoying the things he cannot get...To get cash he needs work, yet the government whose duty he believes it is provide work for all does not give him work...”

This struggle continues to this day in Dar and has progressively been exacerbated by the acceleration of globalization that leaves so many youth left out aware of so much just out of reach. As more and more young Tanzanians now leave Tanzania, they often experience global opportunities are also just out of reach. They experience the same problems of city life on an ever greater scale in diaspora and with even less access to community with its social and spiritual capital, support and accountability.

Mbembe (Meyer and Geschiere 2003, 5) describes how globalization has often left many Africans merely “licking at the shop window” whereas Asamoah-Gyadu (2012, 42-43) describes African youth who are empowered by Pentecostal faith to have hope and take advantage of new opportunities. Many young Tanzanians today are often left feeling like mere “window shoppers” in a global mall. For many Christians, however, revival faith and community give them hope and support to negotiate temptations and deal with frustrations as they seek to take advantage of global opportunities and

contribute on a global stage. Many Christians go to Dar with education and skills that help them to find opportunities for study and work. Those who lack education and skills find Dar is full of growing churches and revival fellowships willing to help and mentor them. While the temptations and frustrations of urban life are always present, any Tanzanian Christian who truly desires to maintain and practice revival faith in the city can easily do so. In fact, many find faith in Dar through family members and revival outreach. These facts were confirmed throughout my research.

#### GLOBALIZATION: NEW OPPORTUNITIES AND NEW DANGERS

The brutality and unpredictability of foreign rule had simultaneously encouraged and discouraged, accelerated and retarded, the processes of urbanization and globalization in German East Africa and Tanganyika. At the dawn of independence, however, Tanzanians themselves had cautiously but enthusiastically embraced both so that even the most remote and geographically isolated groups in Tanzania “had contact with a world beyond the tribe, beyond even Africa, as none of their forefathers had” (Bates 1965, 638). The sights and sounds of global forces unfamiliar to the ancestors of the people of Tanzania were always most evident and most contested in Dar.

After independence, “All of this jostling of competing notions of culture played out in a Dar es Salaam crisscrossed by competing transnational networks of images, icons, styles, people and ideas. Multiple transnational imaginaries were in tension not only with national frames of reference, but sometimes also with each other” (Ivaska 2010, 85). As Dar was flooded with “images, icons, ideas, and items of style originating in multiple elsewhere” this urban context provided Tanzanians with new and exciting “material with which invocations and identifications of transnational scope, alongside

national and subnational, could be fashioned” (Ivaska 2010, 213). Against the wishes of Nyerere, their Father and Teacher who wanted them develop the nation in communal, self-reliant villages, many young Tanzanians wanted to realize their full potential as new, free individuals in the global city of Dar.

This embracing of city life did not come without feelings of ambivalence. Some of the most successful young urbanites of post-independence Tanzania were conflicted as they carved out new lives in Dar. In his study of the Matengo community in Dar, Hill (2007, 235) found one very successful young Tanzanian who, reflecting the views of many, stated, “I am a partial person.” In Dar, there was indeed a “sense of detachment” from both rural experience as well as the urban landscape. Hill (2007, 235) found a “recurring theme of a double-bind of nostalgia for the rural life they had not lived and discomfort in the urban life they had.” Many felt torn in two and incomplete in betwixt and between their local village and the global city of Dar. They were unable to feel fully at home in either place.

While many Tanzanians were fully embracing the city and the global flows they encountered there, Nyerere attempted to slow what he considered to be the corrupting influences of globalization, which promoted exploitation. In the 1980s, however, a series of events would lead to a change in government that would, in turn, allow Tanzanians much greater access to the ideas, images and icons of globalization. Extensive flooding in 1979 was followed by severe drought in 1980. Crops and bridges were destroyed. At the same time, a 100% rise in petroleum prices in 1979 followed by a short but very costly war to defeat Idi Amin increased foreign dependence. As a result, Tanzania “entered the 1980s in the midst of an unprecedented economic crisis but with a remarkably stable and

representative government” (Yeager 1982, 77). To this day, Ivaska (2010, 215) explains, “On a level of everyday life, the 1980s remains defined in the minds of many Tanzanians, even the better-off residents of Dar es Salaam, as a time of sometimes drastic shortages of even the most basic goods.”

In 1985, after Nyerere peacefully stepped down from power, his successor, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, immediately began aggressive liberalization of the economy. As a result, the severe shortages of even the most basic goods that had made life in Dar so difficult throughout the 1980s were no longer a problem by the 1990s. This dramatic change, however, marked the start of a rapidly widening gap between rich and poor. By the late 1990s, the landscape of Dar was “marked by the juxtaposition of extremes of wealth and poverty characteristic of African capitals in an age of neoliberal, multinational capitalism” (Ivaska 2010, 215-216).

In an effort to revive the economy, President Mwinyi agreed to the adoption of conventional liberalization reforms required by the International Monetary Fund’s structural adjustment program. Nyerere’s African socialism was soon replaced by the second Tanzanian administration’s economic *mageuzi* (reformation, lit. 180 degree turns). This capitalist transformation had a powerful impact on the people of Dar who were finally free from Nyerere’s socialist criticisms of urbanization and greed (Brennan and Burton 2007, 62). The new Tanzanian elite who had been deprived of the finer things of modern life were finally able to satisfy their “appetite for consumer goods and luxury items” (Brennan and Burton 2007, 65-66).

Since the end of *ujamaa*, Dar has “become a truly global city connected to the world as never before” with the resultant growing pains of “seemingly intractable

difficulties of environment, infrastructure and widening disparities between the rich and poor” (Brennan and Burton 2007, 66). As a result, Tanzanians often call their nation and its global city, *Bongo* (brains/intellect) or *Bongoland* because “such a place requires a particular sharpness of mind to thrive” (Brennan and Burton 2007, 67). If you can survive and thrive in Dar, you can survive and thrive anywhere. This is why many of those who do thrive in Dar are encouraged by their families to seek even greater success beyond the borders of Tanzania, in diaspora.

Between 1995 and 2005 Tanzania's urban population rose from 8.3 million to 14.4 million so that “it is this urban world and not in rural villages that the history of Tanzania is now being written” (Hill 2007, 233). Dar is now East Africa’s largest urban sprawl and one of Africa's fastest-growing major cities. It serves as “an historical exemplar of socio-economic and cultural change associated with rapid urbanization” as recent economic liberalization makes it “equally representative of contemporary trends in urban Africa notably those associated with globalization and the indigenous response” (Brennan and Burton 2007, 1). Complex flows and forces of urbanization and globalization have long been acutely felt and easily seen in Dar.

Dar grew into an “authentically national city; in demography, social composition, culture and religion” that genuinely represented the nation as a whole so well that “each phase of Tanganyika's modern history was embodied in the human geography of its capital” (Brennan and Burton 2007, 3). While most Tanzanians have been to Dar, at least for short visits to relatives, all have long been well aware of what is said and done in Dar, including constantly swirling thoughts and ideas from “multiple elsewhere” (Ivaska 2013, 213) both inside and outside of Tanzania.

Tension and ambivalence remained as Tanzanians increasingly abandoned village life for opportunities in the city. To many, Nyerere embodied Tanganyika itself as the voice of the wisdom of the ancestors of the villages. He was also the Father of the new independent nation of Tanzania, and consequently the sentimental and philosophical father of all Tanzanians. The global city of Dar, however, was the urban face and image of the new nation of Tanzania itself and home to more and more new Tanzanians, either literally or metaphorically through its powerful images. Tanzanians increasingly heard of these dreams and limitless global imaginings on the radio and through family and friends who had experienced urban life in the new nation.

For Nyerere, both urbanization and globalization were gateways to the greatest of all scourges, exploitation. The city was a necessary evil at best. As more and more Tanzanians abandoned village life, he warned, “If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants” (Nyerere 1968, 28). In a policy booklet entitled “Socialism and Rural Development,” he explained how even though only four percent of Tanzanians lived in towns (in 1967) the “lives of this tiny minority” were indeed “a matter of great envy for the majority.” He conceded and lamented, “there is an almost universal belief that life in the towns is more comfortable and more secure—that the rewards of work are better in the urban areas and that people in the rural parts of the country are condemned to poverty and insecurity for their whole lives” (Nyerere 1968, 111). Just as the British found they were unable to prevent Tanzanian independence, Nyerere found there he was unable to prevent increasing urbanization and globalization.

All Nyerere could do was warn and advise his people about the effects of urbanization and globalization. He clearly saw the beginnings of the contemporary era of accelerated globalization. Nyerere was one of the first Zanaki to become a Catholic and this faith also profoundly formed his character (Iiffe 197, 508; Kaduma 2004). Nyerere was a “Christian humanist” who called the church to lead the fight against anything that denied humans “the right and power to live as sons of the living God” (Huddleston 1995, 6-7).

He described globalization as he saw it in a 1970 during a speech at the Maryknoll Sisters conference in New York entitled, “The Church and Society”(Nyerere 1974, 82-101). First, he clearly describes contemporary globalization long before the end of the Cold War or the birth of the Internet, noting,

“The world is one in technological terms. Men have looked down on the Earth from the Moon and seen its unity. In jet planes I can travel from Tanzania to New York in a matter of hours. Radio waves enable us to talk to each other-either in love or abuse-without more than a few seconds elapsing between our speech and the hearing of it. Goods are made which include materials and skills from all over the world and are then put on sale thousands of miles from their place of manufacture.”

Nyerere then explains how these processes lead to greater poverty and exploitation. He notes,

“Yet at the same time as interdependence of man is increased through advance of technology, the divisions between men also increase at an ever-increasing rate...So the world is not one. Its people are more divided now and also more conscious of their divisions than they have ever been. They are divided between those who are satiated and those who are hungry. They are divided between those with power and those without power. They are divided between those who dominate and those who are dominated; between those who exploit and those who are exploited” (Nyerere 1974, 86-87).

This division of humankind into rich and poor even more than poverty itself was precisely what Nyerere (1974, 82) saw as the true problem of the modern world and the true cause of “misery, wars and hatred among men.” According to Nyerere, globalization caused the poor to become poorer and less able to control their own futures, making them increasingly vulnerable to exploitation in the process.

In a call for the Christians to resist and reject exploitation, Nyerere found globalization turns the poor, who are created in God’s image, into slaves of fellow humans who exploit them. Nyerere found Christian kindness, piety, charity and alms were all insufficient to help the poor. The church and its workers must actively fight to promote justice by attacking anything that “prevented man from living and working in dignity and decency.” In his call, Nyerere (1974, 100-101) cites Scripture including the famous words of Christ, “as long as you did it to the least of my brethren.”

Even three decades later, one year before his passing, Nyerere continued to warn against the dangers of globalization. In a 1998 speech he noted how Moses led his people in the wilderness relying on God’s provision of “water from a rock or manna from heaven or quails from somewhere.” Today, in “the wilderness of globalization and liberalization” Nyerere noted, “our god or goddess is the callous and uncaring market.” He lamented that Tanzania had been independent for only a very short time before it began to see “such a growing gap between the haves and have-nots of our country” (Mwakikagile 1998, 112-113). Until the end of his life, Nyerere called for the development of all people rather than just a small, privileged minority. Nyerere believed globalization led to exploitation that was antithetical to the flourishing of human equality and dignity intended by God in both African familyhood and in Christianity.



## CONCLUSION: NYERERE'S ENDURING LEGACY

The historical and political contexts of Tanzania are still largely influenced by the mixed legacy of Nyerere. Mwakikagile (2006, 14) reflects on life under Nyerere in one of the poorest and most ethnically diverse countries in the entire world. While Nyerere's policies clearly failed to deliver promised economic development, his ability to promote equality and unity has always been considered a great success. Mwakikagile (2006, 14) notes, "My life in Tanzania, like those of millions of other Tanzanians, was shaped and guided by those ideals." He believes these ideals helped Tanzania survive and earn praise as one of the most stable and peaceful countries on a continent with a reputation for chaos and violence (Mwakikagile 2006, 14). Nyerere's influence personified independence. Carey Jones (1966, 189) explains how people from every corner of Tanzania believed Nyerere "was the...nation" without whom Tanzania "could have dissolved like the Congo."

Mwakikagile (2006, 20) notes that while his tribal identity is still important, because of Nyerere's influence, he considers himself "Tanzanian first and foremost transcending my tribal identity." Nyerere proved it is possible to unite over 150 different tribes as one nation and to "avoid the tribal regional conflicts which have scarred, to a greater or lesser extent, almost every other country on the continent...if this were his only achievement, it would stand as a monument to the founder of the new nation" (Legum 1995, 195).

Even Nyerere's harshest critics never questioned his personal life as a model of "commitment, austerity, hard-work, humility and integrity." As they hear of the problems in surrounding nations, most of the Tanzanians I have spoken with both inside and

outside of Tanzania appreciate Nyerere's humility and his efforts to promote the peace and unity that are necessary for development even though he failed to actually deliver economic development.

Most of the Tanzanians I interviewed, along with many of my friends in Tanzania, appreciate Nyerere's dedication to the communal values of the ancestors that are compatible with biblical teaching and necessary to live in peace. At the same time, most lament Nyerere's inability to teach them how succeed economically and professionally in a rapidly changing world. While most appreciate Nyerere's warnings about globalization leading to exploitation, they see his attempt to prevent exploitation through African socialism as a failure. This is the struggle Tanzanians still face. Like so many in they world, they ask themselves, "How can we thrive in an increasingly global world without losing our local souls?" Many Tanzanian Christians raised in the ongoing evangelical awakening find revival faith and community help them negotiate new global freedoms and opportunities, but they are also honest noting how difficult it can be to nurture this faith in an increasingly globalized world. Many also note how it takes great initiative, intentionality and effort to travel with and maintain this revival faith in diaspora.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### FREEDOM AND DEVELOPMENT: VISIONS OF THE IDEAL MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

With the first set of research questions as my guide, I wanted to understand how Tanzanian Christians think about and plan for the ideal migration experience in light of their faith. Borrowing Nyerere's title, *Freedom and Development* (1973) as the title of this chapter seemed appropriate as I quickly learned that so much of the difficult decision to emigrate from Tanzania involves the best way to develop one's God-given skills. Tanzanian Christians grapple with the new freedoms and opportunities available in the United States as they attempt to balance self-actualization and personal development with the economic, professional, social and spiritual development of extended family, clan and nation.

In this chapter, I will begin with a brief overview of the Tanzanian diaspora to give some context necessary to understand when and why Tanzanians begin living outside of Tanzania in significant numbers. After this background, I will present the data related to my first two research questions: "How do stories that Tanzanian Christians hear before migration create a narrative or dream of a successful, ideal migration experience in light of Christian faith? How do those preparing to migrate construct a 'cognitive model' (Brettel 2003,62) regarding how a Tanzanian Christian migrant should 'think and behave'?" I will analyze the diverse responses to the first question before presenting in-depth the answers to the second question as those I interviewed seemed to enjoy sharing,

more than anything else in their life histories, how their personal experiences in the Christian awakening in Tanzania had transformed and shaped their ideas about how one should think and behave no matter where one lives.

#### A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE TANZANIAN DIASPORA

Despite their relatively small numbers, once I began looking for Tanzanians living and worshipping in the United States, I was amazed at how easily they can be found. I found Tanzanian Christians in the United States, especially pastors, are extremely well connected and make great efforts to remain so. They also actively help others in diaspora connect locally, nationally and internationally. Seven out of the twenty-seven people I interviewed are pastors (six men and one woman). Admiration and respect for these diaspora pastors became a clear theme in my research.

Only three people I interviewed had arrived before 1990. One pastor I interviewed, who has worked for decades with the wider African diaspora in the United States shared with me about these dynamics stating, ‘The Tanzanian presence in (his city) is a relatively recent phenomenon.’ He explained, “During the early 1980s a drought in Tanzania caused serious economic distress, inducing some people to seek opportunities and financial stability elsewhere. These educated immigrants began to come in appreciable numbers in 1986.” This was a crucial turning point in the history of Tanzania as we saw last chapter. The early 1980s was a desperate time in Tanzania remembered for drought and economic distress. Nyerere’s voluntary retirement from the presidency in 1985 marked the end of African socialism and the beginning of economic reforms and new freedoms.

The year 2000 marked another dramatic turning point after which Tanzanian immigration to the United States increased suddenly. My sample reflected this. Nineteen of the twenty-seven people I interviewed arrived in the United States in 2000 or later (three in 2000, one in 2001, two in 2003, 2007 and 2009, five in 2010, three in 2012, one in 2013). Those who had arrived before 2000 all noted how few Tanzanians there were in the United States when they arrived compared with their visibly larger presence in the last fifteen years. Most seemed very surprised but also very happy about the sudden increase in the population of the Tanzanian American diaspora after 2000.

This post-2000, newest wave of African migration marks a watershed moment in the history of Africa's development as more and more Africans join the "global caravan...seeking refuge in the new global village" (Arthur et al. 2012, xi; 3-4). North America has recently become the favorite destination as current estimates place 1.7 million African migrants in the United States (Arthur et al. 2012, xi; 3-4). While Tanzanians make up a very small minority of this total African immigrant population in the United States, they have joined the "global caravan" as part of this post-2000 spike in immigration. Later in this chapter, those I interviewed will explain why the United States remains the favorite destination of choice of many Tanzanians.

Stressing the late starters and new arrivers status of Tanzania immigrants, another man I interviewed explained, "Any Tanzanian over the age of thirty living in the United States was born in Tanzania." I found this to be true as the oldest second-generation Tanzanians (American-born children of Tanzanian-born parents) I encountered in every location were all university students, under the age of thirty. Notably, thirty years takes

us back precisely to the important year of 1985, exactly when Nyerere's presidency and the official era of *ujamaa* (African socialism in Tanzania) ended.

## DECIDING AND PREPARING TO MIGRATE: THE COMPLICATED PROCESS OF LEAVING HOME

As I listened to Tanzanians share their spiritual life histories, I sought answers to my first set of research questions: How do stories that Tanzanian Christians hear before migration create a narrative or plan for a successful, ideal migration experience in light of Christian faith? How do those preparing to migrate construct and carry a "cognitive model" or "migrant ideology" (Philpott 1973, 188) regarding their plans and goals for migration? Building on Philpott's work, Brettel (2003, 62) notes this "cognitive model" actually "underlies not only how one should think but how one should feel and behave as a migrant." I wanted to understand how Tanzanian Christians prepare and plan to think, feel and behave in ideal ways as they live and worship in the United States. I hoped to understand how Tanzanian Christians decide and prepare to come to the United States, making difficult decisions as people of faith.

Cohen's (1997, 180) criteria helped me analyze the Tanzanian diaspora experience. Tanzanian immigrants in the United States today have not been traumatically dispersed. They come voluntarily often to pursue advanced degrees, yet these voluntary decisions are still extremely difficult, complex and painful. Noting this complexity, Cohen (1997, 180) explains "migration scholars often find it difficult to separate voluntary from involuntary migration." For many Tanzanians, migration "culminates in the fulfillment of unmet needs, structural inequalities, and the inability of African central governments to create the conditions that are conducive for Africans to thrive" (Arthur et

al. 2012, xii). Those I interviewed did not tend to complain or criticize these conditions back home as much as they spoke about them with great sadness. Most indicated they want to thrive at home but can't seem to find the opportunities they need and desire in Tanzania. As a result, many feel as if they have little choice but to leave, at least temporarily, so that voluntary decisions often feel involuntary. Many were also very honest about feeling conflicted by guilt and self-doubt regarding these decisions.

#### THE ROLE OF FAMILIES IN DECISION-MAKING

As noted in the introduction, many of those I interviewed had already resided outside of Tanzania in other nations (Botswana, Cameroon, Germany, Japan, Kenya, Malawi, Turkey, Uganda, and Zambia) often where their parents worked and studied. Even before arriving in the United States, many of those I interviewed had already seen and explored opportunities for education, work, and ministry outside of their nation of birth. As a result, I realized that many of those I interviewed had not just experienced life outside of Tanzania before coming to the United States, but in some way, many had already come to accept and believe that full development of their educations and careers would likely require them to leave home just as their parents and other relatives had.

Because so many successful Tanzanians have left home to seek academic and professional development elsewhere, sometimes the decision to migrate is not really voluntary at all. In fact, two of the younger Tanzanians I interviewed both indicated that as the youngest children in their families, the decision to migrate was actually made for them by parents and older siblings who had already established themselves in the United States. When I asked one to explain the decision to migrate, he explained, "I had no choice. My parents told me, 'You will go to the United States like your brothers because

there are no opportunities for you here’.” Both seemed comfortable with this decision being made for them, trusting their families to guide and support them. In fact, family members “often provide...the cultural capital which makes migration possible” (Adogame 2013, 19).

Others also noted and explained the role of family dynamics in the decision making process. When one man began planning to study abroad, his father agreed that he should go to the United States to further his studies because “it would lead to better opportunities later.” The idea was simply to study abroad and then return to Tanzania. Even so, he said it was very difficult for his mother because he was an only child. She was not afraid that he would lose his faith but that he would “lose his focus and become distracted.” One man explained his father asked an uncle, who had been living in the United States for decades, to interview him before he left. After the interview, this man’s uncle assured his father that he was ready for life in the United States because he had already lived outside of Tanzania successfully to study theology in Malawi. In the end, the man’s father told him, “You are an adult now. Do whatever you want, but always make sure you are in God’s will.”

#### SURPRISING AND DIVERSE OPPORTUNITIES

When asked about the decision to move to the United States, another woman, who arrived in the mid-1990s, explained she had “never even thought about it, not even one day.” One day, however, a friend told her of an opportunity to work as a camp counselor in the United States with an international organization. This friend explained that the work was fun and the process of getting a visa was “very easy.” In a similar vein, another explained that his original experience with life in the United States came through an



opportunity to attend a summer camp for five hundred international students run by an international Christian organization. Another who thought studying in the United States was “impossible” received an opportunity years after helping to host a mission team of women from the U.S. who visited his parents’ church in Dar es Salaam and then remained in contact.

Some mentioned that they had actually thought about and planned to study in the United States for years beforehand. One explained that he had dreams of going abroad while attending high school. He wanted to study in the United Kingdom “simply for the international experience” and because he had stories about how difficult it is to maintain faith in America. Another said she began thinking about coming to the United States during her final year at the University of Dar es Salaam. She said this was a very stressful time and after earning her first degree she “just wanted a change of environment.” Both started working in Dar es Salaam and trusted God to provide opportunities to study and work in the United States.

#### THE GLOBAL IMAGE OF AMERICAN AS A FAVORITE DESTINATION

Considering that some had already mentioned exploring opportunities in the United Kingdom and South Africa, I began to ask about preferences regarding destinations. Most confirmed that the United States is still the overwhelming favorite destination, especially for Tanzanian youth today. One young man said, “The dollar is King.” He explained young people in Tanzania think, dream and plan in U.S. dollars. Tanzanians are constantly aware of the exchange rate. Many dream of houses they could build in Tanzania with certain amounts of U.S. dollars. Most agreed that the U.S. still

“stands alone” with a “global image as the top in the minds of young people.” It is still seen as the great “land of opportunity.”

Describing this “global image” of the United States as the best destination for opportunities outside of Tanzania, many mentioned, “What you see on T.V. is influential.” They note that no matter what you tell them, many youth refuse to believe “the America they see on T.V. is not real.” They mention the influence of the “glamor and flash” seen in American movies. While many Tanzanians realize these “imagined worlds” are often more like mirages, the images are still extremely powerful and seductive. Global images can overwhelm people and wear them down. Images “blur lines” between reality and fiction as they seem to offer enticing “scripts” for “imagined lives” far from home (Appadurai 1996, 35).

I found descriptions of these images and imaginings very reminiscent of the attraction of the “glamor and flash” of urban life in Dar (or any global city). Just as people from rural areas are surprised by the high cost of living in Dar, Tanzanians who hear of American salaries and dream in U.S. dollars often fail to comprehend the high cost of living in the United States. One noted, “They dream of what U.S. dollars could buy them in Tanzania, but they don't realize how little U.S. dollars actually buy when you live in the U.S.” He said many dreams are based on “unrealistic” conversions of currency that ignore the cost of living. These issues are very similar to those experienced by Tanzanians who have flocked to Dar for generations now only to be overwhelmed by the cost of living like poor “Kassim” who ended up completely broke (Mlimani Park Orchestre 2009).

When I asked a few to rank destinations for migration, almost all agreed that the United States was indeed the favorite followed by the United Kingdom and the nations of the European Union, followed by South Africa and other nations of East Africa. Others explained how despite dreams and plans, actual decisions are often very pragmatic and based simply on where someone is actually offered a scholarship or opportunity. Approximately one-third of those I interviewed have already earned advanced degrees while others are continuing their studies and pursuing advanced degrees. The vast majority of those I met originally came to the United States primarily to study and earn advanced degrees. Just as Tanzanians who go to Dar with a specific plan for study or work find greater success, those who come to America with a specific plan for study or work tend to negotiate struggles in diaspora much better.

#### THE PROCESS: PRAYERS AND VISAS

Adogame (2013, 20-24) describes Nigerian and Ghanaian Christians preparing to emigrate sharing detailed testimonies of God miraculously guiding them through the complicated “nightmare” of obtaining a visa, traveling and arriving in a foreign land. While Tanzanians I interviewed mentioned praying constantly during the process, especially for visas, they did not choose to elaborate on these details. Many stressed that even after they had obtained visas, often to the amazement of family and friends, they continued praying for God’s guidance. Some indicated they wondered if the visa was even a test of faith. For many Tanzanians, the visa was not necessarily an automatic confirmation of God’s blessing to migrate. This was a unique view that I had not seen in literature.

Regarding this process of preparing for migration, the only Tanzanian I interviewed

who referred to the visa as a miracle actually shared this story with more bewilderment than conviction reporting his family and friends were the ones who called it a miracle. He explained, “Many, many people who requested visas were being rejected at this time.” He said, “I just prayed, ‘Lord, your will be done.’” He answered a few, very simple questions and was granted a visa. Others were amazed and told him, “This is truly a miracle. This is not normal” and assured him “God is with you.”

Many indicated that even after procuring a visa, they continued to pray for confirmation. One said he realized that migration was a huge decision that he felt led to continually ask God specifically for confirmation until the day he left. Only a few specifically mentioned pastors helping them pray and “spiritually legitimize the plan to migrate” (Adogame 2013, 21).

Some described the process of obtaining a visa as quick and easy while others noted how complicated and challenging it was to provide proof of finances and bank statements. Another recalled that once he explained that he was going to the United States to attend a Bible college, the interviewer at the embassy pleasantly agreed that he should indeed follow God’s calling.

As people noted how much they had prayed, a common theme emerged. Several said that when they faced struggles here, they remember these answered prayers and how God alone opened doors allowing them to study and live in the United States. As a result, several mentioned praying something like, “Lord, you alone brought me here. This was your plan and not mine, so I trust you will help me now. I know you didn’t bring me here only to watch me fail.” This indicates a unique recurring theme. Many Tanzanians are constantly aware that answers prayers are not just reminders of God’s faithfulness but

also reminders to never stop praying.

While most of those I interviewed mentioned the importance of prayer as preparation for migration, many also noted how these prayers do not necessarily guarantee success or continued spiritual growth after arrival. Pastors emphasized, “You don't know a person's heart before they come.” They said many Tanzanians who come to the United States today have been very involved in revival fellowships back in Tanzania where they constantly asked for prayers during the whole process of migration. Even so, many of these same people who depended on God so heavily to provide them with the opportunity to come the United States end up leaving the church once they arrive here. They explained that while some are simply looking for material gain, others become “confused or overwhelmed by the freedoms” in the “land of freedom.” Many look at American youth who seem to live the lifestyles they envy without faith in God or the help of the church. Some Tanzanians begin to think the church will actually “hold them back” here in America, but they have no idea how to live without it. As a result, many become trapped in betwixt and between their revival faith experience of home and a secular American life they fail to fully understand or adopt.

#### WARNINGS AND ADVICE

When I asked people to share warnings and advice they had received as they prepared to migrate, I assumed they would love to share stories they had heard from family and friends already living in the United States as they prepared to migrate. Instead, most shared only very general recollections of people who advised them to follow God's Word and God's leading. Many shared awareness of a general warning that even some of those seemingly “on fire” with the strongest faith in Tanzania have completely lost their

“fear of God” in the United States. Several noted sadly, “Even pastors have lost their way.” One explained how her older sister, who had mentored her as a great “prayer warrior” in Tanzania, gave her a Bible and told her, “This is your guide. Never stray from it.” One married couple indicated receiving warnings and advice regarding financial and social matters but little regarding spiritual life. Still others reported receiving little warning or advice at all as they trusted family already living in the United States to receive and guide them.

I found Tanzanians I interviewed were much more interested and responsive when I asked how they would, in turn, warn and advise young Tanzanians preparing to come to the United States today. Most agreed Tanzanians planning to migrate must have a very intentional plan to maintain both their spiritual growth and their immigration status. Some stressed that if someone were already doing well and finding good opportunities in Tanzania, then they would probably advise him or her to just stay in Tanzania. Many lamented, however, the power of images in the media that make it difficult for Tanzanians to remain satisfied with opportunities at home.

Some emphasized that regardless of how well you warn or advise people preparing to migrate, many simply do not listen. Just as people all over the world refuse to believe that urban life can be as difficult as rural life, many preparing to migrate refuse to believe that life in America could ever be as difficult as life in Tanzania. Sometimes Tanzanians living in the United States are too embarrassed to share their struggles with those back home. Others share them honestly only to find people back home do not believe them, which discourages them from continuing to share these warnings and

lessons. All these factors can contribute to the perpetuation of unrealistic expectations and dreams regarding life in the United States.

Nyerere (1968, 111) lamented how the “lives of this tiny minority” living in Tanzania’s cities just after independence became “a matter of great envy for the majority.” He conceded, “there is an almost universal belief that life in the towns is more comfortable and more secure—that the rewards of work are better in the urban areas and that people in the rural parts of the country are condemned to poverty and insecurity for their whole lives.”

Tanzanians today often struggle with this same doubt regarding their nation as a whole. In today’s increasingly globalized world, there is an almost universal belief that opportunities, especially for advanced degrees, are far more plentiful outside of the borders of Tanzania in places like the United States. The small minority of Tanzanians who find opportunities to study and work in the United States are both praised and envied by the majority back home who often fail to understand or refuse to believe the struggles of diaspora life.

These dynamics are reminiscent of the findings of the 1963 survey of Dar es Salaam we noted last chapter, “They are drawn by success stories (not necessarily always true) of those who have gone before; the sight of goods brought home by those who have done well; and their polish; and their disbelief in such stories as they hear of unemployment, and a converse belief in stories of available jobs” (Leslie 1963, 1). In much the same way, many young Tanzanians today are drawn to the United States by success stories and dreams of finding the careers they believe their educations qualify them to enjoy. Others simply dream of living free in anonymity in a land where freedom

rules and the “dollar is King.” The majority of those I interviewed, however, are anchored in revival faith and left Tanzania with great caution, well aware of the spiritual dangers of life in America. Many expressed the absolute need for Christian community and accountability, values of the awakening, in the quest for spiritual survival and development in diaspora.

#### ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS ON THE PREPARATION AND DECISION MAKING STAGES OF MIGRATION

Kalu (2008, 282) described the first step of African Christian migration for many explaining, "The journey begins with prayers in Pentecostal churches and prayer camps for travel visas." Adogame (2013, 20-23) describes, migrants who are “vulnerable amid their desperation and anxiety to travel” seeking religious specialists and spiritual resources including virtual spiritual resources on the Internet. In the end, I did not hear Tanzanian Christians (most of whom worship in Pentecostal churches back in Tanzania) freely sharing or describing any of these details in depth. They did not feel compelled to share glowing testimonies regarding how God had miraculously provided them with the opportunity to study or work in the United States. While they mentioned answered prayers and expressed gratitude, they did not elaborate as much as I anticipated they would. Several mentioned feeling anxiety even after obtaining a visa as they continued to pray and seek God’s confirmation regarding such a huge decision in their lives.

While many confirmed that Tanzanian youth are often “crazy to go” with “migration fever” as Levitt (2001, 202; 85) found in her research in the Dominican Republic, most of the Tanzanians I interviewed recalled their own decisions to migrate with extremely honest reflection and mixed emotions. Kalu (2008, 279) shares the



common sentiment, “Everybody in my village wants to go to America” as he reflects on a song by the late Lucky Dube (a South African reggae artist beloved by Tanzanians) describing a young man who goes to the airport every day dreaming he could fly away to a far away land. Similarly, I heard a guest visiting from Tanzania tell a group of Tanzanians living in America, “Never forget that you are living the life those back home only dream about. You are living in and living out the dreams of others.” Another joked that Tanzanians who live in the United States always look so healthy and radiant that those back home ask them, “What skin lotion do you use?” They reply, “None. It's just life in America.”

Rather than being “crazy to go” or speaking about “living the dream,” however, many of the Tanzanians I interviewed felt surprised or conflicted by these opportunities to migrate. Many had to be encouraged by family and friends to explore and take advantage of these opportunities as they struggled with mixed emotions. In fact, the chorus of the Lucky Dube (2004) song *Kalu* references states, “The grass is always greener on the other side, until you get there and see for yourself.”

Decisions to migrate are never simple or easy. Castles and Miller (2009, 25-26) explain, “Migration is a complex process in which economic, political, social and cultural factors all work together. Concentration on push or pull factors is simplistic and misleading...No single cause is ever sufficient to explain why people decide to leave their country and settle in another” (Castles and Miller 2009, 30). In an increasingly globalized world, more Tanzanians are more able to leave than ever before, both financially and politically. At the same time, Tanzanians today are more aware than ever

before of both the opportunities and the dangers that may await them outside the borders of Tanzania.

African migrants from diverse nations and regions “are united by a common goal: to maximize the economic and cultural opportunities available to them in the West to raise their standards of living as well as those of their extended relatives back home” (Arthur et al. 2012, 6). One Tanzanian diaspora leader explained that in his American city most Tanzanians are “students and professionals who came to pursue an advanced degree or work for an employer who sponsored their entry into the country.” Many of them work as “technicians, executives, and managers.” Some have left families and friends behind in the effort “to gain a foothold in their careers” but plan to “return home a few years later.” A pastor in another city gave a similar account of the Tanzanian diaspora community there stating, “Every Tanzanian living here is a professor, a professional or a student pursuing an advanced degree.”

The Tanzanian diaspora is primarily built on the desire to pursue the best education possible in a globalized world. Many African countries emphasized educational development after decolonization so that education “expanded faster than the absorptive capacity of their economies” (Hanciles 2008, 225). Many African students who feel failed by “woefully under-resourced tertiary education“ at home, feel forced to seek scholarships and opportunities to further and complete their educations in the West (Hanciles 2008, 225). Many Tanzanians I interviewed expressed these same feelings. Many also noted the situation is dynamic. Many are constantly re-evaluating and re-assessing the state of education in Tanzania.

Tanzanians have not been traumatically dispersed by violence or persecution at home. This does not, however, mean that their decisions or experiences of migration and diaspora are not still complicated, difficult and even painful. For generations, Tanzanians have moved from the villages to Dar because the land is just too dry. Now many Tanzanians also leave Dar and move to the United States because the universities in Tanzania seem to be too few and too under-resourced. Many also noted corruption in many institutions.

Some said they did not necessarily plan to emigrate. Family and friends indicated, “God has given you the brains and ability to earn degrees in America. It is your duty to develop these gifts God has given you to the fullest.” Many feel an obligation to fully develop the intellect and education that God has given them. Despite the great dangers and risks, most still see the United States as the “land of opportunity” that provides the greatest opportunities to fully actualize their academic and professional dreams. Even as they dream of earning degrees in the United States, many Tanzanians also dream of returning home and making contributions to improve the very conditions that caused them to leave. Many I interviewed described very specific ministries that God had called them to establish and develop upon their eventual return to Tanzania.

Without exception, when reflecting on their lives in Tanzania before migration, the stories that Tanzanians I spoke with most loved to share were those directly related to their spiritual experiences of salvation, healing, testimony, evangelism and ministry in the enduring East African Awakening. When sharing these stories, they happily recalled how they, along with friends and family, were transformed and became “on fire” with a burden to serve God out of gratitude even as they continued their studies with equal zeal.

The student-led ministries of preaching and evangelism as well as ministries of healing mentioned in Chapter 2 had a profound impact on entire families and villages. Those I interviewed shared how peers and elders alike mentored them and advised them to maintain revival faith and accountability while they continued to pursue and develop educational goals and excellence.

#### FAVORITE PRE-MIGRATION STORIES: SALVATION AND SERVICE IN THE REVIVAL

One man shared a testimony from the mid-1980s that vividly illustrates the dynamics surrounding revival interwoven in the formation of Tanzanian Christian identity. This man was raised in a historic mission church and then saw his own mother miraculously healed through the ministry of a visiting Pentecostal preacher. He performed very well in school and earned the opportunity to attend high school in another region of Tanzania far from home. Trusting academic success more than faith, he went to the local dance club one night with his friends. Before entering, he and his friends were met by a group of girls from another high school who were sharing their faith and testimonies with other students outside. They told him and his friends, “What you find in there is only temporary but God’s gift is eternal salvation.” He laughed and invited them inside where he insisted they would have more fun. Much to his surprise, his efforts backfired and soon he was in tears recommitting his life to Christ and to the things of eternity. These girls prayed for him just outside the door of the dance club and his life was changed forever. As a result, he immediately became a strong student evangelist under the mentorship of his elder brother, who had helped their mother seek and receive healing years earlier. This one testimony demonstrates the influence of the revival in Tanzania throughout families, across denominations and in schools, as people, especially

students, heard and responded to the gospel message, received assurance of salvation and often healing as well. As a result, those whose lives are transformed by the revival feel compelled to share this new life with others as they mentor and help family and friends. These dynamics have been going on for generations now and continue to this day.

Specifically regarding the influence of family on faith, many shared that their parents and relatives were themselves pastors or even bishops. Others explained their parents were very devout Christians even though often from different denominations. Many noted, “We always went to church.” Many had parents who served faithfully in lay ministry, for example, as church elders. One woman shared about being very involved with her father’s ministry together with her siblings from a young age. Her father was a full-time professional engineer but still had his own ministry as an evangelist and mentor to theological students. She stressed how he supported and encouraged these students as he helped them to establish churches and develop their own visions for ministry. As part of a family ministry team, this woman explained that she and her siblings were “involved in ministry naturally” helping with crusades and helping to carry instruments and equipment “up into the mountains.” She has been greatly inspired by her father’s call to encourage, disciple and mentor others. She said, “I can’t leave church on Sunday until I have taken time to speak to everyone and make sure everyone is doing well.”

#### THE POWER OF WOMEN IN THE REVIVAL

This young woman’s story and desire to mentor others is evidence of another clear theme that spontaneously emerged out of these interviews. Many of those I interviewed, both men and women, specifically and emphatically noted the influence of women in their families as spiritual leaders who sparked and nurtured their spiritual

growth. One woman explained that her maternal grandmother always read the Bible. One man shared that although his mother could not read, she listened very carefully and learned the Scriptures “like a sponge.” In fact, he explained that after receiving miraculous healing, his mother “started the first church in our village, in our house.” He said, “She truly believed the Word of God and she lived it with a deep faith.” He noted this “deep faith” is easily found in Tanzania where it is “lived out in life practically.”

Another man explained that although his father was a pastor who had a great influence on him, his mother’s ministry to women had an even greater impact on him. His mother gave him the opportunity to begin and practice teaching to her women’s group, which met at 5 a.m., when he was only twelve years old. He explained, “This is where I learned to preach by just sharing a little bit and praying.” He laughed and said the women were very patient with him. He explained, “My mother would teach me and correct me when I got things wrong in prayers or sermons.” He serves as a pastor in the United States today and still praises his mother who taught him, mentored him and shaped the way he “communicated with God and others about faith.”

Many spoke of aunts and sisters who helped them grow in faith in Tanzania. One woman shared how her older sister, whom she described as a great prayer warrior, would take her up in the mountains to fast and pray for two to three days at a time. Another shared how her little sister had invited her to church telling her, “Jesus heals us and speaks to us.” She was “going through challenges” living in Dar at this time and finally accepted her little sister’s invitation. When she entered the church, she heard people speaking in tongues for the first time and understood little. She walked out still in confusion. Something, however, told her to persevere until one day she attended an

outdoor revival meeting within walking distance. She responded to an altar call together with her children and was saved.

Just as many Tanzanians find faith and grow in faith as the result of the efforts of their family members, once they experience salvation they feel a great burden to in turn share this faith with other family members. One woman explained that she “began seeking salvation” and “following the long, hard road to salvation” as a teenager partly out of concern for her father who was an alcoholic. She said, “I wanted us all go to Heaven together so I continued learning more about salvation.” Others noted Mwakasege’s call: “be the first fruit of faith in your family.”

#### SAVED IN THE CITY

Many also mentioned living with relatives, often in Dar, and the influence that this had on their faith. One man visited his aunt and her family on Easter break when he was eighteen years old. He quickly noticed this family was very different as they “had fellowship and prayed together every day.” He told them, “I want to be like this” and prayed with them to receive salvation making his “own decision to surrender.” After this, he began attending a Pentecostal church in Dar with his cousin and “grew much deeper in faith” with the support of his aunt’s “loving and attractive family.”

Others described relationships with relatives that were more contentious and complicated. One woman explained how she was sent to live with her brother in Dar. Her brother made her attend a Pentecostal church nearby “because she needed discipline.” She was surprised to see people were “so serious about a personal relationship with Jesus.” She explained that her mother was Moravian and while the Moravians had “taught her all the rules” they had not explained to her the reasons behind these rules.

Now in this Pentecostal church, she finally understood both the rules and the teaching together, but she still “thought they were crazy for crying in church all the time.”

Eventually, however, she was “drawn by this deep intimacy” so that she made “180° turn in her life” and actually began attending voluntarily until, she said, “they couldn't keep me away.” Ironically, this drastic change upset and worried her brother who thought his sister had lost her mind. Instead of forcing her to attend this church, her brother now tried to force her to leave the church. She said, “It turned into an all-out war with many battles.”

In a similar vein, others spoke of parents who were not “saved” or who did not attend church but who supported their children attending church and even encouraged them to do so. A few explained, “Our father didn't go to church but he wanted us, all of his children, to go.” Another explained how his father did not attend church but encouraged his brother, this man’s uncle, to take him to church with him when he was young.

#### TESTIMONIES OF HEALING AND MIRACLES

In addition to family dynamics, another major theme clearly evident in stories of revival is the importance of testimonies of healings and miracles. Chapter 2 described how beginning in the 1970s, testimonies of healing and miracles became very common in Tanzania forming a powerful new wave of revival and growth in the church. One man mentioned how his mother was healed in 1976 through the ministry of a visiting revival preacher. Afterwards, she told her family, “I've been sick for a year and not one pastor has come to tell me that God can heal me except this one now. I will wait until another



pastor comes to teach me about how God is able to heal.” She is the same woman who became the first evangelist in her village and started a church in her house.

Another women said that she grew up in a Christian home and “really loved Jesus.” At the age of twenty, she became very sick. Her mother’s friend asked her if she could take her to a Pentecostal revival meeting for prayer. The preacher was Emmanuel Lazaro (mentioned by many others as well) the co-founder of Tanzania Assemblies of God (Kalu 2008, 97). She said that as soon as he prayed for her, she knew she was healed of her sickness. While she did not immediately experience physical healing, she said that her faith grew strong and she felt great joy. Gradually, she experienced complete physical healing.

Another man who had been very successful in his studies confessed that he, along with fellow students, actually used to mock “born-again” classmates at school. When his sister's daughter became very sick, however, he suggested that he take her to a revival meeting led by the other co-founder of Tanzania Assemblies of God, Moses Kulola (also named by many of those I interviewed) because he heard people were healed in these meetings. She agreed and they all attended the meeting together. On the first night, Kulola explained, “I'm not going to pray today. I want you all to go home and tell God what you want Him to do for you tomorrow. Tomorrow I will just lay hands on you. I will lay hands and everyone who returns tomorrow.” When this man went home that night, he began pondering his own spiritual health. He said, “I didn't know how to pray but I just prayed, ‘God if you have really saved these other students who say that they are saved, then save me too. If you really can save people, save me.’”

When they went back to the revival meeting the next night, Kulola laid hands on everyone in attendance as he promised. The man said, “I didn't feel anything at the time but when I got home, as soon as I went through the door to enter my room, I began crying and felt the need to repent. I was just alone in my room, totally broken and crying but nobody else knew. I didn't tell anyone at first but people around me soon noticed a difference in my life.”

The man's niece was indeed healed of her life-threatening illness. She is alive and well today, married with children and living in Dar. He explained, “It's funny. I just told her last week, I don't know if I ever told you, but you are the reason I got saved.” He reflected, “It's funny thinking back that I don't have any memory of her healing at that time. I only remember my own experience of my own salvation. But she was miraculously healed of a life-threatening illness and is alive and well today.” This man's story is indicative of how testimonies of healing and salvation are often intertwined.

In addition to healing and salvation others spoke of experiencing other miracles during their lives in Tanzania before migration. One woman mentioned how difficult life was during the economic distress of the 1980s. She spoke of hard times and long lines for basic goods. She said, “We had no choice but to pray for God's provision, day after day, hour by hour.” She emphasized, “We couldn't buy things on the black market like others because we were Christians. We had to completely rely on God.”

She explained how one day she was devastated that she would have to serve her husband tea without sugar. She prayed, “God I need sugar.” Miraculously, a friend showed up and gave her some sugar. She began praying specifically for basic goods like sugar and soap and God continued to provide them in miraculous, surprising and even

comical ways. She explained that people she didn't even know would show up explaining they felt led to give her something she needed. One day a man who was so drunk he could barely walk was convicted and somewhat reluctantly gave her much needed soap. She said these miracles taught her "God is real and God is mine, and not just the God of my father or mother but mine personally." It was during these difficult times as they relied completely on God's provision that she and her husband started their own ministry. They remain in ministry together today in diaspora.

Another key theme evident in testimonies regarding the revival in Tanzania is how it has remained as it began, interdenominational in character as described in Chapter 2. The Big November Crusade was a very visible reminder and demonstration of this unique legacy. The revival has influenced every denomination and promoted ecumenism. Many I interviewed were from Catholic families or mentioned that one parent was Catholic. Some still worship in Catholic churches both here and in Tanzania. One attended a Catholic boarding school where she "loved rosary prayers and times with prayer groups." Another mentioned the influence of the Catholic Church's *jumuiya ndogo ndogo* (small communities) in Tanzania and has been sharing this ministry with his priest here in the United States. He said his family went to church every morning at 6 a.m. and that people would invite everyone else in the neighborhood to join them. He said these "small communities" of about ten families each, were a "great place to meet neighbors and know everyone's prayer needs."

Protestants and Pentecostals I interviewed (including many who seem to identify as both Lutheran and Pentecostal) stressed, "revivalists are very powerful even in the Catholic Church." One of those who grew up Lutheran and is now Pentecostal stressed

that unlike in decades past, “now Lutherans and Catholics accept revival and the works of the Holy Spirit and do everything the revivalist do.” Like many he emphasized, “Today it is not necessary to leave the Catholic or Lutheran church to be charismatic.”

One man, the son of a Lutheran pastor, recalled visiting a Pentecostal church with a friend as a child. He said he was surprised by the lively worship. Others noted gradually going “back and forth” between mainline churches, Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran, and Pentecostal churches like Tanzania Assemblies of God before finally deciding to fully join Pentecostal churches. One noted how his Catholic cousins, with whom he lived, originally mocked him for being “born again” and switching to a Pentecostal church but these same cousins eventually praised the changes they saw in his life. He told them, “I fear God” and “I can’t help but share what I feel in my heart.” He said that at this time, in the 1980s, many in the Catholic Church did not want “saved” people to worship with them because they were seen as “causing chaos.” He explained he simply had to find “a place where my new faith would be nurtured and where I could confess salvation openly.”

Another man mentioned how after being saved in a revival in 1986, he discovered that baptism was a very long process in the Lutheran Church. He became discouraged and joined the Pentecostal church. Another man mentioned being the youngest child in a large “good Lutheran family.” His mother suffered terrible pain and was hospitalized many times with no relief until she “fell into despair” when he was still a small child in the 1960s. They attended the first evangelical revival in their village because his mother had heard that it was possible to be healed at these revivals. She attended the revival led by Kulola and was completely healed. The entire family came to faith in Christ as the

result of his mother's testimony, which also had a powerful impact on the entire village. He said that while his mother had a “living testimony of how God performs miracles today” others told her “these are false prophets.” (Another man also mentioned that a pastor told him revival preachers were false prophets). They gradually and eventually left the Lutheran church for the Tanzania Assemblies of God. He said this was an agonizing and painful sacrifice but emphasized like all others that these sacrifices are not necessary today as revivals and healings are now common and welcome in all denominations in Tanzania.

The “experience of the Holy Spirit” in “neo-Pentecostalism” is “trans-denominational” (Asamoah-Gyadu 2013, 11). Historic mission churches in Ghana finally realized “their very survival has come to depend on how open they are to a charismatic ecclesiology and culture” (Asamoah-Gyadu 2013, 11). I heard Tanzanians expressing a similar dynamic and realization in the historic churches of Tanzania. I have also seen this dynamic personally worshipping together with Tanzanians both in Tanzania and in the United States since 1998. Many of those I interviewed demonstrated and explained how charismatic/Pentecostal believers are present in all denominations in Tanzania and how, even though some tensions still exist, to a great degree, all denominations have now learned to accept and embrace charismatic/Pentecostal believers and their experiences of the work of the Holy Spirit.

As the result of revival, many Tanzanians experienced very dramatic life-changing conversions. Many vividly remember and shared with me the actual date and year of their spiritual awakening (almost like a spiritual birthday). Many noted how they were “nominal Christians” before they were saved. Many recalled how they finally

realized that they needed to have their own personal faith and that they could not rely on the faith of their pastors or parents. One man said, “I thought I had a ticket to heaven because of my parents” who were leaders in the revival movement. Many shared how they realized, “Christ died for me personally.” Many also noted feeling a dramatic feeling of peace and assurance but often keeping this experience to themselves for some time. Many shared how others noticed the dramatic change in their lives even before they told anyone about their experience. Almost every one I interviewed quickly become involved in revival evangelism. Many noted feeling this great burden to share this personal faith in Christ with others as well as feeling a new compassion and concern for others.

Many became involved in ministries of evangelism flowing out of the revival. Some started true family ministries in which mother, father and children all worked together to serve in voluntary ministries of evangelism. Many joined in mission trips to Kenya where they helped to conduct outdoor revival meetings. One man began leading revival meetings with his family back in the 1970s. He finds people in both Tanzania and Kenya more responsive today than ever before. He explained how Muslims who used to only stand on the margins and watch these revivals are now coming forward to receive Christ. In addition, he said that nominal Christians who used to be too embarrassed or ashamed to show emotion for fear of being ostracized by others as fanatics now come forward. Tanzanians today are confident they will be accepted in almost any church as revival faith is widely accepted and embraced in all of Tanzania’s denominations now.

One woman recounted a mission trip to an impoverished area of Nairobi where they held an outdoor revival. She said she was amazed to see such poverty within sight of Nairobi’s city skyline (visible evidence of globalization and the widening gap between

the rich and poor in Africa where the very rich and very poor often still live in very close proximity). She said, as lay revival evangelists, even they were amazed to see “so many miracles, so many people saved and so many people delivered of demons.” Just before the last day of the revival, a heavy rain poured down and washed the area clean. The sun came out just in time to hold their meeting. Again, they saw an overwhelming response as many more were saved and delivered of demons “like we had never seen before.” She said those who received salvation and deliverance the day before came back and “sang for joy.” She said, “In the end we didn't want to leave. We wanted to stay right there in this poor area with them.”

Another man's parents, who were leaders in the revival movement, have started a Pentecostal church and outreach to the predominantly Muslim population living near *Mnazi Mmoja* in Dar today. This is a great example of Tanzanians saved in the revival remembering the people of the city and engaging in urban ministry right in the heart of one of the most historic areas of a growing global city. As many churches are being built in the newer and nicer suburbs of Dar, away from the city center, others remember and serve those still living in the heart of the city.

Finally, one of the strongest themes that emerged from these testimonies of spiritual life in Tanzania before migration revolved around the importance and vitality of student ministry in Tanzania for all three generations of Tanzanians I interviewed. Almost all of them were saved as students, as the result of ministries in the school, mentored by older students, and then quickly involved in ministry themselves as students. Many mentioned that following their dramatic conversion experiences they “didn't know what to do.” Soon after, however, many of them were quickly visited by or sought the

help of older students who prayed for them and mentored them in faith. One woman even taught Sunday school while she was still in primary school.

All of those I interviewed were involved in some way in student-led ministries mentioned in Chapter 2, like Scripture Union (UKWATA, *Ushirika wa Kikristo wa Wanafunzi Tanzania*, (Christian Union of Students in Tanzania)) in high school and TAFES (Tanzanian Fellowship of Evangelical Students) in university. One man who attended a Lutheran high school recalled receiving the “baptism the Holy Spirit” which gave him a “fire for evangelism and preaching.” Every Sunday he and his friends would visit other Lutheran high schools in the region to preach. They often walked up to three hours one way and gained a great reputation for preaching. Schools began to invite them and even Catholic schools would invite them to preach to their Lutheran students. He said, “We looked forward to the weekend so we could walk three or four hours, even in the rain, to preach. We actually looked forward to the struggles and sacrifice.”

At this time, in the 1980s, many students noticed morning services in Lutheran churches were “not very lively” and in response the youth started their own revival fellowships in the evening for those who had been saved, and who were “alive” and “awake” in faith. Older students mentored younger students but many pastors soon became suspicious and would even send church elders to “look in on” these student revival fellowships. Another man mentioned how his pastor wanted to limit the activities of his student fellowship. As a student leader he told the pastor, “The Holy Spirit has opened our minds. You are fighting against the Holy Spirit. Come and visit us at the schools and you will see.”



Others spoke of revival meetings and prayer meetings organized by students even in government schools held early in the mornings and in the evenings as well as on Saturdays. Pastors and students were invited and welcomed in these inclusive fellowships. One mentioned organizing and raising funds for a nationwide Easter camp for students and inviting a government official as guest of honor. One woman recalled walking long distances to attend Bible study every day during high school. As she later earned a degree at the University of Dar es Salaam, she attended a student led revival fellowship every evening.

Many emphasized the importance of strong follow-up after evangelism and conversion leading to mentorship and accountability. Having been mentored by older students after their conversion, many helped to mentor younger students in return. For generations students in Tanzania have studied the Bible together and encouraged and challenged one another. They continually ask each other, “Are you for God or for the world?” As they remain committed to education and studies they also encourage one another to be “on fire for God.” For generations, the Swahili language has united students from every corner of the nation and enabled them to share their faith with others and encourage one another free of the constraints of language and tribalism.

#### **STUDENT OR EVANGELIST? BOTH!**

The last main theme that emerged out of the testimonies of student involvement in the revival was the tension caused by many who felt such a great burden for ministry that they wanted to abandon their studies. Others wanted to leave school in order to attend a Bible college or seminary. Many said their family and friends encouraged and even begged them to finish their studies first. One man said that in the past it was especially

unpopular to attend seminary because it was “declaring poverty.” Anyone whose national exam results qualified him or her to study other “academic” subjects would pursue academics rather than attend seminary. One man explained, “Even my grandmother was against me going to seminary.” Relatives worried about students saved in the revival becoming “*walokole wajinga*” (foolish/ignorant religious fanatics) who “cried all the time” and abandoned their studies to pursue ministry full time.

Another man said his uncle, with whom he lived, didn’t mind him leaving the Catholic Church after he was saved but worried “now you will just be crying all the time like the others.” He said, “You won't be able to succeed at anything. It's all over. You will fail at school and at work. You will just be crying all the time like the others.” He said that he worked hard at school to overcome this reputation for “emotionalism and chaos” and God helped him to succeed in his studies until his uncle and the rest of the family saw that “someone could be saved and not become stupid.”

Another man explained that he felt such a burden to serve that as he waited for his high school exam results, he wrote a letter to his Bishop explaining this call to serve and asking for advice. The bishop responded and told him that while it is true God calls people of any age, he would be wise to complete his education first. The bishop said, “Continue studying but don't lose the call. We need educated servants.” He went on to study engineering at University of Dar es Salaam but the call became stronger so that he still found it difficult at times to finish his studies.

Students gave powerful testimonies and more and more saw that it was possible for students to be totally “on fire for God,” fully participating in revival and evangelism and still very successful in their studies at the same time. Younger students were inspired

and encouraged by older students who were great evangelists and great students at the same time. They held one another accountable and inspired one another to follow Christ as “educated servants.”

One pastor recalled organizing Tanzanian students living near a combat zone to meet and pray for peace during the war to defeat dictator Idi Amin of neighboring Uganda. More than ten thousand youth gathered to pray for peace perilously close to the danger zone where planes were dropping bombs. When government officials questioned the pastor about the event, he told them “We prayed and God alone protected us.”

These testimonies of faith in Tanzania demonstrate that while many Tanzanians throughout history have struggled with the move to Dar (often due to limited education and skills), many Christians who go to Dar for educational and career purposes are able to maintain and often even find faith as they connect with relatives, churches and revival fellowships that provide them with the accountability and ministry opportunities they seek. Many of those I interviewed were actually saved in churches and revival meetings in Dar. No one gave any indication that maintaining faith is any more difficult in Dar, than it is in rural areas. Reflecting on Greeley’s (1967) finding that urbanization does not “abolish” but rather “modifies” religion, Mugambi (2004, 8) maintains African spirituality is still “intense” in African cities even as its expressions absorb and negotiate dynamic “global influences.”

## CONCLUSION

For generations, networks and fellowships of students in both rural and urban areas of Tanzania have worked to combine strong academic success with strong faith in Christ. For many, this combination has formed a great deal of the main core of their

identity as Christian scholars, saved and active in the revival, but also pro-active in taking advantage of new global opportunities to pursue advanced degrees as good stewards of talents God has given them. In the formation of this identity, many encounter an inherent tension as they see that fully developing one's God given academic and professional abilities while still fully serving in the revival often becomes much more difficult outside of Tanzania, in diaspora, where many feel they must go in order to find the best academic and professional opportunities today.

Over and over again, I heard Tanzanian Christians explain, "Back in Tanzania, we went to church every day." Many mentioned making time to study the Bible, pray and worship together in community every day in Tanzania. Many recalled seeing their lives change in dramatic ways visible to others as Christians held one another accountable. Many shared a great desire to be involved in ministry and evangelism. Many expressed a burden to share their new joy and faith with others.

In the end, as Tanzanians form a "cognitive model" and "migrant ideology" (Philpott 1973, 188) regarding how to think, feel and behave as transnational migrants, many dream of maintaining revival faith by continuing to participate in revival fellowship and ministry at the same time they seek to take advantage of the best global opportunities for the academic and professional development of their God given abilities. As they hear horror stories of ruined faith as well as of success stories of great academic and professional achievement, many Tanzanians emphasize the "script" for their new "imagined life" (Appadurai 1996, 35) in the United States must always be rooted in and compatible with revival faith. Most strive to make most of new freedom to develop their

God-given abilities as educated servants who are spiritually awakened scholars and professionals in an increasingly globalized world.

This revival faith forms what is probably the very core of the identity of most of those I interviewed. It is this revival faith and this identity as awakened scholars and professionals that Tanzanian Christians seemed most determined to carry with them, protect and maintain throughout all stages of the process of migration as they live their lives across borders.

## CHAPTER 5

### FREEDOM AND UNITY IN THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

#### PART ONE: THE TANZANIAN DIASPORA

“I have been away from Nigeria for 30 years...In all these thirty years I have been convinced that I was living abroad....It now turns out, however, that I have actually been living in the diaspora. This sounds like a very lovely place...Diaspora. What a lovely word.”

(Toks-Boy blog post in Dufoix 2008)

By the 1990s, the term diaspora was already “being applied to most of the world’s peoples” (Dufoix 2008,1). This current use of the word diaspora raises essential questions regarding migrants’ options and their formation of complex identities and communities across borders. The word diaspora provides meaning and strength for groups of people who feel connected in some way as they form identities and communities crucial in “reducing or at least dealing with...distance” (Dufoix 2008, 3). The word diaspora, “gradually developed into a general concept in reference to ethnic and religious minority groups living outside their country of origin” (Ter Haar 2001, 1).

In the era of globalization, diaspora can now simply mean any “transnational community” (Dufoix 2008, 30-31). Today, with technology, those living in diaspora can experience a range of emotions from “co-presence” to “dual absence” as ‘here’ and ‘there’ have lost some of their meaning (Dufoix 2008, 99-100). Diaspora is a perfectly “global” word freed from the “heavy burden of misery, persecution, punishment” to reflect new human relationships to time and space as technology allows people “who resemble each other in some way” to create networks and communities across borders (Dufoix 2008, 106). Ybarrola (2012, 92-93) notes “whatever definition or typologies we settle on, we must avoid trying to put too firm a boundary around diaspora communities

(i.e., essentializing their identities), seeing them rather as dynamic and changing communities interacting in complex sociocultural contexts in the host society as well as back home.”

## HOW TANZANIANS USE THE WORD AND UNDERSTAND THE CONCEPT OF DIASPORA

I sought to understand how the many academic uses of the word diaspora actually relate to and help describe the lived everyday experiences of Tanzanians who now live in the United States. I wanted to understand how Tanzanians living here themselves understand the concept of diaspora as they maintain and construct transnational identities in light of faith. First, I had to ask the question, “Do Tanzanians themselves even use the word ‘diaspora’?” If so, how and why?

A form of this word does appear in the New Testament three times translated as “dispersion” or “those scattered” in John 7:35, James 1:1 and I Peter 1:1 (Wan 2011, 26). The Swahili Bible translates these Greek words as *Utawanyiko* (diaspora) in John and I Peter and *waliotawanyika* (those scattered) in James (Vyama vya Biblia Tanzania 1997). Not a single Tanzanian I spoke with used the word *Utawayniko*. One Tanzanian pastor I interviewed did use the English word “diaspora” in both speech and writing describing an American ministry to African immigrants in the United States.

On its website (<http://dicotaus.org/>), the Diaspora Council of Tanzanians in America (DICOTA) states its purpose is “to unite and strengthen the Tanzanian American Diaspora and its supporters in order to enhance the economic health and social well-being of Tanzanians and Americans” with a vision of “promoting, enhancing and sustaining the relationship between the United States and Tanzania.” While professionals

speaking and writing English may use this “global” word, the Tanzanians I interviewed did not. For example, professional journalists in Tanzania use the term “*Watanzania waishio Marekani*” (Tanzanians living in America) when referring to the diaspora.

While they may not specifically use the word diaspora, the Tanzanians I interviewed all clearly understand the concept. Every one indicated they make great efforts to stay well connected with fellow Tanzanians scattered across the United States and throughout the world. The popularity of the annual Mwakasege conferences in the United States is evidence of this desire to stay connected to both fellow Tanzanians and with the ongoing Christian Awakening in Tanzania. All stay connected with those back in Tanzania at the same time. Diaspora churches and pastors actively help Tanzanians maintain and build these connections. This chapter will describe how the Tanzanians I interviewed understand, value and build diaspora connections and community.

#### THE NEGOTIATION OF MIGRANT IDEOLOGY IN DIASPORA

Many of the Tanzanians I interviewed explained that life in the United States is “not at all like” the life they imagined or expected. They continue to negotiate this great disparity between their original expectations and the realities of life in diaspora relying on their faith and the support of diaspora communities. Many describe adjusting their expectations of the ideal migrant experience on the fly as they negotiated a new culture and a new pace of life.

Describing the complexity of the “migrant ideology,” Philpott (1973, 188) believes it is important to “set what the migrant thinks he is doing against what he actually does.” Reflecting on Philpott’s concept of migrant ideology, Brettel (2003, 62) explains, “It also justifies or reconciles any differences that might arise between the ideal



'oughts' and the realities of the migration experience" serving as an "archetype" and "guide." Franz Boas "was less concerned with what people *do* than with what they *say* they do or say they *should* do" because he "felt the most important task in ethnography is to present the culture of a people from their own point of view, as perceived by the people themselves" (Rohner and Rohner 1969, xxiii).

As I listened to their stories, I found Tanzanians themselves reflecting deeply on these conflicts and contradictions as they compared both their short-term and long-term realities against the migrant ideologies they had developed early in the process of migration. I found many to be their own harshest critics as they compared and contrasted what they felt they should be doing as well-educated, revived Christians against what they felt they were actually doing in their new diaspora contexts.

#### UNITY AND DIASPORA

Unity has been at the core of Tanzanian culture for generations reinforced by the common language of Swahili long before nationhood. One of the most well-known Swahili proverbs, *umoja ni nguvu* (unity is strength), continues to teach new generations this traditional belief in the importance of unity as essential for peace. The influential East African Revival also promoted equality before God and unity. Leaders like Bishop Sendoro encouraged inter-denominational cooperation. The Tanzanian Christians I interviewed have brought this value with them. Most I interviewed place a high value on building community and unity in diaspora, not just with fellow Tanzanians, but also with fellow immigrants from all nations as well as with their American hosts and neighbors.

African nationalism was "meaningless" and even "dangerous" unless it was also connected to "Pan-Africanism" (Nyerere 1967, 170; 194). Tanzanians realized that their

“recognition of the family to which we all belong must be extended yet further-beyond the tribe, the community, the nation, or even the continent-to embrace the whole society of mankind. This is the only logical conclusion for true socialism” (Nyerere 1967, 171). This embracing of the “whole society” of humankind was completely familiar to those saved in the East African Revival who sought to live out New Testament early church faith and community following Christ’s call to love all people including enemies.

Nyerere himself started the process that would eventually lead to the formation of a Tanzanian diaspora. He was the first Tanzanian to study in the United Kingdom and the first to earn a Master’s Degree. He had earned a degree at Makerere in Uganda first and quickly returned from abroad to help build the new nation. He expected others to follow his example: study and earn a first degree in East Africa, pursue advanced degrees in the West and then return home to help build the nation (Nyerere 1967, 131). Many Tanzanians today seem to still plan to follow this formula as they form migrant ideologies.

Many in the first wave of Tanzanians seeking advanced degrees in the West “abandoned” traditional wisdom and values in an attempt to “prove to the colonial rulers” that they too were “civilized” (Nyerere 1967, 186). Many sought to become “Black Europeans” rather than “well educated Africans.” Nyerere (1967, 186) emphasized learning from others to “perfect and broaden” culture should never require Tanzanians to “abandon” their own culture.

Many of the Tanzanian Christians that I interviewed seem to agree with Nyerere’s view. Many conceded Tanzanian youth are often “crazy to go” and “just want to be American.” Those I interviewed, however, while very grateful for American hospitality

and opportunities, strongly reject many aspects of American culture they see as contrary to African Christian values and faith. The Tanzanians I interviewed expressed a desire to “perfect and broaden” the development of their God-given abilities. I found many negotiate today’s increasingly globalized world by seeking to maintain the best of traditional Tanzanian culture and spirituality that is compatible with biblical, revival Christian faith while simultaneously exploring and adopting new, global ideas, resources and practices. Many strive to fully develop their academic and professional potential, which they recognize as God-given, as globally educated Tanzanian Christians. Many also concede that this can be a very difficult task in today’s world.

#### “TANZANIANS LIVING IN AMERICA”: THE TANZANIAN DIASPORA IN THE UNITED STATES

The United Nations would define every Tanzanian I interviewed as an “international migrant.” Every one of them has lived “outside (his or her) usual country of residence for at least one year” (Koser 2007, 4). Hanciles (2008, 182) finds, “All things considered, the fairly generic definition of international migrants as *people who have lived outside their homeland for one year or more* remains perhaps the most functional” as it “focuses on the experience of uprootedness, regardless of the degree of choice or compulsion. The Tanzanians I interviewed all experience “uprootedness” daily as they live lives and practice faith across borders. Most explained how their choices were not easy and how their cultural and spiritual roots often remain in Tanzania as they attempt to grow and flourish in diaspora.

Today, through rapidly increased Internet access and phone use, more people than ever are more aware than ever of both global “disparities” and global opportunities to live

and work elsewhere (Koser 2007, 34). As Tanzanians explore opportunities and build unity and community in the United States they also keep one foot solidly planted in Tanzania with daily communication and frequent visits back home. Many of those I interviewed return to Tanzania annually. They live transnational lives as members of transnational diaspora communities that allow them to live their lives across borders both in and “in between” two nations simultaneously in ways that challenges us to rethink citizenship (Koser 2007, 27).

At the top of the homepage of the website for the Diaspora Council of Tanzanians in America (DICOTA) (<http://dicotaus.org/>) there is a link to a page where members can donate to the dual citizenship campaign (<http://www.gofundme.com/7jtyuw>). They explain, “Dual citizenship is an important right that has been denied to Tanzanians since 1964.” This denial of dual citizenship is a crucial yet sensitive issue that those I interviewed did not to discuss.

#### DIASPORA ON THE GROUND: HOMETOWN ASSOCIATIONS

In addition to gathering and connecting on the national level through DICOTA and Mwakasege conferences, Tanzanians also gather much more frequently on the local level through hometown associations. Regardless of the size of the Tanzanian community in a particular location, Tanzanian Christians find one another and strive to build community and unity. Tanzanian pastors in the United States are often key members and leaders of hometown associations that always welcome Tanzanians of all faiths.

Just as they do back in Tanzania, Tanzanians in diaspora place a high value on gathering to celebrate and mourn together. Weddings and funerals are extremely important community events in diaspora just as they are back home. Tanzanians

emphasized, “every celebration is a community celebration and every tragedy is a community tragedy.” Pastors stressed repeatedly how in the diaspora community, “There is no Christian or Muslim. We are all Tanzanians.” Tanzanians in the United States of all language groups, Christians and Muslims, rejoice and weep together. A Tanzanian pastor who has worked extensively with the African Christian diaspora in the United States on a national level for decades and has seen ethnic divisions in other African diaspora communities explained, “This is a unique strength and quality of Tanzanians, *umoja* (oneness/unity).”

Larger cities obviously tend to have larger, more well established hometown associations, but even Tanzanians who are relatively isolated in smaller cities make efforts to gather especially during weddings, funerals and graduations across ethnic and religious lines. While larger cities generally have larger, more well-established hometown associations, some indicated that it can also be easier for Tanzanians to become scattered and isolated in larger cities where they have longer commutes to work and where it may be logistically more difficult for pastors to find them. One man criticized his hometown association in a large city as “just social.” The majority of those interviewed, however, including pastors, were very involved with and positive about the influence of hometown associations. No one indicated hometown associations could be a corrupting influence promoting, “worldly dancing,” “compromised fraternity” or “syncretism” as reported by Wan and Edu-Bekoe (2013, 181-182) in their study of the Ghanaian diaspora.

Tanzanians I interviewed spoke positively of hometown associations as an important way to maintain the unity and community they value so highly. While they definitely see these gatherings as opportunities to serve and be Christian witnesses among

Tanzanians of other faiths here in diaspora, they emphasized unity and peace. These hometown associations do not replace, but rather supplement, Christian worship with fellow Tanzanians as well as with fellow Christians of all nations who value evangelical revival faith trusting in the power of Holy Spirit to heal and deliver. Gathering exclusively with the Tanzanian diaspora in hometown associations does not seem in any way to hinder Tanzanians as they continue to seek unity and community with people of all nations and faiths while living in diaspora.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE TANZANIAN DIASPORA IN THE UNITED STATES

While DICOTA, hometown associations and congregations all use websites and social media, most I interviewed indicated they stay connected with others in diaspora primarily through personal phone calls, texts and emails. Tanzanians in diaspora build networks to negotiate and overcome distance. For many Tanzanian Christians, however, this distance is not just a distance from a homeland or even from a culture or community back home but from a shared experience of revival faith and community. Many expressed experiencing spiritual distance and spiritual uprootedness living in a culture where faith and community are harder to find. Diaspora Christian communities allow African Christians who are similar both culturally and spiritually (as culture and spirituality are inseparable in African life) to create networks and communities across borders.

Many Tanzanians raised in revival highly value the Christian accountability provided by communities. Many encourage and help one another to follow Christ in holiness daily. The social, cultural and spiritual capital of these communities is often intertwined and inseparable. For many of those I interviewed, the spiritual capital through

constant prayer and accountability provided by these communities is as important, if not more important, than social/cultural capital.

Diasporas “usually presuppose longer distances and a separation more like exile” with a “constitutive taboo on return, or its postponement to a remote future” (Clifford 1997, 246). Distance and separation from cultural/spiritual life can feel like exile for many Tanzanians living in the United States. Many expressed a type of “taboo” on returning home before one has earned advanced degrees or some level of education they would not have been able to achieve back home. As a result, many postpone return until they have completed degrees and exhausted all opportunities for the development and advancement of their educations and careers. As they negotiate these struggles, many Tanzanians in diaspora make great efforts to connect with multiple diaspora communities. Pastors and congregations help individuals and families in this process.

Scholars studying diasporas, often reference William Safran’s essay in the first issue of *Diaspora*, “Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland Return” (1991). Safran (1991, 83-84) extends Walker Connor’s definition of diaspora to “expatriot minority communities” that share many, yet not all, of a list of characteristics he uses to define diaspora including: dispersal from an original center to at least two peripheral places, the preservation of a “memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland” including its physical location, history and achievements, as well as doubts and insecurity regarding the possibility of being fully accepted by their host country causing them to “feel at least partly alienated and insulated from it.” Members of a diaspora also often view their ancestral home as their “true ideal home and place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return, when conditions are appropriate.” Many

believe they should continue to promote and work for the peace and prosperity of their homeland. Through various connections many diasporas build an “ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity as a group...importantly defined by the existence of this relationship with the homeland” (Safran 1991: 83-84).

The Tanzanian diaspora in the United States exhibits degrees of all of these characteristics. The first generation immigrants I interviewed are all importantly defined by their experiences of being raised by members of their extended families in Tanzania as well as by their experiences of being raised by members of revival fellowships and Christian communities that served as their spiritual families. In many ways, many of the Tanzanians I met have relationships with their homeland that are defined by enduring bonds with those who nurture and mentor them both socially and spiritually much more than by an idea, consciousness or solidarity.

While the Swahili language, spiritual awakening, nationhood, and traditional African values preached by Nyerere have all definitely provided Tanzanians much unique material with which to form and develop a “collective identity” in diaspora (Clifford 1997, 247), Swahili has also fostered ethnic and regional unity and Nyerere’s loyalties were always both pan-ethnic and pan-African.

The East African Revival also contributed to the development of a Tanzanian identity that is not just pan-ethnic and pan-African but also rooted in a universal faith viewing all as equal before God and created in God’s image. While nationhood and revival have helped to form a unique, collective Tanzanian identity, this identity has always been open and inclusive. The Tanzanians I interviewed seek to maintain and



negotiate this unique yet inclusive Tanzanian Christian identity as they live and worship in diaspora.

Positive homeland perceptions of emigrants and positive homeland policies towards its immigrants are crucial in the shaping and “formation of diaspora identity” Sorensen (2007, 23-25). The fact that the Tanzanian constitution has never offered Tanzanians the possibility of dual citizenship indicates some tension in this relationship between the Tanzanian state and its diaspora population. Only one person I interviewed even mentioned citizenship and then only very briefly. This appears to be a sensitive issue.

While Safran and others look at “essential features,” Clifford (1997, 250) proposes another way to look at diasporas, suggesting a “focus on diaspora’s borders, on what it defines itself against.” This is helpful as it encourages us to seek another perspective on complex diaspora identities. Ter Haar (2001, 4) emphasized how understandings of diaspora identity and self-perception are crucial for overcoming misconceptions. This is important as transnational migrants “struggle for the right to define their own identity” (Ter Haar 2001, 53).

Most of Tanzanian Christians I interviewed clearly identify themselves with both biblically compatible traditional African values and the values of Christian awakening. In doing so, many I met also clearly identify themselves with those who reject all anti-biblical and anti-life aspects of globalization, Westernization, and Americanization: secularism (viewing belief in God as optional), materialism, consumerism and selfish individualism. This is important to remember and note because “in spite of the evidence significance of religious identity in diaspora situations today, the religious factors are

often overlooked in favor of an assumed ethnic identities” by Western scholars who view religion as “false consciousness” or an “expression of ethnicity” (Ter Haar 2001, 8; 53). For most of the Tanzanians I interviewed, revival faith and identity seemed much more important than any ethnic identity.

Ter Haar (2001, 53) calls scholars to take African religious history seriously. She points out how many African immigrants are “appalled by spiritual poverty in Europe” even as they are overwhelmed by the material abundance which can appear like Paradise or Heaven (Ter Haar 2001, 8). In the end, even as they see Europe as a secular “valley of dry bones from stripped of flesh and spirit,” a vivid image from Ezekiel, Africans who do find success in Europe spiritually and materially can feel and seem to others as if they have made it “halfway to paradise” (Ter Haar 2001, 10).

The Tanzanians I interviewed realized many of those back home feel those living in diaspora have made it “halfway to paradise.” They express gratitude for opportunities for academic and professional development as well as for access to abundant spiritual resources. In the end, however, most I interviewed found the spiritual success and development they value most highly much more difficult to achieve in the United States. In diaspora, many I met seemed to view the boundary line between the Promised Land and the Land of the Prodigal Son to be very thin indeed and often quite blurred.

Most of the Tanzanians I interviewed can now find success and feel at home in both America and Tanzania. A few of those who have lived here for more than a decade, however, indicated they at times no longer feel completely at home in either place. It seems that as they successfully negotiate life in two different worlds, with two different homes, they can sometimes also feel like strangers in both places.

Dufoix (2008, 79) explained, “Whether one feels one is from here, from there, or both-or neither, as in the case of the ‘dual absence’ described by late French sociologist Abdelmalek Sayad-what is always involved, even implicitly, is dealing with distance.” Revival faith anchored in Christian community and accountability helps many of the Tanzanians I interviewed “feel at home” as they negotiate distance and feelings of “dual absence.”

## CHAPTER 6

### FREEDOM AND UNITY IN THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

#### PART TWO: TANZANIAN TRANSNATIONAL FAITH AND IDENTITY

“Those who had been scattered preached the word wherever they went” (Acts 8:4).

With my second set of research questions, I sought to first understand exactly how Tanzanian Christians worship and express their faith as they live in the United States. African immigrant worship is “better experienced than explained” (Hanciles 2008, 359). Understanding this, I worshiped together with Tanzanians in more than a dozen different worship services in six different states in the United States.

First, I will share the literature that most accurately describes what I experienced in these services and heard in the stories of these Tanzanians. Then, I will share the data from the interviews describing how Tanzanians compare and contrast these diaspora worship experiences with those they experienced in Tanzania and still experience on visits back home. Munga’s work gives us a “thick description” (Geertz 1973) of Tanzanian revival worship in Tanzania while fellow African Christian scholars like Hanciles (2008), Asamoah-Gyadu, Adogame (2013) write in a way to help us understand how and why African Christians express their faith in highly experiential worship both at home and in diaspora.

In my interviews, the most common theme regarding the worship experience was “freedom in worship.” Most emphasized, however, that this freedom in worship alone is not sufficient. Many insisted freedom in worship must include both sound biblical preaching and the space/invitation for the Holy Spirit to heal and deliver. The best overall

description I found of this freedom of worship is that of pastor/scholar, Asamoah-Gyadu (2013, 12), who lists “pneumatic phenomena associated with Pentecostal/charismatic worship services” in Ghana, such as “speaking in tongues, healing and deliverance sessions, holding of all-night vigils characterized by loud extemporaneous mass prayers, the use of choruses instead of hymns, prophecies, visions and revelations.”

When the Tanzanians I interviewed emphasized freedom in worship in diaspora, they often mentioned these same elements of worship. Worshipping together with Tanzanians in the United States, I frequently witnessed most of these elements noted by Asamoah-Gyadu. Much like the participants of Pentecostal “experiential worship” in Ghana described by Asamoah-Gyadu (2013, 21), many Tanzanians in diaspora prefer to “literally abandon themselves in worship before God” as they do back home. Leaders in the services I attended encouraged freedom as many raised their hands, while others fell to the ground, cried out or wept. For many Pentecostals the “commotion” is indeed a crucial “sign of something more profound-divine visitation and worship” (Asamoah-Gyadu 2013, 21). Personally, I never found this “commotion” to be chaotic in any way. Worshipers were always free to remain seated and pray silently as well and many did. One Tanzanian pastor’s wife explained to me the most crucial element of worship involves inviting the Holy Spirit and allowing the Holy Spirit time and space to work.

As in traditional African religion, “drums, music and dance work together to invoke the present of the supernatural realm into the natural” in Pentecostal services in Africa today (Asamoah-Gyadu 2013, 30). Tanzanians worshipping in diaspora value freedom to move, dance, pray and sing loudly. Drums and guitars seem essential to

worship but I was surprised to find Tanzanians and fellow African immigrants with whom they worship often seemed to prefer playing songs from Western contemporary Christian music, singing in English. Musicians and singers seemed willing and able to use Western forms of music in ways that still created the same freedom in worship they experience back in Tanzania.

PRAYER: “TRAVAIL UNTIL YOU PREVAIL” (ASAMOA-HGYADU 2013, 46)

Constant prayer drives and fuels worship. The Tanzanians I worshiped with enjoyed the freedom to pray as loudly as they need to for as long as they need to. Most expect pastors to pray constantly over the preparation of their sermons and teaching. Most pray expecting the Holy Spirit to meet with them and heal them. It is truly “difficult to over emphasize the centrality of prayer (communal and individual) in the life of these churches” as “vigorous, informal collective praying forms part of every public gathering” (Hanciles 2008, 361).

I found Gornik’s description of prayer among West Africans in New York City very appropriate: "What do I know without ambiguity after my years of worshipping with African Christians? They pray. They pray standing up, they pray moving around, they pray kneeling down, they pray in loud voices, they pray all night. African Christians believe in the efficacy of prayer, join it with regular and intense fasting, and offer their lives to a God who hears and acts. Life is about prayer, and prayer is life. Prayer is theology lived, embodied, and enacted in daily life.” A pastor explained, “Tell them there is a prayer meeting, and the whole place will be filled” (Gornik 2011,127). I found this

true of many Tanzanians living and worshiping in the United States. They meet together to pray often.

A Nigerian leader in New York explained, "We are not here for meditation...Let us pray...open your mouths. If you want 'quiet time', then go outside" (Gornik 2011, 130). Regarding what Asamoah-Gyadu calls "extemporaneous mass prayer," Gornik (2011, 132) explains, "I call this highly kinetic, emotionally charged form of prayer 'preaching prayer,' because it looks and sounds like each person is vigorously preaching simultaneously." For African Christians, prayer "opens a world with infinite possibilities, providing freedom and empowerment to overcome any obstacle to flourishing" (Gornik 2011, 156).

The Tanzanians I worshiped with in the United States often practice "preaching prayer" both in church and at home. Many enjoy the freedom to pray loudly for healing and breakthroughs in life. When I entered one service held in a shared space, a Tanzanian woman, assuming I was a disgruntled American neighbor, jumped up, quickly greeted me and asked, "Are we being too loud?" I felt great sadness but I was also happy to be able to answer, "No, not at all. I am with you." She and I were both very relieved and the service was very loud.

As I worship and pray with Tanzanians in diaspora, I frequently hear leaders say, "Don't worry about what those around you might think" as they led these times of preaching prayer. This is very similar to the message in songs like "*Kamata Pindo la Yesu*" (Grab Hold of the Hem of Jesus' Garment) by Rose Muhando (2014), Tanzania's most popular revival singer over the last two decades. I have witnessed how Tanzanians

both at home and in diaspora value times of uninhibited communal prayer during which they can be totally free to cry out to God and place complete faith in Christ for healing and blessing in daily life.

In addition to communal prayer in worship, the Tanzanians I interviewed all also mentioned the importance of private prayer that included regular fasting for most. Gornik (2011, 147) reported how fasting “gives the spirit strength.” The Tanzanians I interviewed would agree that the purpose of fasting is “to be strong in the spirit” as they persist in prayer. One man explained how he fasts two to three days a week.

Others spoke of giving their time that would otherwise be spent sleeping to God in prayer. I recognize this practice as another form of fasting as they regularly sacrifice sleep as well as food in order to devote more time and energy to prayer. Several reported regularly waking up early in the morning in order to pray even when they were very tired. They would often find places where they could pray undisturbed for at least a full hour. One even considered a place of prayer to be a sacred place to return to regularly saying, “Lord, I am here to check in.” One woman said that she regularly wakes up in the middle of the night to “call on the name of the Lord” and pray. These recurring accounts of fasting, abstaining from both food and sleep, reminded me of the spiritual disciplines of Christian monastic life.

Tanzanians depend on Scripture to guide them as they pray and negotiate life in diaspora. Many reported becoming very close to God even while living in America through prayer and meditation on the Word of God. One woman, who is professionally very successful in the United States, explained that the spiritual struggles of life in diaspora have led her to pray more than ever. She said that this “great intensity” in her



prayer life has helped here to “grow deeper” in faith. She insisted, “I am still hungry and still searching. I am not satisfied.” She said that prayer is vital to “maintain a fear of God in the face of great temptation here.” Another woman explained how she “embraces the Word of God in prayer.” She said that she must pray every morning regardless of her work schedule. She summed up what I felt to be the sentiments of most saying, “If I stop praying, I’m done.” Most of the Tanzanians I interviewed saw their very survival as dependent on intense, regular prayer that “embraces the Word of God.”

While the invitation and expectation of the works of the Holy Spirit were certainly crucial in every service I attended, I was surprised to find that the Pentecostal label or identity did not seem crucial to the Tanzanians I interviewed. While many reported worshiping in Pentecostal churches in Tanzania, I did not sense that the name or identity “Pentecostal” was as important to them as the more inclusive identity as someone who believed in the works of the Holy Spirit. Whether or not they specifically identified themselves as Pentecostal, however, most of the Tanzanians I interviewed and worshiped with would be comfortable in these contemporary West African Pentecostal services described in detail by Adogame, Asamoah-Gyadu and Gornik.

While the central experience of prayer in the lives of Tanzanian Christians living in the United States is in many ways very similar to those described in literature on the West African Christian diaspora, the experience and practices of Tanzanians are also unique in many ways. One aspect of Tanzanian diaspora prayer that I have not seen mentioned in literature is the almost universal and daily use of phone prayer lines.

Almost all of the Tanzanians I interviewed explained that here in the United States they join prayer groups by phone almost daily, often two to three times a day.

While descriptions varied slightly, one pastor gave a typical example explaining how approximately 25 people will join together by phone for about 30 minutes three times a day at 6:00 AM, 1:00 PM and 7:30 PM, seven days a week to hear Scripture, a short sermon and then share prayer requests and prayer.

Through the ministries of these phone prayer lines, Tanzanians in diaspora, who may not be as able to meet in person as they are back in Tanzania, regularly pray for and receive healing and breakthroughs just as they do at worship services. This is a crucial way for Tanzanians to experience and share in some way the spiritual capital and accountability provided by the Christian communities they value so highly even at a distance when logistics make meeting in person difficult.

I had never heard of this practice during my seventeen years of experience in Tanzania. When I asked one man if he had ever participated in these phone prayer lines back home, he said that he too had only heard of this practice since arriving in diaspora. He said that back home it is easier to meet for prayer in person and that even though he was a very successful and very busy civil servant in Dar es Salaam, he still met with friends to pray during lunch almost every day. Another man also said he has never of these phone prayers lines being used back in Tanzania. It appears to be a unique diaspora practice and phenomenon.

One Tanzanian pastor in the United States explained how a prayer line that he established now regularly draws over forty participants from eighteen different states. Pastors often lead these groups and times of prayer but also delegate responsibilities to laity. Many Tanzanians in diaspora participate in several different phone prayer lines. One man, who is quite isolated from other Tanzanians in diaspora, explained how his

sister told him about a great phone prayer line led by a Kenyan woman living in a completely different region of the United States far from where he lives. Another man explained how there are so many different prayer lines here now that many have started prayer phones lines just for specific needs. For example, he said many women have started their own prayer lines just for women.

While almost every Tanzanian I interviewed reported being blessed by these phone prayer lines in the United States a few also noted drawbacks. At least two people I interviewed voiced concern that some can be tempted to use these phone prayer lines in the place of personal prayer and devotion. They worried that people could rely on these phone prayer lines alone as a substitute for private prayer. Another explained it is difficult for leaders to know everyone who joins so that privacy and confidentiality become an issue. In this election year, political prayers can also cause tensions. In the end, however, people spoke in overwhelmingly positive terms regarding these prayer phones lines. When I specifically asked about the efficacy of these prayer phone lines, one Tanzanian pastor stressed emphatically, “People receive healing through these prayers.”

In spite of their near universal use among those I interviewed, I found only one specific reference to these phone prayer lines in the literature on African diaspora Christianity. Gornik (2011, 133) describes how a woman from Ghana who works the night shift, “returns home and sleeps briefly, waking up at 8:00 a.m. for morning prayers.” He explains, “But instead of travelling to the church, she dials a telephone number that switches her into a prayer meeting with between four and nine fellow members. Over the telephone, they pray for everyday needs.” Gornik’s description

reflects both the willingness to sacrifice sleep for God and the appreciation for phone prayer lines that I heard from the Tanzanians I interviewed who often face new logistical obstacles in diaspora preventing them from meeting with fellow Christians in person daily. Adogame (2013, 22) mentions Internet prayer sources and Asamoah-Gyadu (2013, 47) relates how Africans in diaspora phone into radio stations requesting prayer. No Tanzanian I interviewed mentioned websites or radio stations regarding prayer.

Pentecostals are “distinguished from other streams of Christians by the teaching that all Christians may and indeed should, experience a baptism of the Holy Spirit after being born again” (Asamoah-Gyadu 2013, 48). Pentecostals “generally understand praying in the spirit to mean one thing and one thing only- to pray in tongues” in contrast with the “typical Evangelical position in which praying in the spirit could mean a broader form of prayer” (Asamoah-Gyadu 2013, 48). The Tanzanians I interviewed seem to embrace speaking in tongues without requiring it. The Tanzanians I interviewed and worshiped with seemed to agree and emphasize, “the basic understanding of Pentecostalism is that prayer has the power of transformation and change” (Asamoah-Gyadu 2013, 57).

Many of the Tanzanians I interviewed and worshipped with mentioned and practiced speaking in tongues but they did not emphasize this greatly in their stories. One woman mentioned how she will often spontaneously speak “words she does not understand” as she prays and then see the wife of her Tanzanian pastor here for interpretation.

During worship, I often heard leaders and laity praying in tongues but this was often only for short periods of time during extended times of preaching prayer, similar to

*glossolalia* that “reflect liturgical rhythms” described by Gornik (2011, 141). Most often, what I heard were heartfelt cries to God in either Swahili or English. Modeling Christ during his temptation in the wilderness, many Tanzanians quote Scripture as they cry out to God.

While most of the Tanzanians I interviewed practice speaking in tongues, none of them indicated that this gift was absolutely required for salvation. I did not ask this question specifically but one man did spontaneously clarify that even though he considered himself a Pentecostal and spoke in tongues, he did not believe the gift of tongues was required for salvation. In over a dozen different worship services, I never heard any leader specifically mention the necessity of speaking in tongues or the “baptism of the Holy Spirit” even though *glossolalia* was often heard and the power of the Holy Spirit were always emphasized. These may be indications of the legacy of leaders like Bishop Sendoro who worked to heal divisions and build unity in the church in Tanzania during the long awakening and waves of revival. One of the greatest legacies of Tanzania’s annual Big November Crusade revival meetings is interdenominational cooperation in the effort to build Christian unity while respecting these differences in Christian worship practice.

#### THE CONGREGATIONS TANZANIANS ESTABLISH AND/OR JOIN IN THE UNITED STATES

In order to understand how Tanzanians worship in diaspora, I also needed to understand where they worshiped and how they gathered. Hanciles (2008, 326-327) identifies four types of African immigrant churches related to initiative, calling and cooperation with Western congregations. What I witnessed in the services I attended

together with Tanzanians in the United States was an overlapping mixture of all of four types describes by Hanciles, who explains that these types are often closely related.

Because Tanzanians remain such a minority here, even within the African meta-diaspora, they rarely have the luxury of establishing services that serve Tanzanians as a majority group. While Mwakasege conferences, conducted in Swahili, are attended almost exclusively by Tanzanians, Tanzanians formed a majority in only one congregation I attended. Outside of worship in American congregations, Tanzanians in the United States often worship as members of African immigrant congregations, in which they are the minority, even when the pastors are Tanzanian. Even in the few cities where the Tanzanian diaspora community is large enough to sustain a congregation with a Tanzanian majority, Tanzanians maintain Pan-African unity and welcome all to their services.

Finally, one of the unique characteristics of Tanzanian Christian diaspora worship is its interdenominational character. While some do maintain loyalty to an historical connection with a mainline church (i.e, ELCA) they often request the freedom to use space for a separate African immigrant worship service. Others are invited to do this.

Reflecting the unique scarcity of independent churches in Tanzania, Tanzanian pastors and groups who start churches here do not plant churches from Tanzania. I never saw or heard of a church planted that had any connection to an independent church back in Tanzania. Many services and congregations established by Tanzanian pastors living in the United States seem to begin as personal ministries to reach African Christian immigrants who are struggling to negotiate life in America. In fact, when Tanzanian pastors come to the United States for short visits as guests of American congregations,

they are often surprised to discover that these diaspora congregations even exist almost entirely independent of any support or network back in Tanzania. Tanzanians in diaspora find out about these congregations through word of mouth or on the Internet. While Tanzanians have denominational affiliations both in Tanzania and here in the United States, these ties do not seem to define them or limit their worship. Many stressed that freedom in worship includes not being bound by limits of any one denomination.

Tanzanians in diaspora, as well as other African immigrants, often see these congregations as safe havens in a foreign land. Many of the newer arrivals mentioned feeling completely at home these congregations enjoying familiar language and food that help them “not miss home as much.” More than anything, however, Tanzanians seemed to speak of these congregations as spiritual oases where pastors and fellow members from similar spiritual environments completely understand their prayer concerns.

This familiar and shared spiritual *mazingira* (environment, context) that seems to be most important to many Tanzanians as they choose to worship with fellow Africans even as they often worship in American congregations as well. As they read the Bible and pray together from a shared context, experience and understanding of faith formed in revival, Tanzanians often encourage one another to maintain revival intensity in diaspora. One woman explained, “We must embrace the Word of God and stick together to stay on fire for the Lord.”

A few Tanzanians noted difficulties in these immigrant congregations and services. One man felt a particular service was “too interdenominational” and lamented being held back by “those who are immature in faith.” He said that in this service he is unable to “be on fire and go all out” in worship as he does in his Pentecostal church back

in Tanzania. Another man also found he was unable to be “completely free in worship” and “100% Tanzanian” in worship here in the United States even in African immigrant congregations, but he emphasized that this was not a problem for him but simply something to be accepted.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE CONGREGATIONS TANZANIANS ESTABLISH AND/OR JOIN

Transnational communities are the “building blocks” of diasporas which require a “fiction of congregation” to actually emerge (Levitt 2001, 15). Tanzanians in diaspora experience very real congregation and fellowship with three groups: fellow Tanzanian immigrants, fellow African immigrants, but most importantly all fellow Christians who seek to live out an awakened faith. Scholars researching transnationalism and religion today, are aware that religious communities were among the first and oldest of all transnational communities (Rudolph 1997:1). Levitt (2001, 169) notes “God is everywhere” as “beliefs about God are intrinsically transnational.” The Tanzanians I interviewed often stressed that God is the same everywhere and at all times, and so is God’s power.

Hanciles (2008, 357) finds the success of African immigrant congregational life “will depend less on directing multi-million dollar complexes than on its capacity to develop initiatives that can bridge the daunting cultural divide between Lagos and Dallas.” This highlights one of the unique qualities of Tanzanian diaspora Christianity that stands out in direct contrast with West African immigrant congregations. The Tanzanian Christians I worshiped with have not brought denominations with them to America. The Tanzanian pastors I met have not planted churches as daughter churches or



mission stations of congregations back in Tanzania. I found Tanzanian Christians in diaspora worship with Americans, with fellow African immigrants and with fellow Tanzanians anywhere they find fellowship and accountability that will help them maintain revival faith. I never heard a single Tanzania speak of any building project at all in diaspora, much less any multi-million dollar projects or partnerships with churches back in Tanzania. This reflects the interdenominational influence of the revival but could also be related to insecurity caused by Tanzania's refusal to recognize dual citizenship.

Another unique quality I found among the Tanzanians I interviewed was a profound compassion for the lost and suffering. Asamoah-Gyadu (2013, 103) found the greatest challenge facing contemporary African Pentecostalism is the "inability to articulate a proper response to misfortune and deprivation" and a "relentless stress on victory." This "theology of glory" often has very little to offer the "weak and suffering" (Asamoah-Gyadu 2013, 112). While these are very valid concerns, most of the Tanzanians I interviewed and worshiped with here expressed both great compassion for the weak and suffering and a great sense of perseverance.

I saw Tanzanians pray together fully aware that many of us need to persist for years like the woman who touched the edge of Jesus' garment (like in the song by Rose Muhando). Another popular song, *Mbeba Maono* (Vision Carrier) by another very famous Tanzanian revival singer, Bahati Bukuku (2013) encourages Christians to persevere in faith as Joseph did, noting the even though fulfillment of Joseph's God-given dream took years, God always proves to be faithful.

One of the most popular young revival singers in Tanzania, Ambwene Mwasongwe, has just released an album entitled, *Misuli ya Imani* (Muscles of

Faith)(2015) explaining how perseverance develops our spiritual muscles. One woman I interviewed explained how she and her husband persist in prayer over a specific and great concern saying, “We never give up.” Many I interviewed indicated they had come to believe that struggles they face in diaspora could be tests of faith meant to help them develop their spiritual muscles.

## THE IMPORTANCE AND UNIQUE QUALITIES OF TANZANIAN DIASPORA PASTORS

In addition to prayer, the main factor and the glue that holds Tanzanian diaspora communities together here in the United States is often the Tanzanian pastor. I saw Tanzanians very united in both small and large cities where multiple Tanzanian pastors cooperate to reach and unite Tanzanians, especially new arrivals. Those I interviewed often gave the pastors great credit for their efforts.

Pastors I met expressed the desire to continue serving God here as they pursue degrees that will help them serve God better. While living in diaspora, the pastors I met seek out and serve the lost regardless of nationality. Often, they are invited by fellow African immigrants to serve congregations of African immigrants entirely from other nations in Africa. Many serve African refugee congregations. This is not surprising considering that Tanzania has always welcomed refugees from surrounding nations.

One Tanzanian man, who has been worshipping and serving in a West African Pentecostal church planted in the United States as well as in other African immigrant congregations explained these unique qualities of Tanzanian pastors. He said, “When I ask for prayer, my pastor from West Africa will immediately begin a powerful prayer for me that greatly encourages me. When I ask a Tanzanian pastor for prayer, however, he or

she will ask questions and listen to me first. Then he or she will open the Bible and ask me to read a series of Scriptures. In the end, he or she may not even pray for me out loud but simply explain that I should go and pray and meditate on these Scriptures myself.” He finds both approaches are equally helpful but in very different ways. This listening approach of the Tanzanian pastors seems to echo the egalitarian, lay-led nature of the East African Revival.

One man explained that while Tanzanian pastors who come as guest speakers visiting from Tanzania “definitely understand our spiritual background, they don't understand our struggles here because they don't live here.” While sermons and ministries of these guests are inspiring and appreciated, he said, “We still need these Tanzanian pastors who live here and fully understand our daily struggles.” He said that his pastor has “a heart for reaching those who have gotten stuck and lost” in diaspora. This was a common theme as many Tanzanians explained how hard their pastors work to find and save those who become lost in diaspora. Tanzanian pastors I met all echoed these same concerns. They all expressed great compassion for those lost in diaspora.

Several of those I interviewed explained how Tanzanian pastors here had found and contacted them first and invited them to church. Almost every pastor I interviewed expressed this great compassion for African immigrants and a desire to reach out to them rather than “waiting for them” to find or contact their church. Another pastor explained the goal of his church is to be like the early church helping one another daily in times of need. He said, “We want to live a practical faith like the early church.” Others also mentioned the importance of “practical” faith and theology lived out daily in the struggles of daily life. One pastor shared a vision to expand a ministry he has with his

wife conducting seminars to train laity to help others build and maintain healthy marriages in diaspora. Again, these Tanzanian pastors show no indication of any transnational support or funding campaigns.

Immigrants shocked by the “stressful pace of life” and individualism that often cause marital and generational conflicts, depend on African diaspora pastors who “often face overwhelming demands as spiritual guides, community arbitrators and therapists all rolled in to one” (Hanciles 2008, 363). More than anything, however, people seem to respect Tanzanian pastors because they are faithful witnesses who sit with them and listen to them.

One Tanzanian pastor explained, African Christians “value the ‘Theology of Presence’ more so than anything else.” He explained, “I try as much as I can to listen.” He advises pastors to “talk less and listen more” to develop listening skills. He explained, “I can’t answer all the questions that are brought to me but physical presence and listening bring healing.” This view is similar to the “witness as *witness*” model that does not depend on “aggressive strategies, superior material resources, or sending structures” but rather “sustained daily interaction with others who...deal with similar daily challenges” (Hanciles 2008, 365). Tanzanian pastors seem to embrace this model. I found fellow African immigrants and African Americans alike invite Tanzanian pastors to serve them as a result.

One Tanzanian pastor explained that when he first arrived here in the 1980s, he found very few other Tanzanians but was often invited by African-American pastors (as well as by fellow African diaspora pastors from other nations) to preach and serve. Another young pastor had recently served an African-American congregation for years

before he was invited to serve as the pastor of an African immigrant congregation in the same town. He and his wife are the only Tanzanians in this congregation as well. He speaks positively of his experience in the African-American congregation and still visits them regularly.

Another pastor I interviewed fully intended to return to Tanzania decades ago after receiving his PhD only to find that the African-American congregation he served during his studies refused to accept his departure. One young member told him, “You are the only father many of us have ever had. Please do not leave us as orphans.” After praying and discussing the matter with his wife and his bishop, the pastor finally agreed to continue serving this African-American congregation. He ended up serving them for seventeen years during which time membership more than tripled.

In spite of “growing alienation and mutual mistrust” between new African immigrants and African Americans, there is “enormous potential for partnership” between these two groups who in many ways are like twins “separated at birth” (Hanciles 2008, 322-323). My research indicates Tanzanian pastors may negotiate this relationship with African American Christians more easily than their fellow African diaspora pastors. This is a dynamic, outside of the scope of this study that demands further research. In my small study, I found Tanzanians pastors invited to serve Tanzanians, African immigrants, and African-Americans and respected by all.

I met approximately ten Tanzanian pastors (including two women). At least two have doctorates while at least two others are currently working on doctorates. All of these doctorates involve research that will specifically help them as pastors (theology, psychology, education, counseling). The Tanzanian pastors I met had spent years serving

and ministering to people in Tanzania before they migrated. They come to the United States to pursue education and degrees that will help them serve God back in Tanzania but they also feel a call to continue serving God while they are here. As a result, many have been invited by Christians here in the United States to serve them as their pastors.

## THE TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES AND IDENTITIES OF TANZANIAN CHRISTIANS

Understanding “identity and self-perception” is essential and crucial for studies on diaspora life (Ter Haar 2001, 4). Diaspora cultures strive to maintain community and traditions in new ways in new contexts that are “often antagonistic” (Clifford 1997, 263). In the process, they are living, breathing examples of “distinct versions of modern, transnational, intercultural experience “ (Clifford 1997, 266).

Tanzanian Christians living and worshipping in the United States combine traditional African identities with Christian revival identities as they seek education to help them take advantage of contemporary global academic and professional identities at the same time. In diaspora, many Tanzanians attempt to combine the very best strengths of all three identities in the light of God’s Word and Christian revival faith. Many of the Tanzanians I interviewed perceive and identify themselves as awakened Christians with a redeemed sense of African spirituality and community who have pursued new global opportunities for higher education that help them use their gifts and talents, which they see as God-given, to more faithfully serve God in today’s world.

## TRADITIONAL AFRICAN WISDOM AND SPIRITUALITY

One man explained the more he studies the Bible, the more he finds, “the wisdom of the Scriptures is very similar to the wisdom our parents taught us.” A popular song by

a very young revival singer in Tanzania today, Emmanuel Mgogo, is based on Proverbs 10:1 and illustrates this very point. In this song, *Mtoto Mwenye Hekima* (2014)(A Wise Child) a son sits obediently listening to his parents instruct and bless him, warning him never to forget the values they taught him: community, equality, humility, compassion. They tell him wealth is useless without these values of respect for all. The song concludes by making the point that just as we must remember and obey the instructions of our parents, so too we, as children of God, must listen to and obey God's commandments. One man I interviewed shared this view and said he believes this traditional wisdom helped his mother accept and believe the Bible with a very deep faith that he finds rare today.

#### REVIVAL FAITH AND IDENTITY

More than anything, many of the Tanzanian Christians I interviewed who were born again and raised in revival in Tanzania strive to maintain the beliefs and practices of this revival faith that seems to form the core of all their transnational identities. Many also seek to share their testimonies and faith even as they live in diaspora.

As both pastor and scholar, Munga (1998, 14) describes these revival beliefs and practices that greatly shape Tanzanian diaspora Christian identity in great detail. She sees the East African Revival as a lay movement. Pastors are greatly respected but not seen as spiritually superior to laity. Home groups are essential for fellowship but are neither exclusive nor seen as a substitute for worship. She notes the revival in Tanzania has always been ecumenical and interdenominational as members cooperate across all borders of class, tribal identity, nation and race (Munga 1998, 17).

In her systematic theological study of *Uamsho*, Munga (1998, 18) aims to make explicit the intrinsic grassroots theology in the sermons, teachings, testimonies, prayers and songs through which *wanauamsho* make “statements about God” and interpret Scripture “in light of personal and common experiences of divine activity.”

Munga (1998, 32-33) identifies Mwakasege as the *de facto* spiritual leader of the revival in Tanzania. For the past three decades, Mwakasege and his wife Diane have been widely accepted as teachers of Tanzanians who seek to maintain and grow revival faith both in Tanzania and now in diaspora. Almost all of those I interviewed have been greatly influenced by revival theology and practice and would accept Mwakasege’s teaching.

Like Mwakasege, most would emphasize the need to constantly place oneself in “God’s camp” and avoid the spiritual death of nominal Christianity which results in the “*ukoloni wa shetani*” (the colonialism of Satan) in Satan’s camp (Munga 1998, 95). Many of those I interviewed emphasized the necessity of making a personal decision and living a life of holiness. Many also greatly emphasized the necessity of strong accountability to maintain lives of holiness.

*Wanauamsho* support each other in all times of physical, material and spiritual need expressing a traditional African sense of community and “mutual concern” (Munga 1998, 177). Traditional Tanzanian society has helped *wanauamsho* form a “new clan of Christ” that is “inspired by the larger society” but that also greatly transcends it and expands its influence. I found revivalists carry this compassion, unity and influence with them into diaspora.



*Wanauamsho* feel a great burden to pray for others so that they may also experience a living, awakened faith. They emphasize prayer as war against Satan and gift from God. The Holy Spirit is the source of all authority and power against the powers of Satan needed for healing and exorcism (Munga 1998, 185). *Wanaumasho* criticize pastors who do not teach about healing and this caused many to leave churches or to be asked to leave churches in the past. Many I interviewed stressed this was no longer a serious issue.

*Wanauamsho* appreciate their ancestors strong “sense of God” and God-given wisdom, but reject traditional religious practices. *Wanauamsho* reject *matambiko* (ancestral offerings) completely as idolatry in violation of the first commandment (Munga 1998, 213-215). I heard Mwakasege reiterate this in person teaching in the United States last year as he shared from his new book (summarized in Chapter 2) on the dangers of having any association at all with *matambiko*. Similarly, *wanauamsho* reject all *waganga* (traditional medicine men) as “highly probable carriers” of *nguvu za giza* (powers of darkness)(Munga 1998, 227-228).

Munga (1998, 282) found an “*uamsho* identity” that transcends differences in income and ethnicity. She confesses that while she had assumed that these socio-economic and ethnic differences evident between rural and urban populations would be “directly or indirectly reflected in *uamsho*,” this simply had “not been the case.” She attributed this unified identity to the influence of *ujamaa* and the fact that *uamsho* is a non-political movement. She found Tanzania “caught somewhere between a former socialist system on the one hand and a system based on a new market economy on the

other” with *uamsho* still greatly influential in the process of negotiating this transition (Munga 1998, 283).

## NEGOTIATING GLOBALIZATION

Tanzanians influenced by this extended time of Christian awakening beginning in Tanzania in the late 1930s, still struggle to negotiate this transition in the new era of hyper globalization. Those I interviewed seek to strike a balance between traditional community (similar to early church Christian community) and global opportunities without being corrupted by consumerism. They often struggle, however, both at home and in diaspora, to find this balance.

They embrace traditional African spirituality and wisdom while clearly rejecting anything that could lead be seen as idolatry lurking in *matambiko*. At the same time, many embrace global Pentecostalism while rejecting materialism and consumerism lurking in the prosperity gospel. The vast majority of those I interviewed would identify themselves and recognize themselves clearly in this “*uamsho* identity” described by Munga and taught to this day by Mwakasege and others on three continents. Most of the Tanzanians I interviewed attempt to maintain this *uamsho* faith and identity as they live and worship as our neighbors in the United States. During this extended Christian awakening, many Tanzanians have strived to build unity across all barriers within Tanzania and Africa. Now many are striving to maintain this strong identity and build unity as they live transnational lives of faith in diaspora.

## TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES AND MARRIAGES

One of the legacies of awakening in Tanzania is the empowerment of women in ministry. This has been accompanied by accountability for couples to build strong

Christian marriages. Many of those I interviewed expressed gratitude for the support of spouses who encouraged and inspired them to grow in faith.

One pastor and his wife have their own ministry organizing conferences and teaching on Christian marriage specifically focusing on issues families face in the United States. Born out of their ministry in Tanzania, their interdenominational diaspora ministry welcomes all. While they have been in the United States for decades and are very aware of specific issues that face African immigrants, they have been surprised to find that Americans of all ethnicities have also responded very openly and positively to their ministry.

Unmarried Tanzanians I interviewed confirmed that Tanzanian pastors and their spouses help them tremendously. When I interviewed married couples together, I was impressed by the obvious mutual respect. Some stressed, “My (spouse) is my spiritual mentor.” Those I interviewed often praised the faith of their spouses and expressed appreciation for their support. Many cited a strong marriage, in which spouses hold one another accountable before God, as a crucial key to maintaining Christian faith in diaspora.

Specifically regarding women in ministry in diaspora, I met two Tanzanian women serving as pastors in the United States. One has begun a ministry to help empower fellow African immigrant women overcome language barriers to use their gifts for ministry as they did back home. As mentioned, some Tanzanian women join phone prayer lines for women.

Husbands I interviewed often mentioned the strong faith of their wives. One man said, “My wife is the spiritual one. I learn from her every day.” Many mentioned how

women were the true “prayer warriors” of the church. One husband mentioned gratitude for his wife’s zeal for evangelism and desire to share her faith with their children as well as with her co-workers. Reflecting the legacy of the awakening, many of the Tanzanian men I interviewed spontaneously expressed appreciation for the faith of women in their lives.

#### TRANSNATIONAL CHRISTIAN RESOURCES

While many Tanzanian Christians strive to maintain the revival faith and identity they have carried with them from Tanzania, many simultaneously appreciate global Christian resources. Surprisingly, the Tanzanians I interviewed rarely mentioned these resources specifically or spontaneously as they shared their spiritual life histories. I often had to specifically ask them to share any global resources (books, CDs, DVDs, websites) that had influenced them. Once asked, some drew blanks and seemed embarrassed. Others gave only vague answers. Some, however, were happy to share long lists of American books and preachers that had influenced them.

One man, who was saved in 1982, mentioned how books by Billy Graham “opened his eyes” to Christian literature in general and greatly shaped his theology. Others mentioned books by Charles Colson, Francis Schaeffer, C.S. Lewis, John Stott, and the sermons of others like Creflo Dollar, Andrew Womack and Joyce Meyer. One clarified that he did not agree with everything Dollar preached regarding the prosperity gospel. Many Tanzanians also expressed appreciation for the ministries of T.D. Jakes. Many Tanzanians living in Texas attend Jakes’ church, The Potter’s House.

Many of the younger Tanzanians I interviewed also mentioned appreciating contemporary Christian music (i.e. Chris Tomlin from the U.S.A., and Hillsong from

Australia). One young worship leader explained, “I like anything contemporary I have an open mind and like a lot of different things.” Another young man explained, “Musically, I like anything with culture and life in it.” This included contemporary Christian music from the West. Tanzanians do not hesitate to use Western Christian music in their services. They are able to make this music their own in their free and lively worship services.

Tanzanian Christians in the United States are also greatly influenced by the international ministries of African churches and preachers outside of Tanzania. Some mentioned Nigerian ministers like T.B. Joshua of Synagogue Church of All Nations (SCOAN), Enoch Adeboye of the The Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) and D.K. Olukoya of Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries (MFM Ministries Worldwide). At least two of the Tanzanians I interviewed worship regularly in RCCG congregations planted in the United States. They both still remain close to fellow Tanzanians as well, however, and both attended the same Mwakasege conference I did. When I asked one about differences in the Nigerian churches and other African immigrant congregations he attends, he said, “They are similar but Nigerians dance even more than we (Tanzanians) do. They *really* dance, just like King David.”

One woman I interviewed had actually shared her testimony at a televised service in Lagos watched by many she knew back in Tanzania. One explained how Nigerians “have gone much deeper in the spiritual realm” than Tanzanians have “both positively and negatively.” As a result, one woman I interviewed felt Nigerians have developed a greater understanding of the spiritual world so that their intense experiences in sorcery (evident in Nigerian videos that Tanzanians have been buying and consuming for decades

now) have also helped them “invade the darkness” through “intensity and determination in prayer” of spiritual warfare.

While Tanzanians are now producing their own movies and their own televangelists, they are still greatly drawn to and influenced by Nigerian movies and testimonies. Msafiri (2008, 96-97) sees the influence of Nigerian movies as “hypnotizing” and negative leading to “witchcraft syndrome.” In general, however, while Tanzanians take spiritual warfare very seriously, I did not find Tanzanian Christians in the United States to be quite as interested as Nigerians seem to be in the intricate details of “spiritual mapping” (Adogame 2013, 97) and extensive demonologies in their own services, sermons and prayers.

One woman noted how she was also powerfully influenced by the testimony of John Mulinde from Uganda and his World Trumpet Mission (WTM). She said that if one listens to Mulinde’s testimony from neighboring Uganda, one would understand the spiritual environment and context of Tanzania as well.

Another woman explained how her husband had found a book at Wal-Mart in Minnesota where they live that had helped them tremendously. *How to Expel Demons, Break Curses and Release Blessings* by Derek Prince (2006) describes how this British missionary encountered spiritual warfare for the first time in Nairobi and dedicated himself to learning about deliverance ministry. She found this book’s teaching on spiritual warfare helped her and her husband and also dovetailed nicely with Mwakasege’s teaching on spiritual warfare.

Finally, while every Tanzanian I interviewed uses the Internet extensively, often to find and access spiritual resources, they rarely mentioned it. When I specifically asked

about spiritual resources, one man did say, “95% of my spiritual growth here comes watching preachers on the Internet on my phone at work.” His job allows him to do this and he is also quite isolated from other Tanzanians in diaspora. Most of those I interviewed noted they prefer to stay in touch with other Tanzanians through emails, phone calls and messages. Most seem to use the Internet superficially for news and Facebook, but not necessarily for close communication.

While Tanzanians I interviewed generally spoke of social media as a good way to stay informed about family and friends both here and back home, it seems Tanzanians living in Tanzania, have a more negative view of social media reflected in Rose Muhando’s very popular song “Facebook” (2007). She describes globalization as bewitching Christians and vividly describes how Facebook and WhatsApp Messenger lead to the ruin of ministries and marriages. She explains Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp Messenger have become “*mungu wa kanisa la leo* (the god of today’s church)” and “*kichaa kamili kwa kizazi cha leo* (complete insanity for today’s generation).”

When I visited Tanzania last year, a Tanzanian pastor confirmed that these concerns are very real. In diaspora, while most know and love this song, I never sensed that Tanzanians here share this level of concern regarding social media. One did, however, lament how much time he wastes on Facebook. Further research is needed on changing attitudes regarding social media in diaspora over time and space into the second generation.

## CONCLUSION

In studying “religious transnationalism from below,” Adogame (213, 101) focuses on “grassroots initiatives” at the micro- and meso- levels of the African Christian diaspora. I found that the experience of ongoing Christian awakening in Tanzania provides many Tanzanians with a strong identity as well as social and spiritual capital at the micro- and meso- levels that helps them negotiate the challenges of transnational life in diaspora and maintain links with extended family and spiritual family across borders.

While most negotiate transnational, diaspora life quite well, many of the Tanzanians I interviewed still feel mixed emotions of hope and discouragement. Many expressed feeling caught in between Tanzania, a home that provides Christian revival, community and accountability but few academic and professional opportunities and the United States, a land that provides seemingly unlimited global resources and opportunities for development but also unlimited freedoms and temptations. In America, the Tanzanians I interviewed often find it much more difficult to be “educated servants” and to achieve both academic success and spiritual growth as they did back in Tanzania.

In the United States, church attendance has been steadily declining while evangelical growth has been stagnant or barely crawling for decades (Mandryk 2010; Pew Research Center 2012). I found many Tanzanians see global resources as necessary to fully develop skills they believe God has given them as they seek to make a contribution in today’s rapidly changing world. At the same time, they strongly reject the negative values of secularism, materialism, consumerism, “conspicuous consumption” (Veblen 1934), individualism and “aggressive,” ruthless competition.

Many I interviewed explained how many promising youth and even respected pastors have been corrupted by these influences in diaspora. They lament Tanzanian



youth who “just want to be American” by seeking wealth without any fear of God. I found many Tanzanians Christians, pastors and laity alike, reach out to all immigrants in America offering to help them maintain and develop positive identities in diaspora.

Some I interviewed summarized the struggle and tension of transnational Christian life saying essentially (closely paraphrased composite answer), “When I am here in the United States, I am physically comfortable. My family feels safe. Our refrigerator is always full. Spiritually, however, I am uncomfortable. When I return to Tanzania, I feel spiritually comfortable again as well as socially and culturally comfortable with family and friends. I don’t even mind being physically uncomfortable again. In Tanzania, we are always challenging one another to grow in faith.”

At the same time, great income inequality resulting from rapidly increased globalization has now led many to feel more physically unsafe and insecure in Tanzania as many of those left behind by globalization, especially youth, grow increasingly desperate and restless. Reflecting on globalization, Magesa (2014, 30) notes, “In Africa, there are few if any who do not in some way or another feel overwhelmed by it. Globalisation has taken our ‘innocence’ away, so to speak, and like everyone else, Africa stands naked to the world.” Vertovec (2009, 2) found “just as trans-nationalism is a manifestation of globalization, its constituent processes and outcomes are multiple and messy too.” Tanzanians spoke very freely and passionately about globalization and the “multiple and messy” realities of transnational life in America.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### FREEDOM AND AFRICAN FAMILYHOOD: TRADITIONAL AFRICAN AND CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY VERSUS GLOBALIZATION, SECULARISM AND “AGGRESSIVE” INDIVIDUALISM

“No. I just can’t be that civilized when I worship.” This was the response of one of the first Tanzanians I interviewed when I asked her if she found it difficult to worship in American congregations. While many I interviewed did mention the desire for more freedom in worship and more lively worship provided by African immigrant services, they still often attended American worship services. Although Tanzanians, like their fellow African Christians, do indeed often mention the importance of “lively worship” and “freedom in worship,” I wanted to avoid the danger of reductionism. I sought to look beyond the most obvious and visible differences in worship styles to understand the Tanzanian diaspora worship experience in depth as well as other factors that influence Tanzanians’ interactions with Americans.

In general, as this woman’s response indicates, I found Tanzanians spoke positively of American Christians even if they often prefer to primarily worship with fellow Africans. Acknowledging great cultural differences, many seemed willing to be “flexible and open-minded” in order to worship with Americans at least occasionally. Most of the Tanzanian pastors here also serve and minister to Americans, including African-Americans, whom they invite to their churches and remember in their prayers.

My last set of research questions explored the lives and faith of Tanzanian Christians after migration even more in depth by specifically focusing on their interactions with their American hosts. These questions helped me understand which factors determine if, how, why, when and where Tanzanian Christians pray, study the Bible and share their faith together with their American Christian neighbors. The answers to these questions helped me understand how Tanzanians view the possibilities of mutual enrichment as well as the realities of “mutual suspicion and ignorance” (Adogame 2013, 207) in their interactions with American Christians. It became clear that Tanzanians were much more passionate and interested in talking about globalization and its effects on all human interactions today, than about their specific interactions with Americans. As they shared, several themes emerged.

The first theme involved the understanding that American Christians raised in a highly individualistic culture that values nuclear family and privacy cannot be expected to be as hospitable, welcoming and lively as Tanzanians who were raised in a culture that values extended family, hospitality and community.

The second theme clarified that even though Tanzanians rarely feel great hospitality in American congregations, they do appreciate and value any worship service that provides powerful and insightful messages from God’s Word in any form. They also appreciate abundant American spiritual resources that provide sound biblical teaching.

The third theme highlighted how even though Tanzanians truly appreciate the teaching of American pastors and preachers who are faithful to God’s Word, they often still feel a great need for the pastoral care and ministries of Tanzanian and African

immigrant pastors who completely understand the spiritual context implicit in their daily prayer concerns and requests.

A fourth theme included the eagerness of Tanzanians to speak very passionately and freely about globalization as they generally view it as a seemingly unstoppable force. A fifth and related theme that surprised me was the honesty and self-critique of Tanzanians. I found many Tanzanians more willing to reflect on their own struggles to fight the forces of selfish individualism, secularism and consumerism (as well as spiritual laziness and lethargy) than they were to criticize Americans.

#### THEME ONE: COMMUNITY VS. INDIVIDUALISM

When considering the specific challenges of worshiping with Americans, one of the main factors that emerged, in addition to the lack of lively worship in many American congregations, was the lack of visible community and hospitality for guests. Hospitality and compassion for guests has always been a value at the core of Tanzanian culture (Kaduma 2004; Msimbe 2012; Nyenyembe 2005). Several mentioned being shocked by the “coldness” of American Christians who could attend a worship service and leave without greeting anyone beyond a mandatory “passing of peace.” One couple reported that at their church, some Americans seemed to intentionally turn the other way when they saw them in order to avoid “passing the peace” with strangers (described in depth later in this chapter).

One man explained that the coldness he encountered in American churches negatively affected his faith saying, “My faith took a step back. I was all alone with no one to hold me accountable or correct me even though they asked me to teach confirmation classes.” He said that eventually he himself became “cold and dead”

spiritually just like the members of this church. One man noted how the cold American congregation he first attended were even more asleep than the Tanzanian churches he had criticized as sleeping and “unawakened” during his time as a student leader in the revival movement before leaving Tanzania. He laughed as he noted how these “unawakened” Tanzanian churches seemed to be absolutely “on fire” in comparison with some of the American congregations he encountered.

Even more than a lack of lively worship, this coldness is felt in the lack of community. Tanzanians often felt lonely in American congregations and greatly missed the extended fellowship following the service that is often just as crucial as the actual scheduled service in African immigrant congregations. One man emphasized, “In Tanzania, strangers are welcomed as honored guests. Here it's the opposite.” This is, in fact, vividly reflected by the fact that in the Swahili language there is only one word, *mgeni* meaning both guest and stranger with no differentiation. This is true in many languages (Adeney 1995, 51). In English, however, we use two completely oppositional words: guest and stranger.

In Swahili language and culture, there are very literally no strangers. In America, where immigrants are often viewed and treated as strangers, Tanzanians find many become more easily detached and isolated from fellowship and community. In America, they quickly realize, “You must find your way all by yourself” socially and spiritually. Even when they made specific efforts to join smaller groups in American congregations, Tanzanians often found that it was very hard to fit in. One woman explained, “People already know each other. They already have their small groups.”

One woman, who often visits American congregations, explained the importance of fellowship in her diaspora congregation (predominantly Kenyan) where social capital and spiritual capital are inseparable. She noted, “I can stay an hour after the service checking with everyone asking each one, ‘How are you?’ ‘What are your needs this week?’ ‘How can I help you?’” She added, “They don't do this in American congregations. You leave and nobody knows how you are.” She explained, “In Africa we had crusades all the time and lived in community. We went to church every day. We visited others every day. We knew everybody's needs all the time. Here church is only a very small part of life.” She also stressed that in spite of these challenges, she, like many others, never gives up striving to grow in faith.

In spite of these great challenges and feelings of rejection, I found Tanzanians still spoke quite graciously of American Christians. I hope Tanzanians will soon write their own dissertations to describe these struggles and interactions more fully. One noted, “You have to be flexible and open-minded” to worship with Americans. This could be a reflection of Tanzanian revival culture that has always strived to promote peace and unity and avoid unnecessary bitterness and division. It could also be a result of the minority status of the Tanzanian diaspora within the larger African meta-diaspora that has forced them to be more flexible and patient in order to survive.

In fact, the person I interviewed who showed the most emotion when sharing about the coldness of American Christians was the wife of a Tanzanian man. She was actually born and raised in another African nation and a member of a non-Tanzanian language group. Their story is particularly insightful. The wife became so upset when she felt Americans pretended not to notice her and her husband when passing the peace at

church, she wanted to quit attending. Her Tanzanian husband encouraged her to persevere. He explained to me that he told himself, “I am here to seek God. Even if that means I have to just pray by myself after the service. I can at least do that. The chapel is open 24 hours a day.”

The wife persevered and appreciated the music in this American congregation. Eventually, she decided to approach the pianist to inquire about piano lessons for her son. To her surprise, the pianist was delighted to help and invited her to join the choir. Still skeptical and somewhat defiant, the wife told herself, “Okay. Even if I don’t feel welcome, I can still worship and praise the Lord.” Soon after she began singing in the choir, Americans suddenly began greeting and welcoming her and her husband in church very warmly. They saw a dramatic change and have since formed strong friendships in this church. They now feel welcome in the homes of their American friends from church and the pastor visits them at home to pray for them regularly. They feel like a part of the community and joined to the church’s prayer network. The Tanzanian husband has now even helped the pastor begin a new small group ministry based on his ministry experience back in Tanzania.

After hearing this “success story,” I asked this Tanzanian man, who seemed to have graciously persevered rejection that would have led many to despair, how he would advise fellow Tanzanians newly arrived in the United States. Echoing what many other Tanzanians emphasized, he said, “I would tell them to never give up.” He said too many find they feel unwelcome in American congregations and give up too soon. He said that he would share with them how he and his wife also felt very unwelcome at first but

persevered and continued to “seek God first and foremost” until they eventually became part of the community.

He would encourage other Tanzanians to go ahead and join the choir and small groups even if they do not feel welcome at first. He said, “You just can't give up. You have to work hard to seek God and to seek community just like you work hard to make a living.” Reflecting deeply, he said, Tanzanians often say, “*Fanya kazi bila kuchoka!*” (Work tirelessly!). Tanzanians value hard work as the secret to success. He said, “Just like you go to your field with your hoe and work hard to tend your crops and grow food without getting tired back in Tanzania, in that same spirit and with that same commitment you need to seek God and spiritual community here in America.”

He continued with the analogy, “In that same way, never give up until you find spiritual community. You can't close yourself in your own world. You have to be able to see God through other people. Who knows? These challenges and feeling unwelcome may simply be a test of faith. God may be giving you a test to see if you choose God or the world.” While this family's success story was an exception, it did provide a glimmer of hope that perseverance does pay off. This story can also teach American Christians to be more aware of just how cold and exclusive they can seem to guests whether they intend to or not.

Further reflecting on the individualism and lack of community in America, some noted how Americans often seem to even take pride in the fact that they do not know their neighbors. They often describe neighborhoods in America as “ghost towns” where people return from work and drive straight into their garages. No one seems to even care to know their neighbors. Some lamented, “You could die and none of your neighbors



would know.” One woman emphasized this lack of community stating, “I don’t see how you can survive without completely depending on God here. You need God every hour because no one else will help you.”

This is shocking for Tanzanians who were raised to share not just possessions, but also joy as well as pain and suffering in community (Keshomshahara 2008, 35). In Tanzania, no one celebrates or mourns alone. Both biological and church families are always extended families (Rwezaura 2015, 266). The ancestors preached and practiced the sharing, hospitality and harmony of Romans 12:13-16 long before they ever heard Paul’s words in the Bible. In 1845, Benjamin Disraeli (1845, loc. 1085) noted, “Christianity teaches us to love our neighbor as ourself; modern society acknowledges no neighbor.”

Every one of the Tanzanian pastors I met has experience ministering to his or her American neighbors in some way in daily life. They often struggle to minister to American Christians who seem to have little time for God or for pastoral care. One pastor’s wife remarked, “If your service runs over time even one minute people will leave. If you end on time, where is the space for the Holy Spirit to work?” Tanzanian pastors who minister to Americans here are shocked to see “demons run free in the name of science” given names like “depression” and treated without any mention of God. Many lamented how God is barely given any space at all in society and in the lives of people here. Tanzanians see their own children, fellow Tanzanians in diaspora, and even those back in Tanzania increasingly influenced by these secular attitudes.

Other Tanzanians also noted the fast pace of life in America and noted how this “busyness” stifles spiritual growth. In the United States, many become workaholics who

are just too busy to worship. Even so, Tanzanians living here soon find they too work much longer hours than they did back in Tanzania. In Tanzania, they rarely worked in the evenings or on Sundays as they are often expected to here. One pastor lamented how Americans intentionally and willfully work on Sundays purely out of greed.

Tanzanians living and working in the United States work longer hours and find that they have less time for church even when they fully intend to worship. Tanzanian pastors here must juggle the work schedules of their parishioners and often have trouble finding a time when even a few are free at the same time. Almost every one I spoke to shared the sentiment, “In Tanzania, we went to church every day. We were always doing something related to faith.” One woman added, “Here it is difficult even to find people to just sit and share a meal with, much less pray and study the Bible with like we do back in Tanzania.”

Most of the Tanzanians I interviewed expressed a great love for evangelism but often find that evangelism is much more difficult in diaspora. One man lamented, “even when I do get free time here or a day off work, I am so tired that I just want to relax and do nothing. Sometimes, even reading the Bible or doing evangelism feels like work here.” Others noted how evangelism in the United States is difficult because of secular laws. One woman said, “We held a vacation Bible school for the kids in our own parking lot and the neighbors complained about noise. We were in our own church parking lot!”

In Tanzania, they are free to share their faith in public and at work but here some, especially those working in government jobs, feel hesitant for fear of being fired or sued. Others share their faith with co-workers but notice they either do not understand or do not respond to the gospel. They do not give up, however, and say they continue to pray for

American neighbors and co-workers sharing these prayer requests at church and on phone prayer lines. They also often invite them to church and to events related to the church like weddings.

Many lamented how even back in Tanzania, hospitality, the very backbone of their culture, is disappearing. They see Tanzanians everywhere increasingly “closing their doors” like Americans in favor of the privacy and security Americans value so highly. This is especially detrimental to the Christian accountability that has been so essential during the long Christian awakening in Tanzania. Tanzanian Christians who used to encourage one another to flee from sin are now tempted to tell one another, “I’m too busy” or “Mind your own business.” This also happens in more subtle ways as one man explained, “I used to happily walk two hours to visit friends in Tanzania, but now I just follow them on Facebook. Our relationships here become more superficial.”

In spite of all these challenges, many Tanzanians persevere and continue to worship in diaspora often together with American Christians. Many Tanzanian pastors here serve and minister to Americans. One pastor’s wife noted, “We continue to preach and invite people to surrender themselves to God. Even if only a few come forward, you can see the beauty of God and radical change.” She emphasized, “God does not change. The God who guides us here is the same God who called us to repentance in Tanzania. Like the seven churches in Revelation, we must constantly return to our first love and call others to do the same.” As they seek to continue promoting and building Christian community and accountability in the United States, Tanzanians often show a unique ability to patiently persevere and minister to those from all nations now living in a radically individualistic culture.

## THEME TWO: “DEEP” TEACHING FROM GOD’S WORD

Hanciles (2008, 355) found the top two reasons for attending African immigrant congregations were lively worship (74.3%) closely followed by solid preaching (64%). While lively worship (freedom in worship) is extremely important to Tanzanian Christians and indeed one of the most obvious and distinct characteristics that you see and hear as you worship with them and other members of the African Christian diaspora, more than one Tanzanian emphasized that lively worship and even miracles were not sufficient without the support of deep and solid preaching from the Word of God. One of the things Tanzanians here appreciate most about their Tanzanian diaspora pastors is the time they spend in intense prayer and Bible study as they prepare their sermons.

Tanzanians greatly appreciate any pastor from any nation who preaches and teaches the Word of God faithfully with sincerity and dedication. One man here studying theology worships in an international worship service. While he has visited African immigrant congregations, he prefers this international service mainly because the pastor, a professor from Jamaica with a PhD, “preaches the strong Word” and “preaches the Word so well.” He said that the service was “not just speaking in tongues” but combined this freedom in worship with the “strong Word” and solid biblical teaching. Like others, he emphasized freedom in worship must be anchored by solid preaching from the Bible.

While Tanzanians often find this solid biblical teaching they seek in African immigrant congregations and with Tanzanian pastors, they also actively search for this teaching elsewhere and appreciate it when they find it in American congregations. One woman explained how she loved The Potter’s House (Bishop T.D. Jakes) because it has helped her to “develop a deeper understanding of God's Word.” She specifically noted

her appreciation that, “Bishop really spends time before God before preaching.” As a result, he is able to “speak about real life and real life solutions directly from the word of God.” As she continued to describe her experience at The Potter’s House, she never mentioned lively worship but rather continued to express her appreciation that this church “gives you the hard stuff and a much deeper knowledge of the Word of God” building on but also far beyond basic biblical foundations. She appreciated this “deeper, higher level teaching” and the fact that “even the members have a greater knowledge of the Word of God.”

Most Tanzanians I interviewed would agree, “Just as God is powerful and able to address all of life” so too is the Bible (Gornik 2011, 161). One Liberian woman summed up this view of the Bible stating, "Everything is in it" (Gornik 2011, 161). One Tanzanian woman described her view of the Bible in similar terms to me saying, “It is my everything.” Gornik (2011, 161) found, "Belief and practice is saturated with biblical texts and the use of the Bible permeates every aspect of church life." He found African Christians use the Bible to express and address daily life and concerns as well as to form and maintain transnational identities (Gornik 2011, 163). The Tanzanians I interviewed also strongly believe and agree, “the Bible still ‘speaks’ today” (Gornik 2011, 165). As they negotiate life in diaspora, many Tanzanians do not study the Bible just for information, as many in the West now do, but to find, like those in Gornik’s study “a story to dwell within (them) as they also dwell in the world” (Gornik 2011, 180).

In then end, I found that most Tanzanians insisted that while they greatly value freedom in worship, this Pentecostal freedom must always be accompanied by and anchored by sound evangelical biblical teaching. This reflects the legacy of the

awakening. While they may sacrifice freedom in worship temporarily in diaspora, I found Tanzanians rarely willing to sacrifice sound biblical teaching. A few mentioned how this is a growing problem for many in Tanzania today, especially youth, who are so desperate for miracles and breakthroughs that they can be deceived by false prophets and dangerous teachings.

### THEME THREE: SPIRITUAL CONTEXT AND DAILY PRAYER

Many of the Tanzanians I interviewed stressed the need for daily and constant prayer with others who understood their concerns. Hanciles (2008, 357) found that one of the main reasons African immigrants indicated for attending immigrant congregations was the “meeting of spiritual needs” mentioned by over half of the 1,100 respondents (55.9%) behind lively worship (74.3%) and solid preaching (64%). He notes that all three of these characteristics are found to be acutely lacking in most American congregations. Asamoah-Gyadu (2013, 169) notes, “In the African universe, the supernatural can be hyperactive.” As inhabitants of this African universe, Tanzanians often find it necessary to pray together with fellow Africans who take both the Bible as well and spiritual warfare seriously in ways that many in American congregations simply do not. They need to pray with those who understand dreams and visitations (Mungure 2011, 441), “witches and wizards” (Ugba 2011, 283) and all concerns related to traditional religious practices. Tanzanians need to pray with those who understand both the African spiritual context and the Tanzanian revival responses to the issues raised in this environment. This helps to explain why the conferences led by Mwakasege are so popular in diaspora.

Europeans began to suspect that humans had invented God, and belief in God became optional. Globalization has spread these ideas but not convincingly as many

suspected. Secularization (the historical process of freedom from control of God or religion) thought to be “inevitable” and “universal,” has turned out to be “regional” (Cox 2013, xv). The rest of the world has not followed Europe’s path to secularism as an ideology. Global Pentecostalism allows many to be “modern” and “intensely spiritual” simultaneously, providing “a soft landing in modernity” (Cox 2013, xxviii). Most Tanzanians still believe in God and the power of God even while living in cultures where belief in God is optional.

In the spiritual context of Tanzania, a secular state, almost everyone still believes in the power of God and the spirit world. The secular government of Tanzania protects freedom of religion, but all Tanzanians have a religion (Christianity, Islam, traditional) and all believe in God and the spirit world. It is still extremely rare for any Tanzanian to deny or even doubt the existence and power of God and the spirit world. For most Tanzanians, even those with formal Western education founded on the ideas of European Enlightenment, including advanced degrees, secularism, in its failure to acknowledge any spiritual authority or power, remains unfathomable. In fact, secularized Africans, including professors, often revert to the cosmic traditional religion of their ancestors (Shorter and Onyancha 1997, 27).

While Africans may reject secularism, they cannot avoid the effects of secularization. Christians cannot “simply deplore the process of secularization; they have to understand it...in light of the Bible” as it creates both “possibilities of new freedom and of new enslavement for men” (Newbigin 1966, 19). The foundation of Christianity is a relationship with Christ, not the law, as believers are free to follow Christ obeying the guidance of the Holy Spirit (Newbigin 1966, 142). This “combination of freedom and

discipline” marks the true Christian life. In secularism, freedom without discipline becomes meaningless and destructive (Newbiggin 1966, 144-145). Tanzanian Christians realize this and emphasize the freedom of the Holy Spirit must be grounded in the truth of Christ and the discipline of Christian accountability.

Some noted shock and confusion realizing many Americans don’t believe in the power and efficacy of prayer. Many Americans find Tanzanian explanations of spiritual warfare and healing are “crazy.” Americans can also be “easily offended” by God’s Word. Tanzanians find Americans in church often simply want to hear, “Just be good.” Many Americans find the challenge to “completely surrender to God” as offensive. One woman, referring to Acts 10, noted, “Cornelius was good, but he still lacked something. We cannot be good without surrendering to God. We always lack something.”

One Tanzanian pastor noted, “Satan deceives Americans into thinking they can be self-sufficient without God. Americans have health care, homes, food, and security so that they think have no needs and no need for God.” Others said “intellectualism and analysis” is emphasized so much that there is no room for God or for the work Holy Spirit in church. African faith in “the world of the invisible existence” forms “the soul of both African and Christian wisdom” and mitigates “excessive rationalism, scientism or empiricism” (Magesa 2015, 143).

Many Americans claim “inherent” human rights yet “remove God from the picture” (Wolterstorff 2008, 43). Many Tanzanians I interviewed are equally bewildered by secular humanism’s demands and concerns for humanity completely free of any reference to God as the source of all love and life. Tanzanian Christians understand that it is impossible to truly love our neighbor and to truly build community without loving God



first. God alone is true love. The Holy Spirit alone empowers and enables true community. Love and community flow from God alone.

In spite of these challenges, Tanzanian pastors serve people of all nations, including Americans. Many Tanzanians I interviewed described seeing Americans healed and transformed by miracles and the power of God, “when just two people believe and agree.” In spite of cultural differences and challenges, Tanzanians are often very willing to worship together with Americans. Tanzanians pray for their American neighbors and co-workers and invite them to join them in services and celebrations. Tanzanians also appreciate sound and “solid teaching” found in many American services.

#### HONESTY AND SELF-CRITIQUE

I found Tanzanians very honest and willing to critique their own faith and practices. They discussed their own struggles and failures more than they did those of Americans. Many described spiritual laziness and lethargy as much more prevalent in diaspora.

Some indicated Tanzanians in the United States seem more easily discouraged by low attendance at prayer meetings. One noted many who would not be discouraged by meeting to pray with only a few others in Tanzania would be more likely to become discouraged in diaspora.

Many noted how important overnight prayer vigils are back in Tanzania. Work schedules make these vigils much more difficult here. Many stressed, “In Tanzania, we walk to church in the pouring rain so that we can pray with others. We attend outdoor revival meetings in pouring rain and stand ankle-deep in mud to pray with others. Here it

is easy to get comfortable and lazy.” One woman sadly reported, “We still pray here in the United States, but just not as much.”

The pace of life and work schedules to make meeting in person much more difficult here but some felt it also becomes an excuse for spiritual laziness. One pastor, who works three jobs, explained, “We tend to exaggerate the hours we work and take work to the extreme at the same time. We work even longer hours than Americans do.” Many noted the stress caused by the responsibilities of providing for two families on two different continents; nuclear family in diaspora and extended family in Tanzania. Pastors often find, “half of the church is at work on Sundays.” This is rare in Tanzania. Tanzanians pastors in diaspora often wake up early on Sunday mornings to begin calling and inviting those who can attend and encouraging those who can’t.

Many stressed they never let work prevent them from attending church. One woman said, “I worked three jobs but never missed church. Sometimes I would be dozing a bit, but I was there and I was always blessed.” Many mentioned a specific commitment saying, “I’ll never miss church because of work.” One young Tanzanian wrote clearly on his application for work that he would not work on Sunday. In spite of this, his American employer kept asking him to work on Sunday. The young man stood his ground and politely reminded his boss several times regarding the note on his application. His boss eventually respected his commitment.

Others mentioned how dangerous it is to miss worship in diaspora where there is so little support to prevent you from becoming disconnected. Many said, “every time you miss, it becomes easier to miss again, until it becomes a habit and you quit attending church altogether.” One pastor noted, “Someone misses church once and then you realize

you haven't seen him in over a year.” Pastors stress perseverance and compassion. They regularly call and text those who have quit attending to provide them with encouragement from God’s Word.

THEMES FOUR AND FIVE: “WHO BEWITCHED YOU? IT WAS GLOBALIZATION!” (MUHANDO 2007)

Young Tanzanians, under the age of 30, both in Tanzania and in the United States, have grown up in a rapidly changing world. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of telephone lines increased from 700 million to 2.5 billion worldwide while the number of Internet users increased from one million to over one billion (Koser 2007, 34). These very visible signs of the quickening rate of globalization in the past three decades have created the illusion of a shrinking globe. Distances those in diaspora must negotiate seem less daunting. The creation of transnational networks across borders seems less difficult. Today, more people are “aware of global disparities” as they are more easily able to “see what life is like” elsewhere and discover opportunities to live and work elsewhere (Koser 2007, 34).

I witnessed these rapid changes and dynamics as I began living in Tanzania in the year 2000. I noticed how quickly the use of cell phones spread even to the most remote areas. I saw how quickly a single cell phone provider for the entire nation and a single Internet café in my regional hometown city were faced with dozens of competitors. Finally, I noticed how tech-savvy Tanzanian students and youth used the Internet to create and build transnational social networks and to find opportunities for study and work outside of Tanzania. Now I realize that this first decade of the new millennium, the decade I spent living in Tanzania, was the decade that will be remembered as the decade

when Tanzanians truly began living in diaspora in significant numbers riding the latest and swiftest wave of globalization.

Tanzania's first president, Nyerere clearly described the current era of rapid globalization and warned Tanzanians about its effects long ago (Chapter 3). Nyerere believed globalization would lead to greater poverty, greater exploitation and greater divisions between rich and poor. In general, the Tanzanians I interviewed of all ages seemed to share Nyerere's concerns about the dangers of globalization as detrimental to God-given human equality and dignity.

While many see the dangers of globalization as even more prevalent and unrestrained in the United States, they also realize how much these dangers are influencing Tanzanians in Tanzania as well. Rather than simply criticizing Americans, or those in the West, I found most of those I interviewed were very self-critical. Many seemed to be more bothered by the fact that they, as well as fellow Tanzanians, have allowed themselves to be corrupted by these influences, specifically, individualism, consumerism and secularism/spiritual laziness.

While the attitudes of Tanzanians in diaspora regarding social media and the Internet were generally more positive than those of my Tanzanian friends back in Tanzania, those in diaspora still noted the dangers. Some mentioned the dangers of addiction to pornography, while others indicated even the appropriate use of social media can simply become a waste of time that could be better spent praying or studying God's Word.

One man remarked with exasperation, "Even when I get a day off work, what do I do that is productive? Nothing, I waste time on Facebook." He explained how back in

Tanzania he would be in church or visiting Christian friends instead. Others found Facebook, like the prayer phone lines, can promote laziness and lead to one slowly becoming isolated and develop the habit of interacting with people online rather than in person.

One man found Tanzanian Christians who hold each other accountable in Tanzania may quickly give up this commitment as they develop American habits of “busyness” and spiritual laziness in diaspora. Even when they live in the same American city, Tanzanians who held each other accountable back in Tanzania before migration can become isolated from each other in diaspora. Even when one does make an effort, the other may say “We are in America now. People don’t do that (hold each other accountable) here.”

Tanzanian pastors in the United States demonstrate great compassion for young Tanzanians whom they see “fall apart.” Some end up on the streets, homeless. Many Tanzanians in diaspora need pastors who can help them find work, providing them with economic as well as spiritual help and capital. One man praised his Tanzanian pastor’s compassion for these youth. While this man greatly praised the opportunities and spiritual resources available here, he noted the United States is a “very cruel place” for many immigrant youth who lack education and skills.

For many youth, the temptations of individual freedom and moral relativism can be overwhelming. One pastor said, “We need to come with a true purpose in our heart not to defy God, just like Daniel” (implicitly associating the United States with Babylon). One woman explained that she told herself, “If I wouldn't do it on the street in Tanzania, I can't do it here.”

Many pastors noted how many of the youth from Tanzania “just want to be American” but have no idea how to achieve this perceived dream. Many “don’t realize how hard you have to work in America just to survive.” Many become overwhelmed and desperate when opportunities for study or work don’t materialize as planned. Tanzanian pastors never give up on these youth, however, and do their best to guide and help them.

Mandryk (2010, 862-865) describes the influence of secular globalization on the United States mentioned by many of the Tanzanians I interviewed. He reports .5% annual growth of the Christian church in the United States compared with 3.7% in Tanzania. Mandryk remarks, “America's massive cultural and social influence makes it the world's greatest force for good and its greatest purveyor of sin.” He cites the very things that most Tanzanian Christians abhor, “insensitive cultural imperialism, selfish individualism, unbridled corporate greed and exportation of immorality (such as pornography, casual violence and shallow materialism) that are foisted upon the world.”

Mandryk (2010, 864) concludes, “the American church needs revival-not slick mass evangelism and theatrics associated with the word, but true revival with conviction of sin, repentance and an outpouring of the Holy Spirit.” Many Tanzanian Christians would agree but see that even back home in Tanzania where many still truly seek the outpouring of the Holy Spirit through revival ministries, globalization has made the hearts of many shallow and rocky ground for the seeds of true revival marked by repentance and holiness as well as signs and wonders.

Syncretism is “as common in America as anywhere... biblical Christianity is mixed with hyper-individualism, consumerism and materialism, moral relativism and national pride creating a dangerous strain of faith that justifies selfishness, immorality

and hubris” (Mandryk 2010, 865). Many Christians struggle to distinguish between what is scriptural and what is cultural. Globalization has in many ways created a chaotic state of information overload that makes it increasingly difficult for Christians everywhere to distinguish between God’s Word and the gods of this world (Pope Francis 2013, 41).

Many Tanzanians I interviewed described American “conspicuous consumption” (Veblen 1934). They see many seeking status through luxury goods and possessions. Levitt (2001, 87-88) found Dominicans in Boston noting, “It is like all the things we used to admire-being good to one’s family, working hard for the community-don’t matter anymore. It just matters if you have a big house or a lot of gold jewelry...to show your neighbor that you have a VCR and he does not.” Many Tanzanians also expressed great concern over American consumerism as an overwhelming force in diaspora and a corrupting influence back home.

Many Tanzanians noted the growing gap between rich and poor in Tanzania as a destabilizing force leading to decreased security as those left behind, especially the youth, become increasingly frustrated, angry and desperate. Many Tanzanians see this desire to possess and consume just for the sake of appearing to be a winner in the globalization game threatening to brainwash and bewitch generations.

One man who has lived in America for decades but returns to Tanzania annually lamented the force of globalization stating, “I see anything that happens in the U.S. happening in Tanzania just three years later. I compare Tanzanian children raised here with Tanzanian children who have never left Tanzania and I see no difference. They all adopt American culture and it’s aggressive ambition. They believe education and money are all they need. When they fail, they have nothing to fall back on.” Noting the influence

of the Christian awakening in Tanzania, he noted, “Our generation put Christ and the Word of God first. Today, youth do not see a need for Christ or the Word of God. They look at American youth and think that education and money are all you need.”

Some did mention more positive influences of globalization on life back in Tanzania. Some noted being surprised to see how well their family and friends were doing. While some noted an increase in goods like televisions and cars others noted how people in their rural home villages seemed genuinely “healthier and happier” in general. One specifically credited efforts to combat malaria.

One pastor said some now even regret ever leaving Tanzania as they see friends who stayed behind now “getting ahead with nice houses and nice cars.” Another pastor, however, lamented this conspicuous consumption as the negative influence of American materialism. He explained how Tanzanians, even fellow pastors, are often overcome by debt incurred by these unnecessary, luxury goods, but see this debt as normal. He has counseled many asking, “Why are you in debt, for what, for whom and to whom?” He asks, “Why do you need three cars and two homes? You are a pastor.” Even Christians, both here in diaspora and back home in Tanzania, are tempted to keep up with their neighbors who are increasingly too busy “keeping up” to find time for God.

Tanzanian Christians are writing about globalization as well. Keshomshahara (2008, 55) calls the church to find a middle way between failed African socialism and the corrupting influences of economic liberalism that “reconciles individual prosperity and social welfare.” Keshomshahara (2008, 95) agrees with those who believe Nyerere’s *ujamaa* ideology excessively prohibited individual freedom in a way that “endangered the human initiatives and creativity that would have contributed to the economic growth



and development of Tanzania.” He reports a widening gap between rich and poor as Tanzania still struggles to convert macro-economic growth into “micro-economic welfare” (Keshomshahara 2008, 255).

Msafiri (2008, ix) also calls for an alternative and ethical “globalization of concern” that embraces justice, peace, human dignity and values. Like many of the Tanzanians I interviewed, Msafiri (2008) and Magesa (2004) lament globalization’s elevation of “having more over being more.” Msafiri (2008, ix) describes a race for the “survival of the fastest” in which only about 20% of people on earth appear as “winners” while the majority of people on the planet appear as “losers.”

Msafiri (2008, 1) calls Christians to stand for the human dignity of African values and the abundant life of Christ (John 10:10) in the face of dehumanizing and anti-life forces of globalization that reduce humans created in the image of God into mere commodities. He finds an “urgent need to critically rethink...the necessary and key differences between ‘wants’ and ‘needs’ (Msafiri 2008, 63). Msafiri (2008, 100) notes the need for a “systematic globalization of what is good” against a “screen culture which propagates evil, suffering, hopelessness and death.”

On a hopeful note, Magesa (2014, 34) believes globalization, despite its dangers, also highlights more clearly than ever the “rich, God-given diversity and beauty of the universe we find ourselves and in which must learn to live.” While many Tanzanian Christians born and raised in revival feel marginalized and threatened by globalization, they also realize that globalization opens the doors of countless opportunities for the development of their God-given abilities. Many strive to continue serving God faithfully and sharing their faith even as they pursue these opportunities in diaspora. While the

influence of this faith that has been born and nurtured in Tanzania often goes largely unnoticed as they express it and share it here as a tiny minority group here in America, many Tanzanians trust that God is still with them and still blessing and guiding their efforts in a global world.

BECOMING AMERICAN?: “‘AMERICA’S GOT TALENT’ IS ON TONIGHT!”

Several of those I interviewed mentioned how they have already begun to “feel like strangers/guests” in their homeland of Tanzania. It took me some time to see the “elephant in the room.” One massive factor, that only one person mentioned obliquely, is the fact that Tanzania, unlike many other African nations, does not allow dual citizenship. As the link from DICOTA’s website notes, the constitution of Tanzania has prohibited dual citizenship and denied its citizens this right since the birth of the nation in 1964. This political fact makes decisions regarding how to secure one’s immigration status even more important and difficult as Tanzanians attempt to negotiate life with one foot in the United States and one foot in Tanzania.

Tanzanians back home sometimes view Tanzanians in diaspora who choose to become naturalized citizens of other nations as “unpatriotic.” One man who has lived in the United States and served as a pastor here for decades spoke of the pain this causes saying, “I love both nations.” He said that many Africans feel guilty about living in diaspora whether or not they become naturalized citizens of the United States. He described feeling no guilt about living in America because he uses the opportunity to serve Africans and the poor both here and back home daily. He said, “Some say I have run from the poor to join the rich in the West, but I am serving the poor of all nations here in America and in Tanzania when I return every year.”

Another man, who has lived in the United States for over twenty years, noted how painful it has been to miss so many weddings and funerals back in Tanzania where community is so important. Tanzanians rejoice and mourn together. He quickly added, however, that he found it almost more painful to realize how quickly he became inured and immune to this pain of missing events back home, and how quickly he began to feel “more comfortable and safer” in America isolated in privacy and security. He said, “This really affects you psychologically and emotionally.”

Over time, regardless of their decisions on citizenship, Tanzanians living in the United States often feel caught in between and between two very different cultures. Many Tanzanians never feel fully American because they value community and freedom in worship more than Americans do. At the same time, however they increasingly feel like strangers back in Tanzania, disconnected from daily participation in the community they value so highly. Tanzanians in the United States want the freedom to fully develop their abilities outside of the constraints of daily obligations to community in Tanzania, but they are unwilling to completely sacrifice community in the way that many Americans do in individualistic and secular pursuit of careers and wealth. Many mentioned they do want to return to Tanzania eventually and use the skills they have learned in diaspora to help those back home. One man said, “I feel I am better able to use my gifts back in Tanzania.” This was a common sentiment.

I asked one man who earned advanced degrees outside of Tanzania and was then offered a job in the United States, if he felt “American.” He quickly answered, “Spiritually, no and culturally not at all. After a while, I would like to take what I've learned here and return to serve in Tanzania.” Thinking of his young children, all under

the age of ten, he defined “after a while” as he added, “I will let my children grow up first. They are American.”

We were discussing these matters at the dinner table with his family and soon, as if on cue, his young son, about six years old, leaned over to me, pointed to the television in the adjoining room and said, “‘America’s Got Talent’ is on tonight.” As parents pray over and agonize over decisions regarding return, their children often quickly become Americans socially and culturally.

Some I interviewed mentioned experiencing “severe culture shock” upon returning to Tanzania. In *You Can’t Go Home Again*, Wolfe (1940) stated, “things that once seemed everlasting...are changing all the time.” Storti (1996, 52) describes “reverse culture shock” stating, “You may be shocked at how judgmental you have suddenly become...Not only are you upset, you realize, you are upset at things that don’t matter.” Many feel marginalized, alienated and “split in two culturally” after returning home (Storti 1996, 52-54).

Many Tanzanians I interviewed also described feeling mixed emotions as they found themselves bothered by aspects of Tanzanian culture that never bothered them before they lived in America. One pastor noted how frustrated he was to notice how often he now sees Tanzania through “individualistic American lenses” rather than “communal Tanzanian lenses.” Some noted a sense of guilt over feeling physically less safe and secure now when they visit Tanzania.

While they find that they often have less patience with some aspects of life in Tanzania, especially corruption, they are still greatly comforted by the positive aspects of Tanzanian culture, spirituality and community. One woman noted, that despite

experiencing extreme reverse culture shock upon returning to Tanzania, she is “always revived spiritually” and greatly blessed by the community of extended family and African values. She said that she always spends as much time as possible in the villages in order to “relearn these values.” She explained, “I try to fit in. I don't tell people I've been in America.” She then laughed as she added, “But they can always tell.”

#### ADVICE FOR THOSE PREPARING TO MIGRATE

Many I interviewed enjoyed reflecting on advice they would continue to give other Tanzanians who are considering migration to the United States. They also acknowledged that people planning to migrate do not always want or heed advice. Others noted how they themselves had heeded advice before they migrated that had helped them tremendously.

One of my main motivations in conducting this research was to explore if, and to what extent, Tanzanians might lose their faith living in an increasingly secular American society. I quickly found that this is indeed a great concern for Tanzanians as not just youth but even respected pastors have been known to lose their way in America. One of the first men I interviewed spontaneously said, “96 percent of Tanzanians with strong faith who come here suffer spiritually. Many are completely destroyed. Many would have been better off if they had never come.” He advised people not to leave Tanzania without a very strong spiritual foundation and a strong commitment to true accountability.

I have often heard Tanzanians tell stories of friends and family, who have returned from America as completely changed people, unrecognizable in their materialism, individualism and selfishness. The song, “*Mwana Acha Ujinga*” (Son, Stop the Foolishness) by Dar International Orchestre (2009) from the mid-1980s tells the

popular story of the proud son selected to study overseas only to shock people upon his return by completely rejecting his parents, community and home village along with the traditional African values by which he was raised.

Many Tanzanians view America as the far away land of the Prodigal Son and the Land of Opportunity at the same time. Diaspora life is a paradox of great risk and great opportunity at the same time. Tanzanian Christians who come here are very aware of these stories and make great efforts to return as the same recognizable members of their families and communities while bringing new skills and resources to help at the same time. This is the struggle. They need to show that their time away from Tanzania has given them new ideas and skills that are beneficial to their communities back home without causing them to lose their traditional values.

#### THE NEED FOR CHRISTIAN ACCOUNTABILITY

The most important piece of advice that many mentioned is the need for continued Christian accountability that is so prevalent in Tanzania as an essential part of the awakening across generations. In Tanzania, both young and old highly value Christian accountability; they greatly value friends like Nathan who rebuked King David (2 Samuel 12), friends who are bold enough to question and confront them when they see them going astray and who encourage them to continue a life of holiness and boldness in ministry. Almost everyone I asked said they would advise those wanting to come to commit themselves to continued Christian accountability in diaspora.

One young man explained how difficult this can be, however, stating, “Here, you have your own apartment. There is no accountability. We are not used to freedoms and temptations. We can go to the club and no one questions us. People are always saying,

‘Try this and that.’ Here people stay out of your business and out of each other's business. Back home we follow up with each other. If we see un-Christian behavior, we ask, ‘What's going on?’ We correct one another. Here, we leave each other alone and it's easy to fall into things given the temptations.”

He believed what had helped him the most was finding a home church and joining ministry. He said, “I never miss a Sunday and this helps me to stay on track. Because I'm in ministry, I must be there every Sunday and this helps me on Saturday night to know that I must go to church the next morning.” He said many young people who arrive never join a church or ministry. They prefer to “just flow from one church to another with no responsibility or accountability” and as a result, they often backslide. He said, “I can't be in the club with them on Saturday night and then lead worship, bringing people into the presence of God on Sunday morning. These two things don't match so being in ministry is a great help to me.”

Almost everyone I interviewed emphasized, “You must come with a specific and clear purpose.” They note how America offers countless “distractions, entertainment and vice to derail you.” They see America as “a society that encourages you to do whatever you want” and note “this freedom and laxity of morals can ruin your Christian life.” They note how in a society where “nobody is watching anybody...practicing a Christian life can be very difficult.” They mentioned that long hours of work combine with hours of isolation, loneliness and boredom that can lead to unhealthy habits and relationships. As a result, they advise people to quickly find a Christian community that will provide both accountability and opportunities for service and ministry.

## THE NEED FOR REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS

Regarding materialism, one young man noted how difficult it is to advise young people in Tanzania who are convinced that America is a land where money falls from trees. He said that he tried to explain to them, “Nothing is free here. In a materialistic society, everything is equated to monetary values and money is hard to get. Simple help and support that you receive freely from your friend in Africa can be very hard to find here.” He explained that he tries to convince people, “Not everybody in America is a Christian and not everybody is rich. A lot of things you see on television are just not real. There are very few Oprahs. Not everyone lives in a mansion. There are pockets of extreme poverty even here in America.” As the same time, he said, “But also not everybody in America is corrupted and perverted like those we see in rap music videos.” Another pastor noted how when he tries to explain to people in Tanzania that America is not at all like what they see on television, they refuse to believe it and ask, “If it is so bad, why are you still there?”

Most agreed maintaining one’s Christian faith in America is often extremely difficult due to pressure and stress that can be overwhelming and crippling. At the same time, most also agreed with one man who said, “All in all America is a great society if you come with a good purpose, a Godly purpose guiding you.” Another man said, “With all its challenges, America can be a good place to achieve your divine goal.”

One man explained that Tanzanians “need to know the practice of faith will be different here.” He said that losing faith can happen gradually as people work too much and slowly make compromises they would not make back home. He said that many people warned and advised him before he came, saying, “I had heard all the stories, many times. I took the initiative before I came and wrote down what I wanted to do in order to



maintain my faith.” He noted taking “deliberate measures” including never missing worship and regular prayer and fasting. He emphasized, “We must decide to live a careful life because spiritual growth is not automatic. Overcoming temptation is not automatic. We must obey the word of God. Faith is all by the power and grace of God but we have a part to play.”

Mentioning the importance and help of close friends, he said, “We can hold each other accountable and pray for each other. We know each other very well. We know each other's needs and how to pray for one another at all times.” Many emphasized that while Tanzanians who find Christian communities here can still thrive spiritually it does take considerably more initiative, effort and commitment than it does back in Tanzania.

One pastor said, “Many ask me for advice here and I advise them to return but this is a very difficult decision. It is very difficult to return and readjust.” Some advise Tanzanians to get their first degree in Tanzania so that they build academic and professional networks in Tanzania that can help them later. They note the importance of taking advantage of and exhausting all opportunities in Tanzania to develop their skills at home before they seek opportunities elsewhere. One man said, “I keep telling my friends, ‘We can make our own America right here in Tanzania’ but they don't believe it.”

Another woman said she would advise young people who are doing well and taking advantage of opportunities in Tanzania to stay there and only come to the United States if they find they have completely exhausted all avenues for further advancement in Tanzania.

Finally, some mentioned they advise Tanzanians to come only if they truly have a full scholarship and full financial support, noting that along with great opportunities there

is also great competition. One man said, “America is the true land of opportunity but opportunities are not available for free. You must follow all the procedures, rules and regulations required by law; a valid visa and immigration status.” He emphasized, “This is a must!” Many agreed that adequate funding leading to regular immigration status as a student was the “first and most important step.” One man added that without regular immigration status, “America can be a very difficult and cruel place to live.” Many I interviewed expressed great compassion for youth who had come and lost their regular immigration status due to lack of necessary funds for studies. They praised the Tanzanians pastors for their tireless efforts to reach out to and help these Tanzanians “in the shadows.”

#### MUTUAL SUSPICION AND IGNORANCE?

When specifically asked, many of the Tanzanians I interviewed did report feeling “coldness” (lack of hospitality and community) in American services. While Tanzanians feel this coldness and are saddened by it, most seemed to view it as simply a natural outcome to be expected in a highly individualistic culture. Only three out of the twenty-seven Tanzanians I interviewed mentioned specific cases of conflict. All involved Americans indicating Tanzanians were too loud in prayer and worship. One young woman said that she enjoyed worshipping in American churches but still needed the close fellowship of an African congregation as well where she could share on a deep level with every member.

Tanzanians are certainly saddened by rejection but I found those I interviewed refuse to let this deter them in their quest to grow in faith. While some reported that many Tanzanians do quit worshipping altogether after experiencing coldness and rejection, they

also indicated that those who allow these experiences to discourage them are often seeking an excuse to live free from the accountability of the church. Like the man whose wife was offended, many patiently persevere or supplement American worship with African congregations that can fulfill the spiritual needs American congregations fail to. Many of those interviewed stressed the importance of persistence in the face of all obstacles to faith. Many advised, “Never give up!”

Every Tanzanian pastor I met reported positive relations with American pastors and congregations. Most reported being pleased with cooperation they have received from American congregations as they serve together in ministry. I asked two of the pastors who have served here for more than two decades each what advice they would give American Christians for improving relations. One said that he was very happy with the cooperation he has received from American and African-American pastors from the beginning of his time in the United States noting that when he arrived in the 1980s, there were very few Tanzanians here at all. He meets with American pastors in his city from all denominations weekly for prayer and planning as they regularly cooperate in ministry and community outreach. The other pastor (in a completely different interview) said, “We are guests, we must be patient with you and we ask that you be patient with us.” He described the mixed-emotions as he often sees these complex relations through both sets of eyes, American work-oriented eyes and Tanzanian community-oriented eyes at the same time. He said that through American eyes the value Tanzanians place on extended family and community can seem like “weakness” but as a pastor, he knows that this value is biblical. He gave an example of how 200 members of his African congregation quickly came together to support a member who suffered a miscarriage. Everyone

brought food as they mourned this loss together in community, as they would back home. When they invited the Americans in the congregation to join them, only a few responded because they had already planned to visit a local mosque on the same day.

For me the examples of these two Tanzanian pastors with decades of experience working with American Christians in the United States outline two great strengths of the Tanzanian Christian diaspora. First, I found most of the Tanzanians I met to be humble and willing to cooperate with any Americans who would help them continue to follow and serve God. Many did this quietly and without fanfare. Many Tanzanian pastors have initiated and developed ministries on the ground without global partners or flashy websites. Secondly, many also cooperate with American pastors and congregations that often emphasize programs and work over communities and relationships on the ground.

## CONCLUSION

I found Tanzanians more interested in talking about globalization and its effects than about their specific interactions with Americans, which they described with much less detail and with less emotion. Many seemed resigned to the fact that American Christians raised in a highly individualistic culture may never be as hospitable, welcoming and lively as Africans raised in cultures that value extended family, hospitality and community. Even as they rarely feel great hospitality in American congregations, many Tanzanians do appreciate any worship experience that provides powerful and insightful messages from God's Word just as they appreciate American books and spiritual resources that provide sound biblical teaching. Even though Tanzanians appreciate the teaching of American preachers who are "faithful to God's Word," most still feel a great need for the pastoral care of Tanzanian (or fellow African)

pastors, who fully understand the spiritual context of their daily prayer concerns and requests.

Tanzanians speak very passionately and freely about globalization and generally view it as an unstoppable force to be negotiated through strong faith. While Tanzanians certainly see many American Christians as influenced by the dangers of globalization (e.g. hyper-individualism, secularism and consumerism), they tend to focus more on their own struggles and lament how often they as Tanzanian Christians in diaspora allow themselves to be negatively influenced by these temptations and dangers.

Many Tanzanians I interviewed seem to place all of their relations with their American hosts in the context of the larger negotiation of the forces of globalization, which they see as offering great opportunities that are only attainable by negotiating a maze of great risks. The term “global village” is misleading in its inference of “greater togetherness...and reciprocity” in a world that is, in fact, “not much like that” (Hannerz 1996, 6).

Most Tanzanians find the world to be “not much like” the African and Christian communities they leave back home. The local of daily life “tends to be face-to-face in large part in focused encounters and broadly inclusive long-term relationships” (Hannerz 1996, 26-27). In the end, many people in the world find “the global is shallow, the local is deep” (Hannerz 1996, 28). In reality, “We already live in a world city. We live there badly, but there is no way back” (Cox 2013, lvii). Tanzanian Christians sense this and strive to maintain the deep community of the local in the shallow global city of transnational diaspora life.

This reminds me of the story I was told of the Tanzanian high school girls witnessing outside the dance club in Tanzania in the 1980s. Insisting, “The world you find in there is fleeting, the Word we are offering you is eternal,” they convinced a fellow Tanzanian student that if he embraced the deep, eternal Word first, he would be even better equipped to succeed academically and professionally in the fleeting, shallow global world. This is in essence what Christ told his disciples when he said to seek first God’s kingdom and God’s righteousness “and all these things will be added unto you” (Mt. 6:33; Lk. 12:31). The man was convicted by their message and three decades later still strives to put God’s kingdom and God’s righteousness first every day as he lives in the United States. Like many I interviewed, however, he expressed frustration with the constant challenges presented by the shallow, fleeting images and influences of the global.

Many Africans now feel “naked to the world” (Magesa 2014, 30). I found many Tanzanian Christians living in America feel a greater need than ever to clothe themselves in Christian faith. As they strive to contribute as members of today’s “global village” as educated Christian servants, many Tanzanian Christians in diaspora hold onto the “deep” values of the local and the biblical as they live in new, more “shallow” transnational global spaces described by Hannerz (1996) as lacking “reciprocity” and community, in fact, “not much like” a village at all. Putnam (2000) found a significant decline in social capital and “general reciprocity” in America. Many Tanzanians I interviewed in diaspora strive to maintain strong Christian community and accountability in order to maintain a “deep” yet transnational faith as they seek to contribute in an increasingly interconnected yet “shallow” global world.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONCLUSION: GODLY FREEDOM VS. WORDLY FREEDOM

“You my brothers were called to be free. But do not use your freedom to indulge the sinful nature; rather, serve one another in love” (Galatians 5:13)

“In New York freedom looks like too many choices.” (U2, 2000)

Freedom quickly emerged as a crucial factor in the lives of the Tanzanians I interviewed. The Tanzanian Christians I interviewed who had been born and raised during a time of ongoing Christian awakening in Tanzania noted a stark contrast between Christian freedom that is simultaneously anchored in God’s Word and worldly freedom that seems without limits in the current era of hyper-globalization. While the power and guidance of the Holy Spirit allows the believer great freedom in worship and in the expression of faith, many stressed how Christian freedom is anchored in the Bible and in a healthy fear of God that provide limits. Christian community provides encouragement and essential accountability. Many described worldly freedom, by contrast, as an absolute lack of any fear of God or any other spiritual power or authority. Worldly freedom encourages individual pride and freedom to pursue even the most selfish pursuits often to the detriment of community.

Most of the Tanzanians I interviewed, find Christian freedom in communion with and for the benefit of Christian community. Worldly freedom often rejects the need for community in the individual pursuit of self-actualization, fame and fortune. As they seek to fully develop their God-given abilities, many Tanzanian Christians struggle to maintain the Christian freedom in community that nourishes their faith while pursuing academic and professional freedom through opportunities in the United States that are

more evident and accessible than ever in today's increasingly interconnected world. They stress the need for intentional hard work, constant prayer and accountability in community.

This struggle to negotiate freedom while maintaining a healthy fear of God in a secular world highlights two crucial and intertwining issues. First, this contrast between freedom based in religion and community and freedom of the individual unbound by religion and community has ancient roots demonstrating how urbanization, globalization and transnationalism are far from new even as these processes have been accelerated and complicated by rapid advances in technology. This contrast between, "two different modes of mentality and behavior and two different types of society" has been debated by great thinkers like Confucius, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, as well as the church fathers most famously St. Augustine, who described the "City of God" in contrast with the "society of man" (Sorokin 1955, v).

Secondly, many people in the world today are more aware than ever of opportunities to develop their full potential in "multiple elsewheres" (Ivaska 2010; Koser 2007). Many are free and able to take advantage of these new opportunities and freedoms. For many Christians, Pentecostalism often "delivers the goods" promised by globalization (Corten and Marshall-Fratani 2001, 3) providing hope and inspiration (Asamoah-Gyadu 2012, 42-43; Kalu 2003, 37-38). Others, however, are often left to feel more like "window shoppers" in the global marketplace (Mbembe 2001; Meyer and Geschiere 2003, 5). Many Tanzanian Christians feel God calling them to learn from global resources and to contribute globally but remain wary of the limitless temptations in the windows of the global marketplace.



In this final chapter, as I reflect on this central meta-theme regarding these two types of freedom, I will present an overall summary of my findings including an analysis of how the data answered my original research questions. Finally, I will make recommendations for ministry based on these findings as well as recommendations for further research.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The ongoing East African awakening has left a unique legacy in the spiritual context of Tanzania. Indigenous leaders, including women and students, largely stayed within denominations as they blended African and Catholic community/unity, evangelical/biblical accountability, and Pentecostal power (providing further continuity with African views on the power of spirit world). After a time of tension, the experience of the power of the Holy Spirit to heal and deliver ultimately unified Christians in Tanzania and continues to do so today across all language groups, denominations and socio-economic classes. Generations of students have felt the call to be “educated servants” of Christ participating in revival as they pursue educational excellence.

Tanzanians see freedom in worship as freedom to call on the power of the Holy Spirit through Christ but also as freedom to worship in any church that preaches both the power of the Bible and the power of the Holy Spirit. Mainline denominations in Tanzania have been “pentecostalized” through revival. Only 2% of the Christian population in Tanzania belong to independent churches and consequently, Tanzanians do not bring independent churches with them into diaspora as West African Pentecostals do.

The historical and political contexts of Tanzania have left unique legacies as well. Nyerere attempted to unite the nation and promote development through *ujamaa* (African

socialism) based in traditional African community and values. While *ujamaa* failed to provide economic development, it promoted peace and instilled Tanzanians with an enduring pan-ethnic and pan-African unity. Swahili, the common language of the people, and the lack of dominant, majority language groups also greatly aided in promoting a unique sense of national unity.

Nyerere's Catholic emphasis on equality before God provided continuity with traditional African values of community and equality. Nyerere also grounded Tanzanians in a traditional compassion for the poor. He reminded Christians to fight all forms of human exploitation and warned of the dangers of globalization. His failed economic policies, however, have led many Tanzanians to believe that full freedom to develop their God-given potential as "educated servants" must often be found elsewhere, in diaspora.

#### THE DECISION AND PROCESS OF EMIGRATION

For most of the Tanzanians I interviewed, who admittedly were involved in a local church, the actual "cognitive model" (Brettel 2003,62) regarding how a Tanzanian Christian migrant should "think and behave" was firmly rooted in the faith, practices, identity, community and accountability of the Christian awakening in Tanzania. While they were fully aware that the practice of faith would be different in America, most of the Tanzanians I met still strive to live out their faith in much the same way they do when they are in Tanzania helping one another and holding one another accountable in community.

Tanzanians migrate because they see America as the land of freedom and opportunity but many Christians raised in revival are aware that these freedoms and opportunities come with great temptations and risks (in the words of U2, "too many

choices”). The main goal of migration for many is to pursue opportunities to earn advanced degrees that are more plentiful in the United States. Initial plans often seem to follow the example of Nyerere: go if you are able, get your degrees quickly and then return home and use your education to help your fellow Tanzanians. Christians raised in revival often do indeed follow this plan as they return to Tanzania quickly and use degrees earned in diaspora to develop God-given gifts and talents in both work and ministry in Tanzania. Once they are here, however, many feel obligated to stay until they earn a PhD and in the process, they experience difficult decisions regarding how and when to return.

The vast majority of those I interviewed were extremely honest. Many expressed mixed emotions and even doubt as they reflected deeply on both their decisions to come originally and on the idea of return. Some sensed God may be teaching them how to maintain faith in the absence of strong community. Some have come to see the spiritual struggles of life in the United States as a necessary test of faith that they must learn to pass.

#### TRANSNATIONAL FAITH AND IDENTITY

Focusing on the importance of self-perception and self-identity in light of faith, my second research question aimed to help me understand how Tanzanians’ descriptions of prayer, Bible study and witness in diaspora reflect the reinforcement of local Tanzanian Christian identities carried with them from Tanzania while reflecting the formation and adaptation of new global and transnational Christian identities at the same time. I listened to how Tanzanians described, identified and perceived themselves throughout the entire process of migration.

I quickly found that it was often as easy for many to clearly define and describe which identities and practices, both local and global, they clearly rejected. Much like the Algerian immigrant in France interviewed by Sayad (2004, 276) who states, “I don’t know what I am, but I do know what I am not” many of the Tanzanians I interviewed clearly described the identities and practices they struggled to avoid and were very honest about their failures to do so in diaspora. This honesty was reminiscent of Paul’s confession, “What I want to do, I do not do” as he gives thanks to Christ for rescuing him from “this body of death” (Romans 7:24-25).

As every Tanzanian I interviewed identified himself or herself as an actively worshipping Christian, this Christian identity formed in the context of extended Christian awakening back home seemed primary for most. This identity was very similar to the *uamsho* identity reported by Munga (1998) but is also increasingly combined with the growing charismatic/Pentecostal identity in Africa. While many reported worshipping in Pentecostal churches back home, in diaspora the “Pentecostal” label and identity did not seem as crucial as did the understanding that all believed in the power and “freedom” of the Holy Spirit to guide, heal and deliver. Many mentioned how crucial it was for them to understand, as students in Tanzania, that one can be awakened and “on fire for God” and remain a successful student and scholar at the same time. Many shared testimonies of how God helped them to succeed at their studies even as they served God in ministry.

Throughout four generations of Christian awakening, many Tanzanian students have consistently mentored fellow students to become “educated servants.” This identity has increasingly led Tanzanians to seek advanced degrees both inside and outside of Tanzania as they strive to be globally educated servants of God in an increasingly

interconnected world. Many take advantage of educational opportunities and resources in diaspora to develop transnational education and skills that help them continue to serve rapidly changing communities and societies.

These new global and transnational practices and identities do come at a price, however, and often create mixed emotions. For many Tanzanians in diaspora who desperately strive to remain true to their Tanzanian Christian upbringing, migration causes them to be viewed with suspicion by some back in Tanzania no matter how hard they attempt to show that they have neither forgotten nor abandoned the families and communities that raised them.

Most of the Tanzanians I met have gained and developed transnational skills and education that help them to survive and thrive across borders both in diaspora and back home. Like so many migrants today, however, the more time they spend in diaspora, the more they often feel disconnected and alone stranded betwixt and between two nations at the same time. Immigrants often feel “partially present” and “partially absent” physically, economically and spiritually in both places at the same time creating a tension that is difficult to sustain (Sayad 2004, 125).

Many immigrants find it difficult to feel completely present anywhere and can experience “dual absence” (Sayad 2004) much more than the triumphant dual presence reported by globe-trekking cosmopolitans. “Cosmopolitans” often have the luxury of choosing when and how they roam, always knowing exactly “where the exit is” (Hannerz 1996, 104). Millions of migrants today have little choice and no certainty regarding any exit.

Tanzanians often feel like exiles, yet find themselves treated by many, both at home and in diaspora, as cosmopolitan globe trekkers. Like the Tanzanian pastor who noted her great efforts to spend time in the villages and “relearn” traditional communal values whenever she returned, many immigrants find that no matter how hard they try, those who never left “can always tell” who has been *ughaibuni* (in a foreign land).

While the Tanzanians I met rarely mentioned their degrees and achievements in the United States, many are certainly proud to have thrived in America in ways that make their communities back home proud. At the same time, many also seem aware they may never be able to “belong” at home in exactly the same way they did before they left. One man spoke of making great efforts to reconnect with childhood friends upon return to Tanzania only to find that he ends up spending most of his time with those who have also lived transnational lives outside of Tanzania.

One man mentioned how painful it is to miss weddings and funerals back home. He then explained how distressing it is when missing these important events in the lives of their communities back home becomes a normal part of life of diaspora. Tanzanian Christians are very aware of these realities and strive to maintain both their Christian faith and their connection to their communities back home.

When asked if they ever felt “American” or were perceived as “Americans” when they returned, most indicated they associate the term “American” with the negative aspects of globalization like secularism, selfish individualism, and consumerism. While they expressed gratitude for the positive aspects of American culture and hospitality (as the land of opportunity for those who work hard and a place full of Christian resources and ideas for ministry), they rejected this label as an identity. One man insisted he was

“culturally not at all American” even though he reported very positive relations with Americans and recognized that his children are already American. He may have been referring to their citizenship. Only one person I interviewed mentioned citizenship and even then in reference to others.

Christian faith formed during a time of Christian awakening in Tanzania helps many Tanzanians in diaspora find true social and spiritual being and belonging in a “world city” (Cox 2013, lvii) where true faith and true community can be often very hard to find. As they maintain and construct transnational identities in diaspora, many Tanzanian Christians maintain a healthy fear of God rooted in revival faith. The evangelical emphasis of the early revival in Tanzania instilled a healthy fear of God and love of community and accountability that linked Tanzanian Christians to their spiritual and communal past even as it created a new universal clan of Christ. Now the freedom and power of the Holy Spirit in the contemporary Pentecostal/charismatic waves of revival propel them into the future even as it provides yet another link to traditional African spirituality (spiritual power) and community.

Pentecostalism could be “expressing a new form of Protestant work ethic” in the age of globalization as well (Cortes and Fratani-Marshall 2001, 1). Many Tanzanians I interviewed stressed the value of both faith and hard work, echoing a Protestant work ethic still trusting in God. For many I interviewed, it seems this combination of awakened faith and work ethic mitigates the excesses of the prosperity gospel while guarding against secular “cultural development” led by “specialists without spirit” described by Weber (1958, 182) at the same time. Many also expressed the Catholic concern over the

dangers of globalization as dehumanizing and anti-life, mirroring the views of Nyerere and also echoed in the current Pope's concerns.

I found Tanzanian Christian identity combines and interweaves elements of every branch of Tanzanian spirituality: traditional African and Catholic emphasis on community, the Awakening emphasis on the fear of God and accountability, the Protestant evangelical emphasis on God's Word, and the charismatic/Pentecostal emphasis on the freedom and power of the Holy Spirit. For many Tanzanian Christians, Catholic compassion and community (Father), Protestant work ethic and Word (Son) and Pentecostal power and hope (Holy Spirit) all compliment each other in a balanced revival identity. This identity provides them with a moral compass and continuity with the spirituality of the past at the same time it provides them with flexibility and freedom to change in ways that help them negotiate the countless new opportunities and new dangers in an increasingly interconnected and secular world. This complex and dynamic identity of Christian awakening anchors many Tanzanians firmly in God's eternal story as they seek to contribute to God's unfolding story here on earth.

Most of the Tanzanian pastors I interviewed showed great compassion for the hurting and lost. None of them spoke of global, transnational ministries. Most felt called to share their experiences of salvation in Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit with everyone in their spheres of influence both at home and in diaspora. As independent churches in Tanzania are still relatively few, Tanzania pastors do not plant Tanzanian independent churches in diaspora as pastors from West Africa do. While Tanzanian pastors seek to minister and witness in their spheres of influence both at home and in diaspora, I found they generally seek to do this one person at a time through personal



contacts and friendships rather than through any global campaigns or partnerships.

Tanzanian pastors do not pray with power over members as much as they sit with them, listen to them and help them learn to study God's Word and pray for themselves.

## MUTUAL SUSPICION AND IGNORANCE? INTERACTIONS WITH AMERICAN HOSTS

While the Tanzanians I met did openly report feeling "coldness" in American congregations, none of them reported feeling personally rejected by American congregations. In fact, whenever I specifically asked Tanzanian pastors about these interactions, most reported good relations with American pastors and churches although they often did not elaborate. Some reported studying the Bible and praying regularly with American Christians while others reported that they occasionally worshipped in American congregations and prayed regularly for American neighbors and friends. While many worshipped in American congregations, most Tanzanians I met also found it necessary to regularly study the Bible and pray with fellow Africans who have similar views on the Bible and spiritual power.

In general, the Tanzanians I interviewed seemed much more concerned about American secularism and consumerism than with "non-acceptance," "ignorance" or "suspicion." Many Tanzanians may be "suspicious" of American culture but rather than criticizing American Christians or congregations, those I interviewed tended to criticize American culture (and globalization) as a corrupting influence on all people of all nations.

Many shared a sentiment along these lines, "In Tanzania, we walk to church in the pouring rain so that we can pray with others. We attend outdoor revival meetings in the

pouring rain and stand ankle-deep in mud to pray with others. Here it is easy to get comfortable and lazy.” While they find it more difficult to worship and pray as often as they would like while living in the United States, most Tanzanians I interviewed expressed great resilience. Many indicated, “We never give up praying.” Many explained how they must learn to do the work of spiritual development as tirelessly as they do the work of agriculture, academics or professional work. Just as they never give up farming until they harvest, or studying until they earn a degree, they encourage one another to never give up praying until they see the spiritual breakthrough, growth or harvest that God has in store for them.

As they lament the negative forces of globalization, many Tanzanians express compassion for those left as “window shoppers” of globalization. Some I interviewed noted the growing gap between rich and poor in Tanzania as a destabilizing force leading to decreased security as those left behind, especially the youth, become increasingly frustrated, angry and desperate. Many of the Tanzanians I interviewed expressed views similar to those of Christian singers like Muhando (2007) as well as hip-hop artists like Afande Sele, Wahu Kagwi and Mr. Ebbo (Ntarangwi 2009), who fear this desire to possess and consume just for the sake of appearing to be a “winner” in the globalization game threatens to completely brainwash and bewitch generations.

At the same time, Pentecostalism has provided youth with new positive self-images and hopes that help them negotiate and overcome the frustrations of global window-shopping (Asamoah-Gyadu 2012). Many Tanzanians raised in revival call for Christians to use the discernment of the Holy Spirit as they take advantage of global

opportunities. Many attempt to critically analyze true needs against “wants” of the global market and like Msafiri (2008).

Appadurai (2013, 269-270) argues for understanding “research as human right” necessary for “full citizenship” in today’s world. Citizen groups need tools to study and analyze their own transnational lives and communities in ways that help them overcome the knowledge gap, negotiate risks and opportunities in ways that help them feel free to shape their own futures. Diaspora Christian communities are uniquely situated to carry out research on transnational life but could often use support and encouragement to do so.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### OVERCOMING MUTUAL IGNORANCE THROUGH SCHOLARSHIP AND UNDERSTANDING

Tanzanian diaspora pastors are often invited to serve congregations of African immigrants from other nations while others have been invited to serve African-American congregations. These pastors often promote and foster inter-religious harmony serving immigrants and Americans of all faiths. While they are often frustrated to find people have less time for religion when they live in America, many continue to serve God even in small ways that often go unnoticed in today’s hectic world.

It is important to hear the transnational voices and ideas of Tanzanians as members of a smaller, minority group that is often invisible as part of a larger, yet still minority, meta-diaspora, the African diaspora. I believe we need to encourage Tanzanians to write more and to share their own stories. We, as American Christians, could do more to help provide scholarships and opportunities for African Christians to study in the

United State. Most importantly, we can understand ways to help those who study to maintain their immigration status as students so they may study in peace.

While Christian scholars from West Africa, like Adogame, Asamoah-Gyadu, Bediako, Hanciles, Kalu, Sanneh and others have researched and published extensive studies on African faith and diaspora life, Tanzanians in diaspora, although earning advanced degrees, do not seem to publish their works. We can encourage and help Tanzanians publish their research. We can learn from the theses and dissertations Tanzanians write while living in diaspora as well as from their stories of everyday life and ministry. A greater knowledge of Tanzanian diaspora scholarship will lead to greater mutual understanding. A greater knowledge of Tanzanian diaspora ministry will lead to greater opportunities for mutual enrichment in ministry.

We, as American Christians, need to listen to what our brothers and sisters in Christ say about their lives in Christ. While many from West Africa have written books to help us understand, Tanzanians as a minority group have yet to do this. As we seek to learn from our African family in Christ, we must never forget or overlook those who may seem quiet or almost invisible at times. If we take time to listen to them, many Tanzanian Christians are very willing to honestly share their souls with us.

Panunzio (1924, xi) explains that if his “narrative has any particular value it grows out of the fact that it recounts the struggles of an *average immigrant*...that of an immigrant lad who has been neither too successful nor too unsuccessful.” He notes that the stories of “great and successful” immigrants have often led to misperceptions. Panunzio (1924, xi) explains that his story “depicts *the inner, the soul struggles* of an immigrant more than his outward success or failure.” One of many things that impressed

me about the Tanzanians I met in my research was their willingness to be both brutally honest and deeply reflective as they share their stories.

Without any prompting, the vast majority spent much more time sharing about their struggles than they did sharing about their successes, even when many had earned advanced degrees and were professionally very successful. They shared their lives as “average immigrant” and deep reflected on their “soul struggles” as they recounted their spiritual life histories. Panunzio (1924, 189) concludes, “We would do well to afford to every newcomer an opportunity to develop and to contribute the best which he has brought with him, rather than to destroy it by any means, direct or indirect.”

We Americans need to recognize both the strong faith and the soul struggles of the average Christian immigrant from Africa. Tanzanian Christians have powerful testimonies they love to share as they serve others in community. Like all of us, they also have daily struggles and need the social and spiritual capital of Christian community. We can learn from these unique spiritual gifts as we help them develop and share these gifts in a new land and context. Walls (1996, 54) explains, “It is a delightful paradox that the more Christ is translated into the various thought forms and life systems which form our various national identities, the richer all of us will be in our common Christian identity.” Walls (2002, 47) finds, “Shared reading of the Scriptures and shared theological reflection will be of benefit to all, but the oxygen-starved Christianity of the West will have the most to gain.”

Many Tanzanian Christians bring both faith and skills with them to the United States. Unfortunately, many are overwhelmed by the shock of an American culture that in many ways discourages the building of community and accountability like they enjoyed

back home. Some of the Tanzanians I interviewed noted the horror at realizing how isolated people become in the United States stating, “You could die and none of your neighbors would even know.” This is extremely distressing for those from a culture where no one dies or mourns alone.

No one in Tanzania follows Christ alone either. Tanzanian Christians recognize this community of their ancestors in the Bible. For example, Romans 12:13-16 teaches us to share with God’s people who are in need, to practice hospitality, to rejoice with those who rejoice and mourn with those who mourn as we live in harmony with one another, never proud or conceited.

We, as American Christians, need to understand how we can help African Christians overcome the culture shock that often harms their faith so that they can truly develop their God-given potential and contribute on a global stage. As we do this, we also need to help Tanzanians write down their own stories in ways that will help fellow Tanzanians and Americans, of both present and future generations, in both academics and ministry, understand and learn from their unique transnational Christian identities and practices of faith. In the process, Tanzanians can help Americans re-learn Christian community.

Christian communities seek “freedom to love God and neighbor unshackled to selfishness” (Luzbetak 1988, 378). Tanzanians Christians have a unique understanding of this Christian community and accountability. They highly value freedom to love God and neighbor and understand freedom within limits as God intends.

**OVERCOMING MUTUAL SUSPICION THROUGH PARTNERSHIP IN MINISTRY**

Tanzanian Christians reach out to and serve marginalized peoples of all nations (we Americans included) with understanding and skills that the American church needs to learn. Tanzanians often do this ministry quietly in ways that are easily overlooked. While they do indeed have missionary zeal, Tanzanians also understand that these missionary efforts involve building community and serving neighbors daily in small and often unnoticed ways even more than through flashy global programs and “goals.”

For many Tanzanian Christians, the primary goal is building faithful Christian communities where “it is easier to be good” and serve God. We Americans must approach partnerships humbly, willing to give up “doing” and programs and willing to learn much more about “being” and community. Tanzanian Christians understand “the building of New Testament Christian communities in our own times is...the very key to mission success” (Luzbetak 1988, 380-381).

In the end, we Americans must see our brothers and sisters in Christ from Africa not just as family and equal partners in mission and ministry with us but as those God has called to teach us, preach to us, evangelize us, and minister to us. Many American congregations have begun to understand their need to be humble recipients of African evangelism, mission and ministry, but widespread recognition and acceptance will take sustained intentional effort.

As attendance at American congregations continues to decline and fewer and fewer Americans attend church, it is even more important to help Africans who desperately seek to worship feel welcome among us. We need to listen honestly in order to understand, address and eliminate the perceived “coldness” of many of our congregations.

While first-generation African immigrants will still often need their own space and their own congregations where they can be completely free to pray and worship as they do back home, we still must make them feel welcome to join with Americans in worship whenever they choose to. Even more importantly, as we help them feel welcome to join us in ministry and outreach as equal co-workers in the work of the Kingdom of God, we must also welcome them to preach to us, evangelize us, pray for us and hold us accountable.

Tanzanian Christians living in the United States are often quietly involved in holistic ministries of evangelism and compassion. They are also very grateful for opportunities to participate in and learn from American ministries. There is great potential for mutual enrichment in transnational Christian ministry that we have only begun to realize and develop. It will take persistent and intentional efforts to recognize and negotiate cultural differences that often see an emphasis on community clash with an emphasis on programs. If we are willing to do the hard work, however, and speak the truth in love, each side can learn a great deal from the other. Mutual enrichment can lead to holistic ministries that build true Christian community while reaching specific goals at the same time.

We Americans, as hosts, must also be aware that our seemingly well-intentioned “invitations to integrate” can often appear to our guests like criticism or judgment (Sayad 2004, 223). Our invitations must always be made in true Christian humility. We must repent of our ignorance and stress our need to learn from the unique gifts God has given our African family in Christ from arguably the most Christian continent on earth.



At the same time, we must help African Christians gain the political power they rightly deserve as majority members of the worldwide body of Christ. We need to hear their voices in positions of church authority as well as in our pulpits. The American church must help “level the playing field” by providing members of the world church with equal access to finances, education, and opportunities for teaching and publishing free of linguistic barriers (Ott 2006, 332).

Finally, we Americans need to be much more patient with those who speak English with non-American accents. Even though most of the Tanzanians I met spoke English fluently with British accents, many still expressed frustration with how often Americans fail to understand them. Many Tanzanians also tend to be soft-spoken. They can literally be hard to hear for Americans who tend to enjoy speaking loudly. We Americans must understand how easily we can discourage fellow members of the body of Christ. We must understand how important it is to develop patience so that we can truly listen to and learn from the faith and gifts that God has given our family in Christ from Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa. Impatience is inexcusable as Americans with perfectly “American” accents continue to leave and avoid our American congregations in alarming numbers.

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As many Tanzanians come to the United States to pursue advanced degrees, research is needed to study the pursuit of advanced degrees as a rite of passage building on the work of Van Gennep (1960) and others like Philpot (1973) and Zanhiser (1997). One could research how those who return to Tanzania with degrees from the West are truly received back home socially, academically and professionally. Tanzanians could

study the diaspora experience in general as a rite of passage, critiquing all stages and elements of this rite of passage in light of faith.

Tanzanian Christians who still value community and harmony based on “folkways, mores, and religion” could research how the values and practices of both African and Christian community compare with Tonnies’ (1955, 261) description of this tension between *gemeinschaft* (community) and *gesellschaft* (society/association) today. They could also incorporate Tanzanian Catholic views on two societies in St. Augustine’s City of God. Finally, this research could also be combined with research on Tanzanian views on social media (this could include phone prayer lines as well) and its influence on society and Christian community in light of faith.

West African scholars have already begun studying issues regarding the second-generation, children of African immigrants in Europe and the United States. Second-generation Tanzanians in the United States are still very young as Tanzanians are relative newcomers in the African meta-diaspora. Research is needed on the unique challenges and skills of second-generation Tanzanians.

Regarding diaspora relations and politics, there is a significant need for research on Muslim-Christian relations in diaspora. Tanzanians seem to model a unique, positive example of success in interfaith dialogue and community. We need to learn more from them about this unique strength.

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2014, 181-189) describe the “rise of world families” and the “global challenge of distant love” as not just crucial for the future of family but for the very “future of humanity.” Tanzanians could research how they view the spiritual,

social, economic and political risks involved with transnational family life and the “global challenge of distant love” and community.

Finally, research could compare the East African awakening with global awakenings as Shaw (2010) has. This could include an in-depth analysis of the Tanzanian concept of community and how this relates to Christian leadership, accountability, fellowship and prayer. This could be compared with Tanzanian Catholic *jumuiya ndogo ndogo* (small communities) and even Wesley’s small group accountability for those saved in revival.

Borrowing the words and sentiment of Munga (1998, 283), I hope this dissertation “will inspire other theologians to pick up their pens where I have put mine down.” I hope pastors, lay ministers, anthropologists and missiologists will continue to research, analyze and write about Christians influenced by the ongoing Christian awakening in Tanzania. I hope Tanzanians themselves conduct the majority of this further research.

Like those in the Dictionary of African Christian Biography ([dacb.org](http://dacb.org)), Tanzanian stories (and research) are needed to bring our “ecclesiastical maps up to date” (Bonk 2008, 30). As a continent of “churches and coffins...suspended between hope and despair,” Africa needs “better stories” of hope that are the very “stuff of Christianity” (Katongole 2011, 31; 2014, 208; 2015, 191). The ongoing Christian awakening in Tanzania has provided and continues to provide many “better stories” of hope.

#### CLOSING REMARKS

“After the city comes the world community...And, of course, as with the perils of the ocean, the bigger the community, the fuller it is of misfortunes” (St. Augustine 1958, 447). Tanzanians continue to negotiate both the perils and opportunities of transnational

diaspora life with revival faith anchored in the Bible, the fear of the Lord, humility, community and accountability. As a culture rooted in strong community, Tanzanians Christians both at home and in diaspora realize the importance of the support of fellow Christians and accountability to maintain a holy life. One pastor I noted cited Prov. 27:17, “As iron sharpens iron, so one man sharpens another.” Peter Maurin explains, “The purpose of Christian community is to create a place ‘where it is easier for people to be good’” (Groody 2007, 252).

The Tanzanian Christians I interviewed do not claim to be without sin. On the contrary, they are very honest regarding their struggles and failures. While living in a globalized and fragmented “world city” today where strong communities are hard to find, many Tanzanians seek to maintain the values of early church community that are very similar to the values of community passed down to them by their ancestors. Many emphasize the importance of community not just for social capital, but for spiritual capital. Many realize that following Christ requires community, humility and the willingness to accept accountability and discipline. As they practice the community and accountability modeled by the early church, many Tanzanian Christians in diaspora also believe in the power and guidance of the Holy Spirit witnessed and recorded by the early church.

Secularization has disrupted “old patterns of community” including Christian community as it scatters “a growing number of Christians all over the world in the service of technical development...and education” (Newbigin 1966, 122). As Tanzanian Christians live, study and work in the United States they often struggle to maintain Christian community and accountability in a globalized world that often portrays true

community as “weakness” that interferes with individual achievement or as a quaint, nostalgic option.

Tanzanians raised as members of traditional African communities and Christian revival communities, view this tensions between community and world much as St. Augustine did. In *The City of God*, St. Augustine describes two loves manifest in two cities; one holy, just and social, the other unholy, wicked and individualist (Gilson 1958, 27). St. Augustine (1958, 321) explains, “Worldly society has flowered from a selfish love which dared to despise even God, whereas the communion of saints is rooted in the love of God that is ready to trample on self. In a word, this latter relies on the Lord, whereas the other boasts that it can get along by itself.”

As Americans, we struggle to reach and help many who have been taught they “can get along” on their own, without God, in a secular world. Many Tanzanians in diaspora are willing to be partners in ministry with us to reach all who live in America today. We must be willing to recognize their gifts and serve alongside them in a world where many are tempted and overwhelmed by “freedom without limits” and “too many choices.”

For generations, Christian Tanzanians in Dar have received, welcomed and nurtured daily newcomers to the global city with revival community and accountability to protect them and help them negotiate new freedoms of urban life. Now Tanzanian Christians in diaspora offer this same community to daily newcomers to America. They help them negotiate the new freedoms of transnational global diaspora life. American Christians can do more to join them in these efforts. In the process, we can learn from them and be blessed by their awakened faith and ministries.

Tanzanian Christians in the United States can teach us, not just how Christian migrants travel with Christian faith and community, but also how they travel with and carry ongoing revivals and awakenings today. Tanzanians remind us that Christian awakenings still occur today, impacting entire societies and cultures over generations as it they did during the Great Awakenings in North America centuries ago. We American Christians can help African Christians raised in revival maintain and share their awakened faith in a “global city” where community is hard to find and maintain.

Americans and Tanzanians can help each other build Christian communities in which “it is easier to be good” and walk in the light of Christ, at least clumsily, even if never perfectly this side of Heaven. Tanzanians, along with their fellow Christians from Africa, carry a revival that broke out on the day of Pentecost and continues today in waves throughout the world in different times and places. As Tanzanians carry revival with them to the United States, we Americans must help all fellow Christians from Africa and elsewhere access and benefit from global spiritual, educational and professional resources. We must promote political equality in the global church and in the global Christian academy. As we do this, we will ensure these resources reach the growing Christian communities of Africa and the world church that nurture today’s most active global revivals and awakenings on the ground, daily. In the process, we can help each other as one family of God, one body of Christ, through one Holy Spirit, strive to reach “the whole measure of the fullness of Christ” together in unity (Eph. 4:13).