

**A STUDY OF DISCIPLESHIP IN MARK 10:35-52:
A MODEL FOR LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT
OF CLERGY IN THE CHURCH OF UGANDA
(ANGLICAN)**

BY

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Declaration

I Rebecca Margaret Nyegenye Ajambo, PhD Candidate in the University of KwaZulu-Natal Faculty of Humanities, Religion and Social Sciences, School of Classics, Philosophy and Religion, declare that unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, this thesis is my own original work and shall be submitted for the purpose of the above-mentioned degree.

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Map showing dioceses in the Church of Uganda (Anglican)



Extracted from Uganda Christian University: a report on University scholarships- May class 2010:2

Abbreviations

ESV – English Standard Version (is the Bible used for all the quotations)

COUA – Church of Uganda Anglican

EAR – East African Revival

CMS - Church Missionary Society

ACCLAIM - Associated Consultants in Leadership and in Management

BTTC – Bishop Tucker Theological College

BTSOT – Bishop Tucker School of Divinity and Theology

PCOR – Provincial Conference on Recruitment.

Kgs. – The book of Kings

Exod. - The book of Exodus

Rom. - Romans

Gal. – Galatians

I Cor. – I Corinthians

Num. – Numbers

Lev. – Leviticus

Deut. - Deuteronomy

SBL - Society of Biblical Literature

HTR - Harvard Theological Review

WW - Word and Word

JAS – Journal of Anglican Studies

JTSA – Journal of Theology for Southern Africa

ResQ – Restoration Quarterly

BSac - Bibliotheca Sacra

JBL – Journal of Biblical Literature

JSNT – Journal for the Study of New Testament.

BibInt – Biblical International

NovT – Novum Testamentum

VE – Vox Evangelica

Int – Interpretation

Abstract

The study is about discipleship in Mark 10:35-52: a model for leadership development of clergy in the Church of Uganda (Anglican). In this thesis I engage with three contextual models that have impacted on the leadership development of clergy in the Church of Uganda (Anglican) namely: the Ganda model of kingship, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) model and the East African Revival (EAR).

Kingship models reflect oppressive codes of patronage and authoritarianism which have influenced all sectors of the church leading to constant struggle for power. The East African Revival emerged as a resistance model against the two “banking models” of Christianity. The movement managed to decode the banking models through their values of simplicity manifested through hospitality, fellowship and Bible study. They overcame the racism and ethnic hostility that had been cultivated by the CMS missionaries and the Ganda. These three models are then brought into dialogue with the Jesus model of servant leadership to develop a model which is both Biblical and contextual. Social historical criticism coupled with the Freirian pedagogical approach is used to analyse and critique both the contextual models and the text of Mark 10:35-52. Oppressive codes such as hierarchy, honour and status, kyriarchy, and patronage have been identified in both the text and contextual models of leadership. These oppressive codes have been decoded using Jesus’ model of servanthood in which he embodied the oppressive codes as the *New Human Being*, resulting in equality for all irrespective of ones’ social status or gender. Jesus embodied the servant role which was meant for the slaves and the poor by laying down his life as a ransom for many. Jesus’ shameful death was a way of decoding the power of the cross where the slaves, insurrectionists, and servants were crucified. Since then the cross became a symbol of liberation where the slaves, insurrectionists and servants could find victory and justification. The cross brought equality between the oppressed and the oppressors. Women found favour before Jesus in the face of a kyriarchal culture where only a male figure counted. The poor, sick and blind and those considered outcasts in society found victory and liberation in Jesus. Appropriation of Jesus’ discipleship model of servanthood creates a place of dialogue, where the situation in the Church of Uganda (Anglican) can enter into an extended conversation with Jesus’ discipleship model. This thesis suggests that the contextual models of leadership development in the Church of Uganda (Anglican) in dialogue with the Jesus model of leadership can result in a contextual model of an egalitarian church where everybody,

irrespective of gender, status and tribe, could enjoy the privilege of being a member of the family of God.

Chapter One

General introduction

1.0 Introduction and background to the study

It is evident from the inception of Christianity in 1877, when the Church Missionary Society (CMS) arrived in Buganda, that the Church of Uganda Anglican (COUA)¹ has consciously and unconsciously been wrapped up in leadership wrangles for power. It is further correct to assert that the power struggle among church leaders is as old as the COUA. Yet it is also a church that was born of evangelicalism, where the ideal tradition is for members to adhere to the teaching of the Bible as the inspired word of God, for their salvation. Full of faith in Christ, the pages (these were young men in the King's court) in 1886, without intention, set the record for being the first subjects to resist the orders of their King (*Kabaka*)² while knowing that such disobedience led to death. Mukajanga, the chief executioner, mentioned to the *Kabaka* that "he had never executed people who showed such fortitude and endurance and that they had prayed aloud to God even in fire" (Faupeul 2007, 226).

The temptation to be ambitious for power and use it for ruling others steadily continued to manifest itself among the missionaries who arrived in Uganda after the martyrs' persecution (Pirouet 1978, 6). As a result, instead of Christianity challenging the Ganda way of life, most church leaders were absorbed in possessing power and taking advantage of their juniors. The use of power by the church leaders closely followed the patterns of secular political structures. As a result, Christianity and politics became interwoven, with church leadership dominated by personal ambition and political gain (1978, 7). Though in 1935 the East African Revival (EAR) emerged as a resistance movement against a secularized, mechanized, and academic kind of spirituality that grew out of missionary Christianity (Birungi 2005, 63), only a few of its leaders managed to live free from the plague of power struggles. The few whose leadership style reflected service and not ruling tendencies included Bishop Festo Kivengere, Archbishop Erica Sabiti and Archbishop Janan Luwum (Osborn 2000; Church 1980; Coomes 1990). Janan Luwum became Archbishop of the COUA, Rwanda, Burundi and Boga Zaire. He was later murdered by dictator president Idi Amini on 16th February, 1977.³

¹ I will use this abbreviation COUA throughout this thesis to mean Church of Uganda (Anglican)

² *Kabaka* will be used instead of King specifically when referring to Buganda Kingdom.

³ Archbishop John Sentamu of York is one of those people that faced the horror of Idi Amin. He was arrested and kept in the cells for 90 days. In his own words he says "when I was kicked around as football and beaten

Hastings speaks about him as “the Thomas of Canterbury of the twentieth century”, “a man who was able to face Idi Amin with a divine calm, springing from a life of prayer and a wrestling of the soul...” (1979, 266). It is further noted that “Luwum was intimately involved in the defence of human rights, he had an intense concern for the prisoner and the widow, both as bishop of Northern Uganda and as Archbishop...he saw clearly the need for engagement, for struggle against dehumanising forces” (Ward 2002, 203). Because there were only a few people in church who led others by example, the majority of dioceses grew to nurture an atmosphere where the predominant image of the church leader was that of the authoritarian. Ever since the revival started to grow and embrace every corner of the church, there has been a great zeal for preaching the gospel to convert others, holding missions, attending fellowships, “walking in the light” and practicing repentance. Yet transformation that roots the gospel in people’s culture and changes individual and corporate behaviour of the followers of Christ is scarcely evident.

As noted above, the COUA created by the CMS emerged within the political structure of the Buganda kingdom and hence it adopted both the western and the indigenous cultural models of leadership. The hierarchical model of leadership that exists has developed more out of the notion of kings than of the doctrine of being servants of Jesus Christ. Most of the bishops and clergy have come through the Bishop Tucker Theological College (BTTC) whose motto was, “called to serve.” Nevertheless there is almost no difference between their leadership and that of the traditional rulers. It is noted by Tuma (1980, 75) that the Baganda catechists who went to Busoga lived either near or in the chiefs’ enclosures (*ebisagati*). This led the local people to regard the catechists with as much respect and fear as they did their chiefs. “Indeed it is alleged that in some places the poor people (*bakopi*) were more afraid of their Baganda catechists than their chiefs.” In an interview conducted by Tuma (1980, 75) in 1972, mention is made of a catechist named Walabyeki, who beat people and terrorized them into submission. Some people joined the church because of the intimidating authority and power that church leaders had. Taylor (1958), Tuma (1980) and Ward (1995) agree that there was not much distinction between the church leaders and the local chiefs. Taylor (1958, 65) gives a vivid example of Semei Kakungulu who went to spread Christianity in Bukedi yet at the same time worked as an agent of traditional leadership. Taylor (1958, 71) further notes that it

terribly.” He fled the country in 1974 and went to England where he was later engaged in church ministry, did theological training and was ordained. This information can be found on <http://liveweb.archive.org> accessed on 29/03/2012.

was not easy to distinguish between the powers of the chief and the authority of the church leaders, making it rather difficult to separate ecclesiastical and cultural leadership.

The ongoing present power struggles in the dioceses of Busoga, Muhabura, West Buganda, Kitgum, and Kinkizi pose a serious challenge to the integrity of church leaders. The power struggles are also evidence of the effects of our untransformed leadership models. In 1992 a leadership crisis arose in Busoga diocese because the bishop had become a law unto himself, ruling the diocese without a constitution, with no one to share responsibility and hence accountable to no one (Gifford 1998, 78). The Christians who were disgusted with the system wrote,

Apparent failures like those in Busoga diocese could not go unchallenged. The birth of a revolution demanding reforms in the Church of Uganda are starting in Busoga diocese. Days are gone when bishops were unquestionably held as sacred, untouchable, incorruptible and above open criticism... (Steering committee document in Baalwa 1996, 72).

This provides evidence of the power relations that have undermined servant leadership in the COUA. The crisis lasted for seven years, leaving the diocese completely devastated. This was followed by another crisis that arose in Muhabura diocese over the problem of succession in the office of the bishop--which lasted for five years. Bishop Shalita, who officially retired in 2002, only agreed to hand over the diocese in 2006 after the Archbishop announced he would consecrate a candidate of his choice. In the Archbishop's words;

We want to thank everyone who has prayed that a solution would be found for the impasse that has held Muhabura diocese captive for the past five years. A breakthrough has now come. The House of Bishops has always been confident of God's call on Sebuhinja, and the COUA will be blessed to have him as a member of the House of Bishops. It was clear that he would not be accepted in Muhabura (New Vision Uganda 12/09/2006).

The same type of conflict affected the diocese of Kitgum, where a team of clergy and laity who called themselves "concerned Christians" rebelled against the bishop. In this conflict it was the clergy who wanted to overthrow the bishop, to give space to one of them to be the next bishop. The conflict began in November 2006 when anonymous letters were pinned on the bishop's office telling people that Ojwanga was no longer the bishop. On 1st January 2007, they locked up the bishop and other priests as they were preparing to go for the service (New Vision 11/01/2007). In May 2009 a group of Christians again attacked the bishop while he was leading a service, accusing him of mismanaging church property and implementing all the developmental projects in his home area, an issue that led to the premature end of the

service and closure of the church. The Deputy Resident District Commissioner is quoted in the New Vision saying “The church is now under custody of the police and the keys are with me until I get clearance from the court” (reported on 10/05/2009). This love for power and authority appears to be a hindrance to the development of servant leaders in the COUA.

1.1 Motivation and scope of the study

I take up this study as a priest from the COUA who has experienced and witnessed these leadership wrangles. But also I have listened to many sermons on servant leadership where the seekers after power and status are the very ones who have been the core facilitators of the gatherings. In my data analysis I have used Paulo Freire’s model of banking and problem-posing theories of education to be discussed below. In his banking model he refers to the peasants and the way they are treated by their oppressors as objects who receive what has been deposited into them by their leaders but are denied the opportunity to be creative and inquisitive and to transform the system (Freire 1993, 53). In the Freirian model, the leaders are protective of their positions and social status, and cannot allow the subordinates to question the content that has been prepared and is being presented to them. Everything is supposed to be taken as the whole truth. This reflects a system that undermines liberation, and is thus detrimental to the development of servant leaders.

In this study, I acknowledge the work that has been done by various committees to liberate church leadership from power struggles and improve the leadership skills and abilities of clergy. In 1996, Associated Consultants in Leadership and in Management (ACLAIM)⁴ were hired by the Province of the COUA under the leadership of the retired Archbishop Livingstone Nkoyoyo to investigate mission and personnel practices, financial management and the structures of the COUA. The review report with the necessary recommendations was given to the COUA in June 1997. Although this report does not address the target of my research, it reflects a number of oppressive codes in the COUA that needed analysis and decoding if its leadership was to reflect service. Sadly, the paper remained a mere report, reflecting a banking model that lacks transformational power and praxis. Using this ACLAIM Report, field research, reports and minutes from various meetings, I have been able to establish oppressive codes that have led to the lack of servant leaders in the COUA.

Therefore the objectives of this thesis include exploring three contextual models that have shaped the leadership development of clergy in the COUA:

⁴ This report was presented to the Provincial Assembly and approved in 1999 (Minute 12/PA/99). This study was done in 21 dioceses of the COUA and the tools used were interviews, discussion groups and observation.

- The Ganda Kingship model
- The CMS model which gave birth to theological education
- The East African Revival model

I will assess the impact of these contextual models on the contemporary church, then examine the social historical analysis of Mark 10:35-52, in light of Freire, to reveal the oppressive codes that the Markan Jesus unveiled in his quest to create a transformed egalitarian community in the hierarchical Imperial world. The result of this analysis will create a dialogue between the gospel of Mark and the Ugandan context. The purpose is to suggest discipleship as a viable approach that will generate servant leaders who are both contextual and biblical.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

I have chosen to adopt the African contextual model of exegesis as the major theoretical framework for this thesis. The contextual model of exegesis known as the tripolar model pays attention to three stages of exegesis namely: Distantiation, Contextualization and Appropriation (Draper 2002, 16). Reference is made to inculturation hermeneutics in light off the emphasis on context in the work of Ukpong (1995, 2000). Initiated by Grenholm and Patte, the tripolar model emphasises three poles, namely; scriptural text, the believer's life and the religious perception of life (Grenholm and Patte 2000, 14). In their approach, scripture is revealed to the reader through scriptural text and the common life experiences of the people to whom scripture refers (2000, 15). The three poles however cannot work in isolation; they are interrelated, as the interpretive process occurs through the ongoing interaction between text, life and perceptions of life (2000, 18). Grenholm and Patte state that the tripolar model was adopted from methods used by preachers, who challenged their seminary training and integrated the three poles in order to effectively communicate to their parishioners. The sense of responsibility exhibited by the preachers as they applied the three poles motivated Granholm and Patte to teach the model to their theological students , in order to maintain integrity in their academic disciplines (2000, 19). Therefore, scripture criticism aims at enabling “the Christian believers, among whom are pastors, priests, seminarians, and many of their teachers, to assume responsibility for their choices of particular interpretations” (2000, 19). As much as they object to the use of a single pole which is simply the text (unipolar) as irresponsible, Grenholm and Patte acknowledge other biblical critics who remain comfortable with using unipolar and bipolar models in their interpretation of

scripture. Grenholm and Patte argue that “a tripolar practice should include bipolar interpretations which include the scriptural text and religious perceptions, scriptural text and life situations and religious perceptions and life situations” (2000, 21). Although there is regard for the bipolar method, it is noted that sometimes it tends to fall back into the unipolar. Grenholm and Patte emphasise that because interpretation is “framed by specific cultural categories that one brings to the text, it becomes possible to envision that our own theological or ideological categories had a similar role in the interpretive process” (2000, 26).

Similarly, Draper, in his development of the tripolar model as a tool for African hermeneutics, emphasises three interrelated poles. From the perspective of the South African struggle for liberation, Draper suggests that formulated theology and Biblical interpretation “are fundamentally determined by our social economic and political contexts as readers. There are no neutral readings. Our context prompts us in the questions we bring to the text and decides what counts as an answer” (Draper 2001, 153). He therefore defines exegesis as “leading the meaning out of the text”, with the goal being to uncover “the meaning of the text as a sacred text for the faith community in its own context” (2001, 154). Draper notes that “it does not matter which pole to begin with provided that each pole is given due weight” (2001, 155). For the purposes of this thesis, I have chosen to begin with Contextualisation, moving on to Distantiation, and finally Appropriation.

Scholars such as Ukpong (2000) and Holter (2000) emphasise the bipolar model which concentrates on the text and context. Holter suggests that “in African biblical hermeneutics the biblical text is approached from the perspective where African comparative material is the major dialogue partner and traditional exegetical methodology is subordinated to this perspective” (in West 2010, 22). While writing about the link between the biblical and African contexts, Ukpong notes that “the main focus on interpretation is on the communities that receive the text rather than on those that produced it or on the text itself, as is the case with western methods” (2000, 11). He further advocates that the reader or the interpreter of any given context must be an “insider” from the culture that is the subject of interpretation. The emphasis lies on the insider because of their acquisition of “knowledge, experience and insights of the culture and is capable of viewing it critically” (Ukpong 1995, 5). For Ukpong, the African or any social cultural context should be made the subject of interpretation (1995, 5). West (1991; 1992; 2000), in support of context as an interpretive pole, advocates for contextual Bible study as one of the ways of liberating the poor and oppressed, especially in the context of apartheid in South Africa. He asserts that “contextual Bible study embraces

and advocates context. Commitment to rather than cognizance of context is the real concern” (2000, 595). According to West, “bipolar readings are simply tripolar which are not explicit about the third pole” (2009, 254). In other words “bipolar readings are closet tripolar readings” (2009, 254). Although West and Draper affirm the contribution of the bipolar readings, West notes that it is impossible to avoid the aspects of the third pole, appropriation. He writes, “what connects the text and context, then, is the reader who activates a form of dialogical appropriation that has a theological and apraxiological dimension” (2010, 22). For West, the third pole is characterised by the “ideo-theological orientation” as will be discussed below. Draper asserts that interpretation merges “together the horizon of the text and its community and the horizon of the reader and her community and mediates a new consciousness leading into a new praxis” (2001, 158). For Draper “appropriation implies praxis” (2001, 158). In relation to the third pole, West notes that “how and with what we connect text and context has to do with our ideo-theological embodied faith” (2009, 255). It is therefore important to note that, the interpretive process cannot lead to a new “lived faith” without the readers’ commitment to the three poles of Distantiation, Contextualisation and Appropriation.

1.3 Application of the tripolar method to the present study

There are different interrelated methodologies used to analyse both the text and the context as will be explained below. These include the Freirian method, feminist hermeneutics and the patron and client model coupled with concepts of honour and shame. All these models are discussed in conversation with the tripolar method.

1.3.1 Distantiation

In this stage the reader creates distance between himself or herself and the text. “This stage of the process requires the reader/hearer to let the text be other than her/himself, to be strange, unexpected, even alienating” (2002, 17). The meaning of the word is given space to judge and challenge the reader. Although the text becomes the subject of critical analysis, it calls the interpreter into conversation. The conversation means that the messages cannot be taken from the text without talking back. Draper asserts that

We do not simply listen without a word of our own! We bring our questions, our problems and our difficulties with it also. If the word challenges us by its difference, then we also have insights coming from our particular situation which challenge the words of the text to open themselves up anew as word for today (2002, 17).

Nevertheless the reader has to appreciate that the language of composition, rhetoric conventions and worldview of the text are different from our own. Hence, consideration of the context of the text, how it came into being, its structure and how it signals meaning and seeks to manipulate the reader is important for meaningful exegesis (Draper 2001, 156). The exegesis of the text (Mark 10:35-52) in the present study has been conducted using the social scientific approach coupled with the Freirian model of codification, as well as reference to other relevant literature, to arrive at the socio-historical meaning of the text. Then it is appropriated to the reader's context, which is the COUA. For the purpose of empowering a transformative model, I have opted to use the term "*New Human Being*" adopted from Waetjen (1989) in place of the traditional "Son of Man" because, for him, Jesus established a new moral order, breaking down all the hierarchical and patriarchal power structures. Jesus constructed a new egalitarian community that gave hope to the poor and oppressed. Waetjen adopts the idea of the *New Human Being* from millennial movements that reject the present moral order and look forward to the terrestrial reality of a new heaven and a new earth (1989, xx). I also take into account the work of scholars who have applied social scientific theories to study the social systems and institutions of the Mediterranean world. Scholars such as Hanson and Oakman (1998), Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992), Malina (1983; 1996), Pilch and Malina (1993), Rohrbaugh (1996), Neyrey (1998), and others, have been consulted. Each have done thorough study on ancient models of patronage and client relationships, honour and shame, hierarchy, status and power in Roman Palestine. Analysis of these models has helped me to codify the oppressive social systems to which Mark's audience was exposed. It has to be noted that Social Scientific Approaches (sociology, anthropology and psychology) seek to locate the text within the culture and society that gave rise to it, and to that extent are historical in orientation (Telford 2009, 73). In other words, they seek to investigate the gospel's social context, and to illumine the sociological, anthropological and psychological dimensions of the text (2009, 275). This has helped to understand the meaning of Mark 10:35-52 in its original context.

1.3.2 Contextualization

Contextualisation helps the reader to appreciate that "our social location determines what questions we ask the text, what tools we use to interpret it and what counts as an answer from God" (Draper 2002, 16). Meaning lies in the reader's real situation and context, leading us to the awareness that "Contextualization involves spending time analyzing who we are and what our location in society and history is" (Draper 2002, 17; 2001, 152). In the critical analysis of

our own communities, we come to realise our need to affirm our culture and identity. The colonial masters used these as tools of domination against us in connection with the Christian faith. This further leads us to “recognise our desperate need to promote social reconstruction and development in the face of an oppressive world economic system which both incorporates and excludes” (Draper 2002, 17). Ukpong’s inculturation hermeneutics is very relevant as we consider the importance of context. Inculturation hermeneutics aim at making the “word of God alive and active in contemporary African societies and in the lives of individual Christians within their social cultural contexts” (Ukpong 1995, 4). Although I am not researching among the poor and oppressed, nor applying contextual Bible study, my context reflects oppressive leadership that yearns for liberation and transformation. Therefore I do acknowledge West’s strong emphasis on context which gives the poor the opportunity to interpret the text in a way that speaks into their situation. Both West and Ukpong’s hermeneutics are contextual and therefore compliment Draper’s tripolar model. As already noted above, models that shape my context, namely the CMS, the Ganda Kingship model and the East African Revival have been examined, highlighting the oppressive codes that arise and analysing how they have impacted the leadership development of clergy, before appropriating with the Gospel of Mark. I use the Freirian model coupled with honour and shame to analyse my context.

1.3.2.1 Field research

In an effort to understand my context, I took time to study and analyse it through field work and library research. This research is purely qualitative and anthropological. A questionnaire was utilised to attain a snap shot of the current situation of Church leadership style and the position of women in the church leadership in relation to Theological education in the COUA. This provided in Appendix 1 (245-248 below). Kelly (2006, 286-287) notes that “qualitative research typically works with material that is richly related to its context and would lose its meaning if broken into discrete bits” (2006, 286). He further asserts that in qualitative research, “researchers want to make sense of feelings, experiences, social situations, or phenomenon that occur in the real world, and therefore want to study them in their natural settings” (2006, 287). Qualitative research therefore means to “work with data in context” and in order to collect data and also maintain the context, the researcher attempts to be a natural part of the context in which the phenomenon occurs. This is only possible to achieve by entering into the field “with care and engaging with the participants in an open and empathetic manner” (2006, 287). Similar to Kelly, Henning notes that in qualitative

research one wants to find out “what the actions of the people in the setting are, what they think and may be also what they feel, what their setting looks like and what the significance of the signs and symbols (such as clothes, furniture, conversation etc.) in the setting is” (Henning 2004, 6). Henning further asserts that the analytical instrument is largely the researcher because her knowledge, understanding and expertise determines what happens to the data (2004, 6). As noted above by Ukpong, the “insider” becomes the subject of interpretation. The field research⁵ was conducted in the dioceses of Busoga, Madi-West Nile, Muhabura and Mukono after prior permission and consent from the bishops. Three of these dioceses were purposively sampled because of the severe leadership wrangles that have taken place there, the effects of which are still being felt, while Mukono diocese was taken to represent the dioceses in Buganda region where Christianity developed. The respondents in these areas were purposively chosen for their reliable and in-depth information about church leadership. Some of these informants were participants in or keen observers of the church and government and can provide primary data in regard to their experiences in church fights and wrangles. The respondents included clergy (bishops and ordained students in training institutions fall under this category) and congregants. The congregants were in the categories of church wardens, heads of laity, women workers and some representatives to the synod.

The tools employed in collecting data were questionnaires, in-depth interviews and participant observation. Sixty respondents were purposively chosen to participate. As Henning states, the researcher needs to obtain respondents who can “shed optimal light on the issue that he or she is investigating”. Additionally, the people selected act as the “spokespersons” of the topic under question (Henning 2006, 71). I selected ten respondents from each of the dioceses of Busoga, Muhabura, Madi-West Nile and Mukono respectively. Ten respondents were theological educators--specifically lecturers, professors and tutors at Uganda Christian University (UCU) and Ringli UCU Arua Campus. Their responses were very helpful for understanding the reasons why church wrangles have persisted, irrespective of the theological education that the clergy go through. Issues such as poor selection,

⁵ My research design was approved by the Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal on 05 December 2009. The ethical approval number is HSS/0838/2009 - Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences. I also used informed consent documents. All my respondents signed, indicating their willingness to participate in the study. The data is stored in the archives of Uganda Christian University and can be accessed with the permission of the University archivist and the researcher’s permission. The identities of the people will have to be protected.

nepotism, lack of adequate training space, and authoritarianism have been raised as contributing to the lack of servant leaders in the COUA. Ten respondents were students of theology. My assessment of the students' views yielded information regarding whether their lecturers are manifesting a liberatory "servanthood leadership model" or not. The questionnaires and interview schedules have been designed under sub-headings that describe a particular oppressive code. This information is mainly documented in chapter four although some of it is scantily found in chapter two and three. The major purpose was to get information about the contemporary church where very little has been documented. Most of the historical events have been documented and hence chapters two and three are composed of literature about the history of the church.

1.3.2.2 Questionnaire

Since the geographical area of the research is wide, the use of questionnaires was helpful for the respondents who were not readily available for face to face interviews, as well as for those who needed space to answer the questions in their own time or who were not free to discuss issues openly. The questionnaire was given to the respondents, together with the document of informed consent which explains the purpose and background of the research. Kanjee notes that the background should communicate why the information is being collected and how it will be used. Additionally, questionnaires should consist of different sub parts, be well-ordered and easy to read (Kanjee 2006, 489). The questionnaire was designed to have different parts, following the different codes and particular areas of research. I delivered most of the questionnaires in person and some through the use of research assistants. For some of the respondents, there were unclear points in the questionnaire that needed clarification, and a number of respondents raised questions that needed to be explored. For such respondents I did follow-up interviews for clarity.

1.3.2.3 In-depth interviews

The use of interviews provided in-depth and reliable information. Some of the respondents gave me a longer time for the interview than anticipated, which facilitated more discussion and clarifications where needed. Henning (2004, 75) describes an in-depth interview as a conversation that builds rapport naturally as the process continues. The conversation continues with explorations and clarifications, and pauses to allow time for thinking. I conducted all the interviews myself using open-ended questions. Although my intention was to use audio and video recordings, most of my respondents preferred not to have their voices recorded and to keep their identity confidential. Therefore I primarily used a notebook to

record the findings, and audio recordings of those few who agreed. However, having assured the respondents about confidentiality, the majority of them provided a good atmosphere for the interviews and good discussions which involved additional questions and explanations, especially for those that needed clarification. Among the categories of those interviewed were some government officials because, as it will be noted later, they are the ones who have mediated and settled these crises both at church level and in court. Thus their experience and assessment was very important.

1.3.2.4 Participant Observation

During the time that the fieldwork was being carried out, I observed the behaviour patterns of clergy and bishops in their physical and social contexts at various gatherings. According to Henning (2004, 91), “observation aims to capture actions that demonstrate tacit knowledge of people who know the rules of action in a setting in order to fit into that setting.” In this period, I attended one consecration ceremony for Bishop Sheldon Mwesigwa on 18/07/2010 and one service where the Canons were being installed in Busoga on 23/05/2010. In addition to observations of the proceedings, the statements used in the order of service helped me to analyse the kind of ecclesial authority invested in the church leaders, as opposed to the kind of authoritarianism that is exercised mainly after they have assumed their positions of responsibility.

1.3.2.5 Data Analysis

As Kombo and Tromp (2006, 111-119) suggest, I collected and transcribed data before analysis. I collected and compiled the information from the interviews, observational notes, and questionnaires and typed them into word processing documents. The process of analysis literally means taking apart the words, sentences and paragraphs in order to make sense of, interpret and theorize that data (Henning 2004, 127). This organization helps to eliminate unstable data, to interpret ambiguous answers, and to sort out contradictory data among related questions (2004, 127).

The data is discussed and analysed under the different codes as designed to suit different categories. Some of the emerging oppressive codes include the search for honour and glory, issues of status and authority, hierarchy, patriarchy and servanthood. Kelly states that “the meaning of what is being said in an interview can usually be interpreted only in the context of sentences which surround it and the conversation as a whole” (2006, 302). In this regard direct quotations out of the conversations have been used to present findings. Pseudonyms have been used to ensure confidentiality. In addition, the location of the respondents has not

been disclosed, except in cases where I quote an interview carried out by someone else. The data compiled is kept in safe storage in the school.

To supplement the field research, I also engaged with secondary data from the library. Books and documents from Uganda Christian University (UCU) library and other resource centres were used to enrich the context. Through these secondary data, I was able to obtain details of the missionary involvement in the COUA, the rise and development of the East African Revival (EAR), and theological education--which is the major avenue for the leadership development of clergy today. Most of this information is contained in chapters two to four and also further appropriated in chapter seven. The libraries of the University of KwaZulu-Natal have been very helpful in the analysis of the text of Mark as well as documentation on the models used in the analysis of both the context and the text.

1.3.3 Appropriation

Appropriation is the process whereby the reader accepts the message of scripture as discussed through the exegesis into his or her own context, owns it and takes responsibility for acting on it. Both the reader and the text come into dialogue resulting in changed behaviour, an action in and through the community of faith in society (Draper 2002, 18). For Draper, appropriation implies “Praxis” because in a way what the community of faith believes affects its life style” (Draper 2001, 158). West has further developed Draper’s third pole of exegesis to enrich its application. He states that “our contexts prompt us through our ideological commitments to them and through their ideological formation of us...surely our sacred text prompts us through our theological orientation towards it and through its theological formation of us” (West 2009, 254). The connection of the text and the context is what West has called the “ideo-theological orientation.” This connection for him leads to the question of what we do with our “ideo-theological embodied faith”. In reference to Draper’s view of the oppressive strands in the biblical text he asserts “revealing his ideo–theological understanding of the shape of scripture, against the fundamental axis of liberation, love and justice, which characterises God’s dealing with his people” (in West 2009, 255). West concludes that

How we connect present contexts and Biblical texts, is through ideo-theological appropriation, partially determined by our understanding of the Bible as a sacred text, our understanding of the Bible’s predominant shape, and our understanding of social location and social engagement – praxis (2009, 258).

Against the background of the “ideo-theological orientation,” the reading of the text of Mark 10:35-52 in dialogue with the COUA should come up with a new construction of an egalitarian community where love and justice is manifested. Both the analysis of discipleship in the Gospel of Mark and the COUA reveal that power relations in any context result from the gap that exists between the power elites and the subordinates. In the case of Mark, the gap is reflected between the peasant class in Roman Palestine and the elites, while in the COUA it is between the ordinary clergy and the bishops. Appropriation involves “a dynamic back and forth movement and engagement, both the bible and the context contribute to and constitute the ideo-theological orientation of any interpreter” (West 2010, 23). The Freirian analysis empowers constructive dialogue, resulting in a liberating model of servanthood which embraces all people irrespective of culture, race or social status.

1.3.4 Paulo Freire

The text of Mark 10: 35-52 and the context of the COUA have been analysed in light of Paulo Freire’s work, primarily using the text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire 1993). Other related works about Freire published by different authors (including Gadotti 1996; 1994; Gerhardt 1993; Entwistle 1979; Mayo 1999) have been consulted to justify some of the issues raised by Freire and also to widen the scope of interpretation. Paulo Freire was a Brazilian educator, born in a middle class family whose interest lay in the plight of the poor and oppressed. During his early life, while living with the poor, he was able to discover the culture of silence that was imposed on them by the ruling class. He asserts that “their ignorance and lethargy were the direct product of the whole situation of economic, social and political domination and paternalism of which they were victims” (Freire 1993, 12). He further realised that the elites submerged the poor in the culture of silence instead of educating them to understand their culture and the critical situation that surrounded them. In his writings, Freire reflects a society that is characterised by social relations of power and domination where those in positions of power and privilege exert their authority and control over the less privileged. For Freire, changing the educational system was one of the ways of liberating the poor by giving them a chance to engage and critically analyse the world (1993, 12). He believed that learning is part of the process of becoming free and more human (Gadotti 1994, 21). The major difference between Freire’s kind of education and what was traditionally recognised is that his was liberating and resulted in transformative praxis, which is a collectively organised act of educating with emphasis on the student as a subject engaged in the process of his or her own education (Gadotti 1994, 23). The traditional model of

education was more domesticating with emphasis on the student as an object who merely receives information.

Freire's teaching emphasises "the students' ability to understand their own reality as part of their learning activity in their social context" (Gerhardt 1993, 439). Freire strongly objects to the idea of "domestication and manipulation" which involved giving messages to illiterate persons, hence demanding uncritical acceptance of the doctrines imposed on the poor by the elites (Gerhardt 1993, 443). His curriculum is people-centred, which means that it comes from them and they must participate in its preparation. He advocated for a type of education that "centres on human potential for creativity and freedom in the midst of politico-economic and culturally oppressive structures. It aims at discovering and implementing liberating alternatives through social interaction and transformation via conscientisation process" (Gerhardt 1993, 452). Conscientisation is defined as "the process by which people achieve a deepened awareness, both of the social cultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform reality. It involves praxis understood as the dialectic relationship of action and reflection" (Gerhardt 1993, 452). Freire's approach to education involves praxis in the sense of critically reflective action and critical reflection based on practice (1993, 452). In liberating pedagogy both students and teacher listen to each other, thus there is open "liberatory discourse, inventing democratic communication, what I think of as verbal exchanges which contradict hierarchy, transforming the power separation between teacher and student" (Freire 1987, 23).

The language of both teacher and student changes in order to allow freedom of discussion and engagement, which eventually breaks the silence and gives freedom to the students to begin discussing their individual themes that affect them (Freire 1987, 24). Freire is very much concerned with the context of the student, bearing in mind that an educator cannot establish a programme without considering the context of the student. It is also true that "the face and voice of a teacher can confirm their domination or can reflect enabling possibilities" (1987, 24). Most of the students are used to the system of transfer teaching where the teacher has to talk and give notes; they copy, read and duplicate the notes in exams without putting in any effort to think about what the teacher has said. Freire's work is committed to a liberating education centred on "acts of cognition not transferrals of knowledge" (Freire 1993, 60). The teacher has to teach with the understanding that the class, though small or big, represents the outside world. Hence the transformation that happens in class has a conditioning effect that is likely to develop the ability to build a critical culture separate from the dominant mass culture

(Freire 1987, 26). In transformational education, both the teacher and student have to be cognitive subjects, in spite of being different, and both have to be critical agents in the act of knowing (1987, 33). Therefore transformational education facilitates new relationships and stimulates criticism.

1.3.4.1 Codification

One of the tools that Freire used in communicating with the poor oppressed communities was codifications. Codifications can be “pictures or information gathered in order to build up a picture that represents the real existent situation” (Freire 1993, 95). The process of decodification happens when a person or the group begins to have a clear focus on the reality of the problem they have been facing. In the case of Freire, it happens in a group, but for the interpretation and analysis in this thesis, the methodology will interact with the text of Mark. As codification transfers from words into visual images, the people who are submerged into the culture of silence begin to emerge as conscious makers of their own culture (Gerhardt 1993, 445). Gerhard further affirms the effectiveness of codifications especially in Brazil. He asserts “those who were formerly illiterate now begin to reject their role as mere objects in nature and social history. They undertake to become subjects of their own destiny” (1993, 445). Codifications are crucial in making the oppressed identify their uniqueness and contribution in the communities into which they have been submerged. After the reality has been unveiled, they then become active participants in the creation of a new world of freedom.

Hence Codification is being used to identify specific oppressive codes in both the text of Mark and the context of the COUA. For example, in the gospel of Mark the oppressive code “servant,” which was used by the elites to exploit the peasants, was adopted by Jesus, who embodied it as the *New Human Being* who came “to serve and not to be served”. By embodying the title of servant, Jesus decoded it so that servants can no longer be exploited as objects but can now be subjects who also have dignity and can be treated with respect and dignity. Further, Jesus in Mark takes up the cross, which was an oppressive code on which the insurrectionists and slaves were crucified, and it becomes his throne of glory, where he lays down his life as a ransom for many. Thus he decodes the cross from the power of shame elevating it to a place of liberation for all those that believe in him.

Freire also notes that codifications may be oral, consisting of a few words which represent an existential problem, and these too can be followed by decoding (Freire 1993, 95). In the

context of Uganda, codifications have been used to identify oppressive codes that have contributed to the lack of servant leadership. On the contrary, some of the oppressive codes were decoded by the EAR as a resistance movement against missionary domination. Through codification the oppressed are sensitized to learn and read their culture and use the new vocabulary as a tool for social analysis because they are enabled to understand the systems of domination, exploitation and marginalisation (Herzog 1994, 20). Codification is meant to happen in dialogue between the observers and the group to help the peasants not to reproduce what was already happening in society. In the process of decodifying, the peasants distance themselves from the situation in order to allow social analysis, since the picture has been drawn from everyday life. The picture is analysed in depth, thus from the surface to the bottom. A conversation moves from description to analysis, the learner leaves the surface structure and begins to explore the deep structure of the codification (Herzog 1994, 21; Mayo 1999, 63). It is necessary to penetrate the surface of a field in order to explore and discover the depth of knowledge to which it leads.

1.3.4.2 Banking and problem posing education

Problem posing or problematising brings the problems' components together and presents them as problems to be solved. This includes the actual situation, theoretical context, what is known and unknown, issues previously unquestioned, and daily life of the oppressed; all these discoveries are liberating because the peasants come to discover that they are not objects in another's world but subjects capable of understanding their world as well as what has been done to them (Herzog 1994, 21). Problem posing is dialogical; "people develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves" (Freire 1993, 64). Through the process of moving from "surface to deep structure, codification to experience, from parts to the whole, the process of conscientisation is born. It is a process kinto experiencing revelation because problem posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality" (Herzog 1994, 22). This process is sometimes referred to as moving from *doxa* to *logos*, thus from opinion to knowledge or as "demythologising the mysticised reality of the dominant class" (1994, 22). However the task remains for the illiterate to continue examining their context, as it has been imposed on them. They become subjects ready to remake their society and accept their vocation as historical subjects and agents of humanisation in a dehumanising society (Herzog 1994, 22; Freire 1993, 93). This helps the people embrace a pedagogy that is transformative and prophetic.

The oppressed are also asked to bring out new codifications that criticise the culture of silence which limits issues of transformation from reaching communal action. “In this way, conscientisation develops into praxis, reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (Herzog 1994, 22). Problematising leads to the creation of new social arrangements, communal action, leading to social transformation where, finally, the “oppressed become subjects capable of making history by remaking their society” (Herzog 1994, 22). This involves denouncing oppression with all its forms and announcing a new future. Problem posing education remakes and reforms the world; it unfolds issues through dialogue, reveals contradictions, and poses resolutions making the process of transformation a continuous adventure (Freire 1993, 60-62).

In problem posing education, the teacher and the student are both committed to the cause of liberation as opposed to banking education, where the teacher becomes the narrator and the student listens without questioning (Freire 1993, 52-67). In problem posing education, there is good communication where both the teacher and student are able to engage in intentional dialogue and resolve their contradictions amicably. Dialogue allows both teacher and student to learn from one another, facilitating the process of growth for both the learner and teacher. This kind of environment discards all forms of authoritarianism that would otherwise affect the freedom of learning. In problem posing education, there is no dichotomy in the activities of the teacher, “he or she is always cognitive whether preparing a project or engaging in dialogue with students” (1993, 61). There is a constant unveiling of the reality of the world around the students, allowing them room to challenge and respond to the situations in their own context. The students begin to view themselves as “objects of transformation and not subjects of the oppressors; they cease to see the world as a static object but as a reality in the process of transformation” (1993, 62). Life changes from theoretical abstract concepts into reality and praxis.

Critical thinking further yields creativity that stimulates true reflection upon reality, and people together engage in intentional inquiry and creative transformation. Problem posing education looks into the future and history of individuals; hence it is revolutionary and hopeful. It is completely engaged in the pursuit of humanity thus giving value to those who have been dehumanised and devalued by their oppressors, and giving them the chance to struggle for their emancipation. Freire in his teaching advocates for dialogue among all revolutionary leaders if they are going to make a difference in their communities.

Banking education, in contrast, perpetuates the present order; it sees the future as nothing more than an extension of the present because it serves the elite and is committed to preserving its privileges and perpetuating them at all costs. As banking education serves to promote and extend the control of the ruling class, it also works to convince the oppressed that change is impossible and that any challenge to the existing order is not necessary (Freire 1993, 54-55). Banking education is anti-dialogical. It treats students as objects of assistance, it inhibits creativity and domesticates (1993, 64). Freire outlines several characteristics of the banking model as follows; “the teacher teaches and the students are taught, the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing, the teacher thinks and the students are thought for, the teacher talks and the students listen meekly...” (1993, 54). Hence banking education works in conjunction with manipulation, divide and rule, cultural invasion and conquest. Problem posing education is supported by cooperation, unity, organisation, and cultural synthesis. It is appropriate to say that the banking model is the direct opposite of the problem posing model. While the banking model domesticates and works towards the interests of the oppressor, problem posing is people centred working towards liberation and humanisation of the oppressed.

It is also important to note Freire’s view on the equality of the student and the teacher. He asserts that there is a difference between the teacher and the student as long as the difference does not cause any kind of antagonism, especially when the authority of the teacher affects the student’s freedom by transforming into authoritarianism (Gadotti 1987, 56). He affirms the difference between a liberating directive education and domesticating directive education. In liberating directive education, the educator does not manipulate the students. At the same time he/she does not also leave them to their own fate but directs tasks and serious study. According to Freire, this is a democratic position because there is both direction from the educator and freedom on the side of the student (Gadotti 1987, 57). He further adds that an authoritarian teacher dehumanises the students and gives them no chance to make a fresh reading of their reality. He/she does not facilitate transformation but instead advocates for passive reception of packaged knowledge (1987, 58). Freire emphasises a pedagogy of the oppressed that allows questioning, is democratic, and thirdly is anti-authoritarian (Gadotti 1987, 60). It is an instrument for the oppressed to critically discover that both they and the oppressors are all manifestations of dehumanisation. Hence for the “oppressed to be able to wage the struggle for their liberation, they must perceive reality of oppression not as a closed

world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform” (Freire 1993, 31).

Oppression therefore, which characterises the gospel of Mark, compares with the banking model of education. Even as Jesus identified the oppressive codes and made them clear to his disciples, the fact remains that they had gone through years of “narration sickness”--what Freire (1993, 52) defines as the situation where the teacher is the narrator while the student listens and memorises everything without questioning. Hence the Markan community, including the disciples, had already been sensitized to listen to the language of the oppressors; they had internalised it to the extent that they were willing to exercise it. That is why James and John approached Jesus, asking to be given the seats of honour when Jesus finally takes over the kingdom.

Jesus’ discipleship teaching empowered his followers to discover the tricks of the oppressor so that instead of memorising or being receptacles and containers to store what comes from the oppressor, they were able to internalise and work for their own liberation. Freire notes that “if men and women are searchers and their ontological vocation is humanisation, sooner or later they may perceive the contradiction in which banking education seeks to maintain them, and then engage themselves in the struggle for their own liberation” (Freire 1993, 56). The oppressors feel better if the “oppressed are able to fit into their world which they have created without questioning.” Hence they make them act like empty minds that only wait to be filled so that they can keep them for their own inhuman purposes (1993, 57). Engaging with Freire’s methodology helps the oppressor to recover their own humanity. Freire (1993, 30) asserts that “the pedagogy of the oppressed is an instrument for their critical discovery that both they and the oppressors are manifestations of dehumanisation.” He describes the struggle for liberation as “child labour which is rather painful; hence to effect liberation, the oppressed must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform” (1993, 31).

1.3.4.3 Parables as subversive speech: Herzog in dialogue with Paulo Freire

Part of my motivation for using codification as a tool for interpreting the text arises from Herzog, who adopted the methodology for a transformative reading of the parables. Herzog (1994) introduced a new approach that challenges the traditional way of studying the parables. His motivation for the approach arose out of the question why Jesus, who was a preacher of the kingdom of God through telling parables, could be killed as a subversive. In

response to this question, Herzog discovered that the parables of Jesus that eventually led to his death were not just proclamations of the reign of the Kingdom of God but underneath them was the secret of oppression and exploitation of the ruling class that overweighed the poor peasant class. In his own words he states that “parables were not earthly stories with a heavenly meaning but earthly stories with heavy meanings, weighted down by an awareness of the workings of the exploitation in the world of the hearers” (1994, 3). It is the hidden issues that Jesus mentioned in the parables that annoyed his opponents, who eventually plotted to kill him. Herzog’s work therefore undertakes a thorough inquiry into the social scenes and scripts appearing in those parables that he thought needed a new research approach--most preferably associated with social sciences.

Herzog employs the discipline of micro sociology of agrarian societies, characteristics of bureaucratic and aristocratic empires, the nature of Mediterranean societies and the way economies worked in antiquity. He also explores peasant studies, the nature of village life, politics, patron/client relationships, and the role and meaning of legal systems in the ancient world. His major interest in all of this is to do a thorough study of the social scenes in the parables in relation to the bigger picture of the purpose, life and public ministry of Jesus in the wider society of the Mediterranean world (1994, 53-57). For him, it is clear that no scholar can understand the parables until they internalize the political situation under which Jesus was operating. Herzog understands the parables as explorations of how “human beings could respond to break the spiral of violence and cycle of poverty created by exploitation and oppression” (1994, 3). To him, parables make more sense if they functioned for Jesus in the same way that codification worked for Freire in the pedagogy of the oppressed. And if read in this context, the parables will engage with the liberationist framework. Herzog’s conviction is that parables were meant to reinforce liberation praxis in the ministry of Jesus and not just the vision of the glory of the reign of God (1994, 3).

Unlike other scholars who have interpreted the parables as single entities, Herzog seeks to merge Jesus as a teacher who spoke in parables with subversive meanings, with the entire interpretation of his public ministry, which encompass his roles as pedagogue of the oppressed and a political threat (1994, 9). Herzog (1994, 9) interacted with scholars (such as Jeremias 1947; Julicher 1910; and Dodd 1935) who had done thorough studies on the parables. However, for all of them, the focus of the parables was the reign of God in the person and work of Jesus. In this kind of interpretation, the parables were not understood as a social scene important in and of themselves but as a set of ciphers, whose secret message had

to be decoded so that their true meaning could be explicated. It is clear that the humiliation of Jesus which led to his death was as a result of the fear of the ruling authorities because Jesus had become an economic and political threat to them (1994, 9). Herzog's argument is to locate the parables in the bigger strategy that led to Jesus' death – the strategy that portrayed him as subversive to the Roman order and a false claimant to political power in Judea (1994, 10-11). He advocates for conscious inquiry and objective analysis into the fragmentary pieces of tradition to discover how the underlying vision of Jesus' public work informs the discussion of particular parables or specific sayings.

Herzog adopts codification, the tool of communication used by Freire, to interpret the parable - a communication tool for Jesus of Nazareth--and evaluates the larger social role that each of the two played as a pedagogue of the oppressed (1994, 16). As much as he uses their tools of communication, he appreciates that Freire and Jesus' backgrounds are quite different and therefore hard to place in dialogue with one another. Freire was a Brazilian educator of the twentieth century, a University professor who spent years of his formative life in the middle class home of an urban family. Jesus of Nazareth on the other hand was a rural artisan in an agrarian society whose public activity was largely confined to the countryside and villages of Galilee, Samaria and Judea. Once in a while he travelled to Jerusalem. Herzog asserts that Freire's work is a reflection of the thinking of Karl Marx and Freud, and is influenced by existentialism, humanist psychology, structuralism and liberation theology. He is also further influenced by his colonial past, which has had lasting effect on the current political systems of Brazil.

Jesus is basically shaped by the reading of the Torah, which he uses as a tool for dealing with injustice in the kingdom of God, and his colonial context widely dominated by the Roman overlords (Herzog 1994, 17). Herzog demonstrates his methodology through the analysis of the parable of the tenants in Mark 12:1-12, where he conclusively asserts that the parable codifies the spiral of violence by describing a local peasant revolt on a great estate (Herzog 1994, 109). It is also noted that peasants sometimes resorted to violence in order to restore what they had recently lost, and in this case the peasants have rebelled for the purposes of restoring their patrimonial holdings (1994, 111). The parable codifies the futility of armed rebellion but at the same time undermines the credibility of some generative themes of ownership and inheritance (1994, 113). Herzog's engagement with the liberationist framework imports an important rationale which goes beyond reading the gospel as interpretations of the Kingdom of God, into codifying the real oppressive situations that the

recipients were going through. Engaging with this method of reading the parables gives way to a new and transformative model of interpreting discipleship in the gospel of Mark--from the traditional way of following Jesus to the cross through suffering and death, into seeing Jesus as one who empties himself by taking away the shame of the cross and decoding it to depict a place of life and victory. Jesus as a pedagogue of the oppressed in his time codified the oppressive systems like patriarchy, patronage, honour and shame, bringing those who had been closed out of the public space to new life and wholeness.

Herzog's insistence on the limitations of an "analogous reading" of a first century text in the light of a different modern context, utilizing Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed is an important acknowledgement. Nevertheless Herzog's reading of the parables from a Frerian perspective have produced important new insights both on the parables and on their implications for a 21st century contextual interpretation. In the same way I need to acknowledge the distance between Jesus' first century Palestinian context and my own context as an African woman priest in the COUA in the 21st century. Nevertheless I believe that an "analogous reading" of discipleship in Mark utilizing Paulo Freire's model will prove to make a valuable contribution both to the study of Mark and to my own context. I acknowledge that there may at times be a blurring of the boundaries between these two contexts, which arises from the role of the New Testament as a sacred text in my community. This is inevitable, but this study has tried to keep the boundaries clear as much as possible.

3.5 Feminist hermeneutics

Feminist hermeneutics is used in this work as one of the methodologies supplementing Paulo Freire. Feminist biblical scholars acknowledge that the Bible is written in "androcentric, kyriocentric language which has its origin in patri-kyriarchal culture of antiquity" yet at the same time it has been used as an inspiration in the struggle against kyriarchal dehumanisation (Schussler 1997, 58). Rakoczy (2004, 143) asserts that the Bible has brought both good news and bad news to women, prompting them to develop new ways of interpretation in order to "depatriarchalise" scripture to help women hear good news. Feminist scholars (Russell 1993; Schussler 1997; Grumm 1997; Rebera 1997) have advocated for the principle of a "round table" and "discipleship of equals" in church leadership. Schussler (1997, 2) urges that "in discipleship of equals both men and women have equal status, dignity and rights as images of the divine..." she uses the term Kyriarchy instead of patriarchy, which in antiquity connoted the "rule of the lord/master/father/husband over those subordinated to and dependent on him." It is representative of "a graduated male status system of domination and

subordination, authority and obedience, rulers and subjects in households” which for a long time has restricted leadership only to males. Schussler a urges that there be an egalitarian church “round table”--which is an eschatological project of the Kingdom of God, the intended society. The round table theory advocates for an inclusive community as a way of reflecting God’s call as a body of Christ. She further asserts that

Rather than defining women’s relationship to God by their sexual relationship to men and through the patriarchal structures of family and church, a feminist Christian spirituality defines women’s relationship to God in and through the experience of being into the discipleship of equals, the assembly of free citizens who decide their own spiritual welfare (1983, 349).

Schussler further commends women for being true disciples stating that the “misunderstanding and incomprehension of suffering discipleship exemplified by the twelve turns into betrayal and denial in the passion narrative...the circle of the twelve male disciples does not follow Jesus on his way to the cross for fear of risking their lives, the circle of women disciples exemplified their true discipleship” (Schussler 1983, 319).

This methodology is important as I am dealing with issues of status and power where some clergy are being discriminated against by those in high positions, while women clergy are being denied leadership positions because of their gender. Adhering to the theory of a “round table” and the principle of “discipleship of equals” will bring all clergy together irrespective of their status, superiority or gender. This argument is further emphasised by Russell (1993, 18-19), who affirms that feminist hermeneutics deals with relationships.

It continually asks questions about how things are connected to one another, to their context, and to justice for the oppressed. It asks questions about the relationship of the experience of those struggling for full humanity of all women together with men, to the experience of those struggling for liberation and new life in the biblical and church tradition..... (1993, 18)

Therefore, this methodology works as a uniting factor for the church as a body, where Christ is a liberator and initiator of the new model of “discipleship of equals.” In other words, the framework strongly condemns the oppressive kyriarchal structures that discriminate against individuals due to their social status. The feminist hermeneutic shares much in common with both liberation and inculturation hermeneutics. West asserts that “feminist hermeneutics has been in dialogue with both the religio-cultural emphasis of inculturation hermeneutics and racial economic political emphasis of liberation hermeneutics” (2010, 26). However, West notes that the major emphasis is on religion and culture. Ukpong similarly adds that “feminist

hermeneutics are a liberation hermeneutic focused on the oppression of women. It uses the Bible as a resource for the struggle against subordination of women in contemporary society and church life” (2000, 21). Therefore, feminist hermeneutics is very vital for this thesis given the fact that the COUA is dominated by a hierarchy that subordinates some clergy but more so women who are completely below the status ladder.

1.4 Literature Review: Discipleship in Mark

Most of the existing studies on discipleship in the Gospel of Mark have not paid attention to leadership development. It is also certain that no scholar in Uganda has written on the subject of discipleship or leadership development in relation to the Gospel of Mark. The scholars addressing the subject are largely from the West and therefore do not focus on the African context and in particular the COUA. It is further evident that most of the scholars engaging with the gospel of Mark have interpreted discipleship in the context of Christology and atonement. This makes discipleship a journey to the cross and participation in Jesus’ suffering and death. In this thesis I have interpreted discipleship in the context of liberation and freedom that Jesus brought to the oppressed communities through his embodiment of the *New Human Being*. Hence Jesus’ teaching in this thesis is a critique of the dominant structures, a critique to which he committed his life even to the point of death in order to liberate the marginalised from ideologies of power and oppression. Best (1981; 1986) has done commendable work on discipleship in Mark. As such, most of my critique is based on his views.

1.4.1 “Follow me”

Jesus began his ministry in the gospel of Mark with a declaration of the presence of the kingdom of God; “The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand, repent and believe the Gospel” (Mark 1:15). It is for the accomplishment of the kingdom that Jesus called his disciples at the very beginning of his ministry. According to Bruce (1988, 12), “Jesus began at a very early period of his ministry to gather around him a company of disciples, with a view to the preparation of an agency for carrying on the work of the divine kingdom.” Jesus begins by calling four fishermen, who immediately left their nets and their boats at Jesus’ call “Follow me, and I will make you become fishers of men” (Mark 1:17). According to France (2002, 94), “The kingdom of God comes not with fanfare but through gradual gathering of a group of socially insignificant people in an unnoticed corner of provincial Galilee.” Belo (1981, 102) asserts that “The disciples will pull men like fish from the sea which is the mythological location of Satan, death and abyss toward the land.” It is

these insignificant twelve men who make the study of discipleship a reality in the gospel of Mark. Discipleship goes beyond gathering and fishing men, to modeling a team that will engage in the liberation of the oppressed peasants--those to whom the good news of the Kingdom of God has been revealed. It was, as Freire states, a pedagogy that caused those who had been submerged in the world of pain and suffering to reflect and engage in their own struggle for liberation (1997, 30). Hence the disciples were called by Jesus to engage as participants of liberation. Hence the disciples would only be successful if they not only followed, but embodied Jesus as the *New Human Being* and agent of transformation.

The call involves leaving everything and following Jesus to become part of the transformation team. Donahue (2002, 310) notes different characteristics in the call to the disciples. First, the call is Jesus' initiative. This is different from case of the rabbis, who are looked for by the students. Second, those whom Jesus called are local fishermen, the call is like summoning people to follow ("follow me" or "come after me"), the call also involves sharing in Jesus work and mission, hence the called had to abandon their former occupations and follow Jesus as their new master. Finally, the call was not a private matter but required one to join the group and follow Jesus wherever he went. To some extent Donahue misses out on the real goal of discipleship by noting that disciples follow Jesus as their new master. This traditional model enslaves the disciples but does not liberate them. This underlies what Schussler calls "kyriarchy" which is a system of domination and exploitation. She notes that in the antiquity it denotes "the rule of father, lord and master over the subordinates" (1997, 2). Jesus embodies the servant role so that those who follow him similarly embody his nature, in order to abolish the oppressive dominant structures that prohibited equality and embraced hierarchy. Jesus' discipleship journey includes what Schussler calls "discipleship of equals".

With the same view of suffering at the heart of discipleship, Best (1986, 13), understands discipleship as "writing off oneself in terms of any kind of importance, privilege or right and to spend one's time only in the service of others." As mentioned above, service in the context of discipleship goes beyond the traditional understanding of master/servant into serving the poor and not the elites, as the tradition was. Second, writing oneself off and losing any sense of importance leads us into an oppressive anti-dialogical pedagogy. This is indicative of the student who listens to what is being dictated by the master without having any contribution to make. Discipleship is dialogical, where both the student and the teacher engage in constant unveiling of reality and feel challenged to respond to the challenges that affect them as a community of the oppressed. Education ceases to be "a narrative exercise" (Freire 1997, 52).

Hence Jesus called his disciples to engage in dialogue for transformation and not to be silenced.

In Mark 3.13-19, Jesus appointed the twelve among the many and commissioned them to be with him, to preach and exorcise demons. Distinct from the missionary activity of every Christian, this was a consecrated group of men in full time ministry with Jesus. Being with Jesus (Mark 3.14ff) meant learning from him and having close fellowship with him. Unlike other learning conditions, this one was dialogical, as it involved thinking together with them, sending them out and finally leaving the ministry into their hands. The appointment of the twelve took place on a mountain. Though it is not mentioned which mountain it was, a mountain is taken in scriptures (Exod 3; 1 Kgs 19) to be a normal setting for divine activity and revelation (Hooker 1991, 110), and in this case we are reminded particularly of the creation of the nation of Israel in Exodus (19-20). According to Stock (1982, 143), Jesus' call of the disciples was made possible by "the creative word of God and whatever those who are called may become will be the work of Jesus." Although this corresponds to Freire's use of the word for the transformation of the world, it still leaves Jesus in control of the disciples, thus taking a position of the master. Freire (1997, 71), speaking the true word, transforms the world and enhances dialogue which helps people to achieve significance and true humanization. Dialogue is meant to transform. As such, the disciples cannot be limited to following Jesus and adhering to his wishes. Best locates the section on the call of the disciples in what he calls "the disciples and the world." He notes that "the disciple's attitude to the world cannot be viewed apart from his attitude to the cross...a consideration of a disciple's attitude to the world properly follows a consideration of his attitude to the cross" (1982, 164). If Jesus' call to the disciples was for the purpose of forming them to become tools of transformation, then voluntary suffering imposed on the disciples contradicts Jesus' objective of a new community.

According to Hengel, Jesus' aim was "to proclaim the nearness of God in word and deed, to call to repentance and to proclaim the will of God understood radically in the light of the immanent rule of God which indeed was already dawning in his activity" (1977, 53). Hengel further asserts that "following after" means "unconditional sharing of the master's destiny, which does not stop even deprivation and suffering in the train of the master, and is possible only on the basis of complete trust on the part of the person who follows; he has placed his destiny and future in his master's hands" (1977, 70-71). Furthermore, Hengel (1977, 78) insists that discipleship involves sharing the master's fate, which includes "insecurity,

exposure to danger.” The same view is supported by Best when he states that “the rule of discipleship is Jesus. As Jesus was so the disciple must be” (1986, 3). According to Best “follow me” is like a summons to follow Jesus, take up the cross and give up life, just as he did, in order to save it. The traditional view of discipleship to some extent rejects the picture of Jesus forming an egalitarian community. It insists on hierarchy where Jesus is the master over his disciples. This still points to the whole issue of kyriarchal structure of domination. Jesus’ proclamation of the Kingdom of God to which invited his disciples attests to the new vision of *ekklesia*, which is understood as “radical democracy embodied and realized in emancipatory struggles to change relations of domination, exploitation and marginalization” (Schussler 1997, 3). Discipleship therefore aims at engaging the followers in the struggle for transformation.

As already noted in Mark (3:14), the disciples’ going out to preach was in fulfilment of the second part of their commission “that he might send them.” This ministry included preaching the gospel of repentance, casting out demons, anointing the sick and healing them (Mark 6:12-13). Best connects Mark 3:13-19 and Mark 6:6-13 which reflect the calling of the disciples and sending them out as part of the commission. However, he associates the text with the sending out of the missionaries in the early church. Although the aspect of mission would be true within the early church, Jesus’ intention seems to have been different from missionary activity. Jesus had already demonstrated to the disciples the miracles of healing and exorcism which led to freedom of those under captivity. Hence sending out the twelve was to declare to the world that, embodied with the Kingdom values of Jesus, the disciples are able to initiate transformation in the oppressed communities. Freire notes that achieving praxis is only possible when the leader is able to trust the oppressed as individuals who have the capacity to reason (1993, 48). Hence Jesus sending out his disciples is indicative of trust, irrespective of the lack of understanding that is attributed to them in the gospel.

1.4.2 Self denial

The central section in the gospel of Mark is marked by Best (1981) as the “Way.” For Best, Peter’s declaration of Jesus as “the Christ” (Mark 8:29) cannot be overlooked because it comes at the beginning of the journey to the cross in Jerusalem. It is “a spiritual journey in which the disciples learn that the way to sharing in Jesus’ glory is by first following him on the way to the cross” (Healy 2008, 161). For Healy, discipleship means “to walk in the footsteps of Jesus” (2008, 168). This section is also seen to be the “watershed” moment and a turning point in the Markan story of discipleship (Hooker 1991, 200). Best blames the

disciples for not understanding that discipleship is the way of suffering. He states that “they have shown themselves unable to appreciate suffering as God’s way” (Best 1981, 7). In Mark 8.34, Jesus told his disciples “if anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.” Best (1981, 15-16) notes that the way of the cross, initiating with John the Baptist as his life ends with his death at the hands of Herod, is the same way that Jesus is taken, as his life ends with death on the cross. It is the same way for the disciples whose life should end at the cross since they were following the footsteps of Jesus. For Best (1981, 13), faith is misleading unless it is related to the cross, and “the nature of discipleship becomes apparent only in light of the cross and not in the light of Jesus’ mighty acts.” The cross was a symbol of suffering and, worse still according to the ancient world, was “an utterly offensive affair, obscene in the original sense of the word” (Hengel 1978, 22). Therefore the cross was not an issue that could easily be perceived among the followers of Jesus. As illustrated above, some scholars do not take into account that the work Jesus did at the cross was liberatory.

Focusing on discipleship in Mark, Bonhoeffer notes that “Discipleship means adherence to the person of Jesus Christ and therefore submission to the law of the cross. Just as Christ is Christ only in the virtue of his suffering and rejection, so the disciple is a disciple only in so far as he shares his Lord’s suffering and rejection and crucifixion” (1959, 87). He adds that “The cross means rejection, shame and suffering and therefore a man who is totally committed to discipleship can experience fully the meaning of the cross. Suffering is the badge of true discipleship” (1959, 91). For him Mark 8:34 is Jesus’ law of discipleship. The cross was a tool of domination in the world of Jesus, and Jesus in his teaching was exposing his disciples and the crowd to the nature of oppression around them through his humanizing pedagogy. In the humanizing pedagogy, the revolutionary teacher ceases to manipulate the students but instead allows them to gain their consciousness in order to act upon the world and change it (Freire 1993, 50-51). Hence the pedagogy that Jesus introduced through discipleship was to help his disciples gain consciousness of the world of oppression around them and not to push them into oppression again.

Best (1981, 32) further understands Jesus’ address to both the disciples and the crowd in the first passion prediction as having no effective change, but “for each it is as simple and as difficult as taking the cross and denying self.” I think Bonhoeffer and Best are stretching discipleship too much and making it quite scary and rigid for the followers. Paulo Freire asserts that “A good teacher is always cognitive at one point and narrative at another; she or

he is either preparing a project or engaging in dialogue with the students” (Freire 1993, 61). This helps the students to move from being “docile listeners to critical co investigators in dialogue with the teacher” (Freire 1993, 62). Jesus’ pedagogy is intended to liberate the oppressed from suffering imposed on them by their oppressors through the cross as an object of torture. Jesus did not intend to die on the cross but if it was the only way to liberate the oppressed from its horror then he had to die. Jesus was being realistic in his communication and narrating what was going to happen to him. Suffering is one of the consequences that disciples would encounter on their way as they follow Jesus, but it was not a good thing to anticipate--and therefore it should not be imposed on the followers. Hence suffering should not always be packaged with discipleship.

Myers, speaking from a political point of view, argues that Jesus’ messiahship means “political confrontation with, not rehabilitation of the imperial state. Those who wish to come after me will have to identify themselves with his subversive program”(1988, 247). He continues to assert that the “stated risk is that the disciple will face the taste of loyalty under interrogation by the state authorities. If self is denied, the cross will be taken up, a metaphor for capital punishment on grounds of insurgency” (Myers 1988, 247). For Myers, a disciple either stands with Jesus, denies oneself and loses life, or denies Jesus and lives. There is a paradox of life and death. Although approached from a political angle, it is no different from the traditional model which leads the followers into fear. This too presupposes the death of the disciple if they persist on following Jesus. It is also true that Jesus avoided associating himself with the political connotations of the imperial rule ; instead he identified himself with the *New Human Being*, whose task was among the poor and oppressed rather than the restoration of the kingdom of Israel.

Best (1986, 13), in response to Jesus’ call to service, asserts that “To follow Jesus means to drop in behind him, to be ready to go to the cross as he did, to write oneself off in terms of any kind of importance, privilege or right, and to spend one’s time only in the service of the needs of others.” Similarly Witherington (2001, 245) notes that a disciple gives up his “life upfront” as an affirmation and willingness to follow Jesus. The same view is shared by Healy (2008, 169) who notes that to deny or renounce, in legal terms, meant “complete disownment” which in this case refers to “a total shift, a reckless abandonment to him which entails letting go all one’s attachments and agendas.” She further notes that “death is the way to fullness of life.” This too makes a disciple out to be someone who is not to have any personal decisions but who must follow at whatever cost. It does not provide any point of

dialogue. It is more of banking education where the teacher knows it all and the student doesn't know anything except to sit and listen. Writing off any kind of importance, privilege or rights and needs reflects the banking model. Discipleship involves dialogue, friendship and critical thinking; it is a media through which Jesus was able to establish the kingdom of God, free of intimidation, fear or suppression. This affirms a comment made previously by Schussler, referring to an *ekklesia* free from "domination, exploitation and marginalization."

Yet Gundry (1993, 435) notes that "take up your cross" in Mark 8:34 means that one has to be prepared for ridicule, to be spit on, be seen and treated as a criminal, be thought to be guilty of shameful things. Myers, reflecting on the complexion of discipleship in Mark, commented that it "demands engagement and a response of praxis" (Myers 1988, 100). The traditional interpretation of the cross renders Jesus' model of discipleship oppressive. This interpretation minimizes the creative power of the oppressed and at the same time serves the interests of the oppressors (1993, 54). Jesus' model was not intended to serve the interest of the Roman elites who delighted in the oppression of the poor but to decode the power and the pain of the cross by embodying the punishment himself so that the slaves and servants who were the victims of the cross could find liberation in embodying Jesus as the *New Human Being*.

1.5 Limitations

The Anglican COUA has 33 dioceses, encompassing different cultures, languages and social settings. I have chosen only four dioceses to represent the whole, which made it more manageable for me to reach my respondents. A further limitation was that this research deals with a sensitive topic and some respondents were a bit hesitant in giving information for fear of their job security and relationships with their superiors, hence most of them preferred anonymity. Therefore the identities of the respondents have not been disclosed, and pseudonyms have been used in this thesis instead of the true names of the respondents to ensure confidentiality.

Literature in the area of church leadership development in Uganda is not readily available. Most of the books I have used are by authors who are not Ugandans. However this literature has been supplemented by the field research, newspapers and other documentation such as reports and minutes from the provincial assemblies and diocesan committees. I managed to secure a file that contained most of the documents during the crisis in Busoga and it has been very useful in providing reliable information about the crisis.

There was also a language problem since the members of every diocese in Uganda speak a different language. Although I live in Buganda and speak Luganda, there are phrases that I had to ask to be translated. I come from Eastern Uganda but I learnt Luganda because it is our liturgical language and therefore to be a priest in my area one must have knowledge of Luganda. For the dioceses outside Buganda, most of the people I interviewed had knowledge of English and this made it easy for me to work without any hardship regarding language. For a few statements that needed emphasis in the local language, it was later translated in English.

The Gospel of Mark, as Hooker (1983, 105) states, is “Good News about Jesus but also a story of discipleship.” It is clear that a number of scholars have written on this theme of discipleship, which makes it difficult to make a unique contribution. However, in my presentation of the overall message of discipleship in Mark, I have interpreted my study in light of Paulo Freire’s work based on his argument of codification--hidden oppressive objects that elites use against the peasants/poor and marginalised. Although Freire seems to be addressing a different context, that of Latin America, his work on liberation is universal to all communities that are faced with some kind of oppression. It has to be noted however that the Freirian model is normally applied practically in an open community with a group of people and the results are very evident after the whole process of observation, description and analysis has taken place. This challenge was overcome by reading the work in which Herzog used the same method to read the parables.

1.6 Structure of dissertation

This research is divided into eight chapters as follows: Chapter one comprises the introduction, motivation and scope of the study, theoretical framework and methodology, literature review, limitations of the study and research structure.

Chapter two is an analysis of the contextual models of leadership that shaped the development of clergy in the COUA. The models include the Ganda kingship model, the Missionary model (CMS) and the East African Revival (EAR) model.

Chapter three discusses the development of theological education as a missionary initiative to train COUA clergy, its development and impact on the church today.

Chapter four is a discussion of the impact of the models on the development of servant leaders in the COUA. These are characterised under different oppressive codes like authoritarianism, hierarchy and patriarchy.

Chapter five examines the authorship, date, and socio-historical background to the gospel of Mark. The oppressive codes that Jesus decoded in Mark such as the cross, Kyriarchy, and the place of children in the Imperial world, are also discussed to form a background for exegesis

Chapter six is the analysis of the text of Mark 10:35-52 using the tools of research. Socio-historical methods and social science tools are used to explore the historical background of the text and also to identify the social systems and institutions in ancient Roman Palestine during the time of Jesus. Oppressive codes such as power, status, prestige, and patron/client relationships in the Markan context are extensively examined.

Chapter seven is a chapter on dialogue between the text and the context. Chapter eight provides the thesis summary in the form of conclusions and recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two

Historical background to the development of leadership in the Church of Uganda

2.0 Introduction:

This chapter is an analysis of the different models that have shaped the leadership development of clergy in the COUA. In my analysis of each model I try to identify some of the oppressive codes that have undermined the development of servant leaders. Codes such as patronage, honour, servants and slaves will be discussed as well as how they operate in each of the models. This will help to reveal the status of the poor and the elites and how inequality became part of the daily living of the people united under a central monarchy. It is also noted that the Ganda prepared the ground for the coming of Christianity because of their openness to new cultures and their organised structures. An analysis of the resistance that existed between the CMS and Ganda traditional leaders brings into play the clash of two cultures, culminating in banking models, a process which Freire calls “cultural invasion.” The East African Revival is discussed in the context of a resistance movement against the banking model imposed by CMS Christianity. However, amidst the oppressive codes that are identified, all these models have made vital contributions that give the COUA its distinct identity today.

2.1 Buganda Kingdom

The Baganda⁶ are the largest and politically most powerful ethnic group in Uganda. Kingship is their central institution with the *Kabaka*⁷ as the central symbol of national order, power and vitality (Ray 1991, 5, 17). He is also the uniting factor and custodian of culture. In Buganda they have the slogan (*Kabaka yeka*) meaning the King alone and if all is well with him then everybody is fine. The *Kabaka* in Buganda is the supreme authority over everything and everyone, including land. If people adopt new ideas or religions he has no problem as long as they do not conflict with the political hierarchical structure that is centred upon him. When a king dies in Buganda, kingship temporarily ceases until it is re-established again with the new king (Ray 1991, 19). Parinder (1974) asserts,

⁶ It is important to have some key rules to ensure correct pronunciation of words in Luganda. Luganda words should be pronounced syllable by syllable without stress on any particular one, remembering that each syllable ends with a vowel. The final ‘e’ is always sounded, and the vowel is always short. For example ka-ba-ka, Ba-li-ku-dde-mbe.....the prefix Bu is used of a country, Buganda....., Mu is a person, Muganda. The prefix Lu is used for language, Luganda and the adjectives take the same prefix as the noun they qualify; the common prefix is Ki- the Kiganda customs, the people of Buganda, who speak Luganda (Faupel 2007, 8).

⁷ In Buganda the king is called *Kabaka* and it is the title that I am going to use in this thesis.

The Kingship in Uganda was looked upon as so important that all the country was the King's possession and conversely the welfare of the *Kabaka* was believed to be vital for the people. *The Kabaka* did not necessarily administer all the justice, or lead in battle or perform ritual sacrifices, but while he could delegate these powers to officials he was the final source of the law and leadership. So to be without a king was disastrous (in Kalengyo 2006, 127).

In order to protect the position of the *Kabaka*, the Baganda instilled fear among the people. An aspect related to what Freire calls "submerging the oppressed in a state of unconsciousness with slogans which create even more fear of freedom" (1993, 76). The kind of authority invested in the *Kabaka* served to submerge the consciousness of the Baganda into thinking about the *Kabaka* alone and not their plight. Buganda was a very stratified hierarchical community with superiors and subordinates, ranks and titles. It is worth noting that the oppressive codes such as inequality, patronage, and patriarchy were embedded in almost every aspect of the Ganda life.

2.1.1 Political structure

The *Kabaka* Mutesa appointed the *Lukiiko* (council of state/parliament) headed by the *Katikiro* (Prime Minister) who was the *Kabaka's* right hand but also the Chief Justice of Buganda. Later the chiefs were chosen to empower leadership and maintain the fighting force. However, they were still under the favour and power of the *Kabaka* and failure in their tasks or slander of rivals or any kind of carelessness would throw them in the hands of executioners. To be pardoned they had to bribe the *Kabaka* by bringing him cattle or the gift of their daughters for royal pleasure. Below is an example of the Ganda political structure.⁸

- King (*Kabaka*)
- Chief Justice (*omulamuzi*)
- Chief minister or Prime minister (*katikiro*)
- Treasurer (*omuwanika*)
- Parish chiefs (*ab'emiruka*)
- Nobles (*abakungu, batongole*)

Fallers (1964, 107) asserts that the chiefs in Buganda Kingdom had to constantly stay at the palace as an indication of being loyal to the *Kabaka*. Remaining at their home would raise his

⁸ Wamala Zaid <http://www.glydestudy.com/content.php> accessed 22/July/ 2011.

suspicion, leading him to think that a particular chief was plotting against him, which actually made chiefs to appear like hostages. Although the *Kabaka* elected these leaders for purposes of working together, his supreme authority did not give adequate space for dialogue. Freire (1993, 70) warns against leaders who reduce dialogue into an act of one person depositing ideas into another or just a simple exchange of ideas to be consumed by the discussants. If dialogue is an act of “naming the world”, then it becomes impossible to understand how the *Kabaka’s* men could become participants in the cause of liberating themselves and others. Hence for them dialogue acted as a “crafty instrument for the domination of one person by another” (1993, 70). Fallers (1964, 107, 112) gives another reason to explain the domestication of the chiefs in the palace. They had to wait for commands in case of any raiding expedition--with hope that success would bring favour and promotion. Therefore the availability of the chiefs meant more to the *Kabaka* in terms of military support, security and expansion of the kingdom. Freire (1993, 71) further remarks that “self sufficiency is incompatible with dialogue” and this indeed prevented the *Kabaka* from having meaningful partnership with his colleagues. Instead he manipulated them with his ideas. The oppressors capitalise on the political immaturity of the oppressed and convince them to conform to their objectives. This results in manipulation of the oppressed so that the oppressors can remain in power longer (1993, 128).

2.1.2 Peasants

The peasants were among the marginalised groups in Buganda although they formed the productive system of the Kingdom.⁹ As will be noted in chapters five and six on the gospel of Mark, peasants occupy a very significant role and yet they are the most oppressed and exploited in both the Ganda culture and in Roman Palestine. Wolf defines peasants as “rural cultivators whose surpluses are transferred to a dominant group of rulers that uses the surpluses both to under-write its own standard of living and to distribute the remainder to the groups in society that do not farm but must be fed for their specific goods and services in turn” (1966, 3-4). He further notes that peasants are chief producers of the store of the social

⁹ There were many other groups that I am not going to discuss but who were part of the marginalised. Those who lived in the palace included the pages (*bagalagala*), slaves (*baddu*), and servants (*bawereza*). These categories of people resided in the *Kabaka’s* palace and they were the first recipients of the gospel when the missionaries came. The peasants lived outside the palace and were comprised of groups like the fishermen (*bavubi*), and backcloth maker (*Mukomazi*). In Buganda backcloth plays a very important cultural role. It is used to wrap dead bodies at funerals, it is an attire for functions like coronation for the *Kabaka* and chiefs, it is also used in homes as bedding etc. It is still used today, especially as a uniform for the *Kabaka’s* guards. The other group among the *bakopi* were the potters (*Mubumbi*). The final group were the *Balalo* who came from Ankole mainly to look after the cattle of the elites. The Kingdom survived because of these people yet they were treated as low class.

wealth yet they occupy a secondary position in society. All the social groups in the community depend on peasants for both income and food. Given this role of production for the community, peasants struggle to maintain a balance between their own demands and that of the outsiders subjecting them to tensions produced by this struggle to keep the balance (1966, 12-13). Wolf's description of peasants relates very well to the description in this thesis. The peasants in Buganda were commonly called *bakopi* – a term that signifies an oppressive code. They ranked low on the Ganda hierarchy. A *mukopi* was described as “a person with no particular distinction or a residual category of persons who are not something else” (Fallers 1964, 68). As men were engaged in other activities, the wives of the *bakopi* cultivated the banana garden because in Buganda gardening was entirely the work of a woman. It is also important to note that the economic life of the Baganda depended entirely on agriculture, which emanated from the sweat of the *bakopi* producing for the elites. What the *bakopi* produced out of their gardens and other activities were collected by the chiefs and other officials of the *Kabaka*. Besides food production at subsistence level, they also spent time on road maintenance, building residences of the *Kabaka* and chiefs and providing manpower for the army (Fallers 1964, 82-83). In other words, they were obedient objects to be sent and used at the wish of the *Kabaka* and chiefs for both personal and kingdom business but could not engage in any dialogue for the good of the kingdom. Gadotti (1987, 49) asserts that change cannot be effected by the elites because of their lack of the basic facts; it is the ordinary people who can engage in the construction of a new society. The Baganda lacked the strategy of transforming society through listening to the poor and the poor lived under pressure of pleasing the superiors in order to earn a living. Hence they had limited dialogue that could probably lead to a changed environment.

It was open for a *mukopi* who was ambitious or interested in wealth and power to seek clientage with a patron who was superior. This in Luganda was called (*okusenga*). The popular proverb attached to it was (*omuddu a wulira y'atabaza engule ya mukama we*) meaning “the obedient servant carries his master's crown into battle” (Fallers 1964, 74). After the missionary invasion and the emergence of education it became very difficult to call a person a *mukopi*. It was decoded to ordinary people (*bantu ba bulijjo*) or (*bannakyalo*) meaning villagers or (*simuyigirize*) uneducated (1964, 123). Although there has been a process of decoding the *mukopi*, all the phrases used still put a person among the disadvantaged group--hence it does not facilitate a democratic society. The word connoted a further lower status when it referred to non-Baganda who came to seek employment in

Buganda, especially the *Balalo* who were employed as cattle keepers. This qualifies what Ndebasa says about Kingship and political developments in Uganda. He notes that the Buganda kingdom received more services earlier than other ethnic regions, creating a sense of superiority over others. This created a sense of labourer/employer relationship, taking the form of an ethnic relationship where the employer was a Muganda and the employee a non-Muganda (Ndebasa 1995, 50). For him it was a form of inequality brought by the colonialists. It contributed to Baganda becoming colonisers of other tribes within the country and beyond, and hence turning out to be oppressors of their own people. It is also true that the colonialists found a seed of inequality already planted among the Baganda due to their hierarchical structures. The Baganda did not only practice inequality with the other ethnic groups but even amongst themselves in the way they treated the marginalised groups. The decoding was a way of manipulating the victims of oppression because their status in society was not transformed. It is true that “manipulating, sloganising, depositing, regimentation and prescription can never be components of revolutionary praxis but that of domination” (Freire 1993, 107). All these words describe what the Ganda elite did to the marginalised groups in their community.

2.1.3 Symbolism of the *Kabaka*

The *Kabaka* in Buganda was described as a “father of all” who required due respect and loyalty, hence promoting the oppressive code of paternalism. Freire agrees with the reality that both the teacher and the student are not the same, yet he also warns against the temptation of the transformation of authority into authoritarianism--a hallmark of banking education (Freire in Mayo 1999, 67). The *Kabaka* is addressed as “His Majesty the *Ssaabasajja Kabaka of Buganda.*” *Ssaabasajja* means head of all men. The dilemma between “father” figure and one in control of all men makes paternalism very evident. These symbols of power are used to manipulate his subordinates and to terrorise them into submission. The father figure in Buganda is not different from what it was in the Jewish or Roman world. Fiorenza (1997, 2) relates the father figure to “lord, master and husband”. Kyriarchal structures of domination were very evident in Buganda, as we shall notice in chapter four below. Therefore under the guise of father (as parent), the *Kabaka* exploited his subordinates. The father figure in Buganda was an oppressive code. In Buganda, men prostrate¹⁰ to salute *Kabaka*; men kneel while greeting him, which is seen as an act of homage as well as an expression of honouring the hierarchy on which the monarch’s power depended (Southwold

¹⁰ Prostrating and kneeling before the *Kabaka* is still evident today. Men kneel before the *Kabaka* irrespective of their status.

1964, 275). It is also evident that not all categories of people were permitted to come and stand before the *Kabaka*. The only people who were allowed to stand were his secret police amongst whom were his uncle *Sabaganzi* and his mother's guardian *Masimbi*. These people were allowed to carry their weapons to the *Kabaka* because they were expected to protect him and his mother (Roscoe 1911, 208). There was indirect sense of domination presented as favour and privilege for one to be in the presence of the *Kabaka*. Yet this affirms what Freire identified in his work as "manipulation" which to him is "a fundamental instrument for preservation of domination" (1993, 129).

At the coronation of the *Kabaka* it is noted that all the rituals and ceremonies are intended to "affirm his authority and exhortation to expand his power and boundaries of his kingdom" (Fallers 1964, 101). At some point during coronation, the *Kabaka* is clothed with a skin of a leopard, depicting one who preys over his people; it also had implications that others are mere squirrels and he is given a knife to kill anyone who rebels (Fallers 1964, 101; Ray 1991, 90). The *Kabaka* is also described as "the queen of the termite hill who eats termites on the hill, the cook with plenty of fire wood, he burns criminals, the black smith fire which melts in order to melt the iron to his will, he is a crocodile with long teeth which eats everyone in the neighbourhood, he is a lion and finally he who does not pity the parents of the man he kills" (Richards 1964, 278). Ray (1991, 90) further notes that the *Kabaka* was told at coronation that "you are the (*Ssaabataka*) head of the clan heads; treat your clan heads (*bataka*) with honour." The king at the same ceremony is meant to be honoured as the father of twins (*Sabalongo*), and finally *Kabaka* is presented with two spears and the shield of the *Kabakaship*. The coronation accorded the *Kabaka* both authority and authoritarianism to some extent, which made him, during his time of leadership, to struggle to maintain these two positions of a loving father and an oppressor. But further, the *Kabaka's* authority was also used to manipulate his subjects not to think so that they would not pose a threat to his authority. That is why Freire (1993, 130) notes that "the dominant elites are so well aware of this fact that they instinctively use all means including violence to keep the people from thinking." Hence dialogue becomes a danger to be avoided. For example, if the *Kabaka* was meant to honour his *Bataka*, why then does he subject them to his anger by killing and mutilating them?

Since the *Kabaka* was not approached without permission, people had to wait for him for hours and even days. Roscoe (1911, 208) notes that the King's enclosure was strictly guarded and nobody could enter there without the permission of the (*Katikiro*) Prime minister. It was

only the *Katikiro*, *Kimbugwe* and *Kago* who entered into the inner courts without first obtaining formal permission from the *Kabaka*. Roscoe (1911, 208-209) further asserts that those who were given audience with the *Kabaka* had to be conscious not to step on the royal rug¹¹ but if they did, the punishment was instant death. He commanded many mutilations and executions at any time when he wished; human sacrifice was done at his command. It is stated that *Kabaka* Kagulu “commanded a number of men to dig up an immense tree and then had them buried in the hollow so made” (Richards 1964, 276). Hence a Muganda was expected to give his entire life to the *Kabaka*’s service or offer the life of his loved one whenever need arose. With the assumption that the executioners were students of the *Kabaka*, this could relate to what Ira said in his dialogue with Freire about the spirit of control. In order to control the oppressed, the oppressor dictates what happens in class. Thus a pedagogy that banks information to the students is used in order to sustain the authority of the oppressor (Freire 1987, 76). The *Kabaka* as a symbol of power controlled what his subordinates did, whether good or bad, as long as it enhanced his power and authority. The murders that happened were not in the interest of the executioners but they had to do it as a way of upholding the authority of the *Kabaka*. The subordinates of the *Kabaka* served to maintain his position, promoting a hierarchy where control of events came from above only to be effected below.

The *Kabaka* was praised as a symbol of military glory and fighting. To expand the kingdom was the pride of all the Baganda. The *Kabaka* did not always go to war, his chiefs and servants did, but he received all the glory whenever his people came back victorious. That is why fighting was extremely rewarding, especially to the subordinates who went out and conquered. In Ganda culture, one was promoted not only because of their closeness to the *Kabaka* but their ability to perform, especially in war. Military glory was highly rewarded irrespective of the person’s social status. Fallers (1964, 112) states, “it was a popular value that vindicated much of the arbitrary cruelty with which the *Kabaka* ruled...” It was one of those unique incidents where the reversal of roles was manifested in Buganda. During the special ceremony to honour the son for his military success, “the father slaughtered the sheep for a feast, thanked the gods for giving him a brave son, and throughout the ceremonial meal waited upon the son as a servant” (1964, 112-113). This demonstrated an institution where

¹¹ The royal rug was a leopard skin which was acquired after a royal hunt. When the king had been in office for two to three months he went out to hunt and killed a leopard. On his return the animal is properly skinned and the skin is prepared for the royal rug. This skin is later stitched to the lion’s skin to form a royal rug on which the King stood on state occasions.

“possible positions of honour were open to talent, in which military ability and diligence were quickly rewarded and failure was quickly punished” (1964, 112). This was still in the form of manipulation because it only happened within the context of success but it did not change the status of the person from being a servant.

To the Ganda people, the *Kabaka* was both father and child--he was there to protect his people but his people also had a responsibility to protect him. This protective image of the *Kabaka* was expressed in both songs and proverbs. For example “the king never kills” means that it is his ministers who give the order for execution. This connects with what has been noted above--that students are there to follow the curriculum as set by the teacher and when it is accomplished, it is the teacher who is to be praised and while the students stand to be blamed. When the *Kabaka* was exiled, women expressed their mourning in such a way that is as if a man or father had left his family. They grieved “our husband,” “our father,” “a tree under whose shade we peasants sit.” At beer parties it was sung about him that he was “a little defenceless lizard with beautiful eyes who does no harm to human beings.” There was and is a whole paradox in the Baganda culture of seeing the *Kabaka* as a ruthless conqueror with power and also as a defenceless and innocent youth who needs to be protected by his people (Richard 1964, 285-286).¹² The organisation of the military force to protect the kingdom from external attacks was one major way that the *Kabaka* was a source of protection to his people. He only had to struggle with the paradox of authority and authoritarianism. It is however appropriate to agree with Freire that “dialogue is never a concession nor a gift, much less a tactic to be used for domination” (1993, 118). It is evident that the *Kabaka*, though described as a symbol of unity, honour, glory and power in Buganda, was not in a position to affect a transformative liberating model of leadership due to the anti-dialogical lifestyle. He draws people’s attention to the simple rewards which make them forget that they are submerged in an oppressive system. Although some of the symbols attached to him seem to reflect dialogue, they had connotations of oppression embedded in them.

2.1.4 Patronage in Buganda.

Patron /client relationships were very popular in Buganda. Clientage was called (*okusenga*) where the client who is inferior enters into a relationship with the patron who is superior in terms of status. . The category of people who looked out for this kind of relationship were the peasants (*bakopi*), servants (*bawereza*) and slaves (*baddu*) with the hope of improving their

¹² The Baganda until today do not want to say anything bad about the *Kabaka*. He has remained a source of their glory and one has to be careful not to make a negative comment about him even when he is in the wrong.

social status. Freire asserts that “manipulation is accomplished by means of pacts between the dominant and the dominated classes, pacts which considered superficially, might give the impression of a dialogue between the classes” (1993, 128). This is true with patronage where two parties enter a kind of agreement which is superficially dialogical and yet underneath is the reality of oppression as mentioned above. Originally the *Kabaka* was the only patron in Buganda but by the 19th century the chiefs, clan heads, and princes had acquired estates and all the less privileged that lived on those estates became their clients. However, it should be noted that all remained under the patronage of the *Kabaka* even when they too had their clients. Patronage made people passive participants in their own community because the leaders only perpetuated the banking model of leadership which treated the led as “objects of assistance”. The banking model “inhibits creativity, domesticates the oppressed and prohibits them from becoming fully human” (Freire 1993, 64-65). The clients were denied the opportunity to think for themselves, believing that they could only survive under the patronage of the elites. Therefore the content of the matters to be communicated and the concerns of the community entirely depended on the patron. The people were expected to act in obedience to the demands imposed on them (Freire 1993, 74).

Richards (1964, 271) notes that the chief or lord of the estate called the clients at any time for jobs, advice, and to receive instructions. Some peasants would come to the veranda of the lords just to be spoken to or to be recognised, trying to seek favour or to be affirmed as clients. Sometimes they would be given attention or be barked at depending on the moods of the lord. Some of the work they did for the lord included manual labour on the estates, building fences and roads and also accompanying him in war. They further gave him tribute by bringing their daughters to him as either wives or concubines in order to win his favour, and accepted punishments, such as beating, as the lord demanded (Richards 1964, 271). Favour came as a result of pacts in the form of promises for a good life, yet one had to suffer and be manipulated in order to receive a small share. As mentioned above, patronage hinders creativity and makes people sit to wait for the patron to think on their behalf. It domesticates and makes individuals redundant instead of being productive. The patron in return judged their cases and allocated them pieces of land. The patron protected his clients against unjust demands, pleaded cases for them in courts of law, protected them against human sacrifice, and in some cases paid the fine that the king demanded to free the victim (Richards 1964, 271). A patron, in return for his services, was praised and commended by his clients for the good he had done, for his power as a ruler, his foresight, skill and shrewdness. The clients did

not mind as such about the authoritarianism of their patron as long as he was rich and able to provide for them (1964, 272). The Baganda wished to see their patron sophisticated in appearance in such a way that he should hide his emotions when humiliated, look unapproachable, and keep secrets (1964, 272). In other words, the clients needed to have a brave patron since he was their source of protection, security and providence. This dependence strengthened the banking model as the patrons projected absolute ignorance among their clients--a characteristic and the ideology of oppression. It negates knowledge and education as a process of inquiry (Freire 1993, 53). The patrons worked hard at maintaining their status, while the clients were supposed to maintain silence in order to obtain more from the patron. Patron-client relationships widened the communication gap, and as a result, created a barrier to equality.

The patron was expected to have good foresight in collecting and allocating supplies to his clients, organising his household well, and shrewdly choosing the various subordinates to work for him. He was expected to associate with his superiors well as this would foster promotion, to the advantage of the clients. The patron was expected to be hospitable. Unfortunately, he only shared food with a few favourite clients. Food was unequally served depending on the categories of people; the lowest social class got the least food (Richards 1964, 272). However, even when some of the clients missed out on food or ate bad food, they still had to fulfil their duty of being humble, loyal and efficient in all their work despite its inconvenience. They had to indicate to their patron that they were happy with his rule. Life in Buganda and the peoples' acceptance to be dominated and humiliated clearly indicates how they are indoctrinated, adjusting them to a reality which must remain untouched (Freire 1993, 75). For most of the people, their consciousness was submerged, leading them to think that suppression is normal and that is the way to live. This patronage spirit is related to the oppressive code that Jesus addressed of those who "lord it over and exercise authority", as we shall see in chapters five and six on the gospel of Mark.

2.2 CMS Missionaries in Buganda

When the CMS arrived in Buganda in 1877, they were slotted into the existing Ganda hierarchy. Ward asserts that "the British regarded the civilisation of Buganda as superior to anything else available in Uganda and the acceptance of Christianity and literacy enhanced that superiority" (1991, 91). It is evident that the missionaries also applied the anti-dialogical theory of conquest and manipulation as mentioned above, to impose their objectives and to own the Christians. Freire asserts that "the conqueror imposes his own contours on the

vanquished, who internalise this shape and become ambiguous beings housing another” (1993, 119). He further notes that sometimes the dominant elites promote the advancement of the people in the guise of doing their duties, so that in a gesture of gratitude, people should accept the words of the elites and be conformed to them; a myth that he calls “rebellion of sin against God” (1993, 121). The influence of the missionaries upon the Ganda culture transformed the Baganda into brokers who, on behalf of their new masters, conquered other tribes in the pretence of spreading Christianity. Hence the CMS system worked alongside the Ganda patronage. In the Church of England, church leadership was divided into houses such as the House of Lords, which included the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and other selected bishops. It is also true that bishops enjoyed immense privileges together with the British social class of lords and aristocrats. These privileges ranged from dining at political clubs to living in great aristocratic homes across the country. The bishops indeed fitted very well into the English social hierarchy (Dickson 1979, 235-236; Hastings 1986, 53-56; Slack 1961, 16). Therefore it was familiar for the English clergy who came to Buganda to enjoy the same elite privileges that already existed in the Church of England.

2.2.1 CMS and *Kabaka Mutesa* 1

The development of the church by the CMS can be termed as dialogue between the CMS and the Ganda model. Dialogue facilitates learning for both the teacher and the student. In this case, the missionaries as the teachers of the new religion needed to take the time to learn from the Baganda into whose culture they were planting Christianity. Freire (1993, 60) asserts that

Through dialogue the teacher of the students and the students of the teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges; teacher student with student teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the one who teaches but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students...arguments based on authority are no longer valid in order to function, authority must be on the side of freedom not against it.

This could have been the basis for the missionary success in Buganda, and in this case the major focus for developing servant leaders where dialogue facilitates equality for all irrespective of race or social status. Unfortunately, tensions continued to manifest themselves and probably this contributes to what Taylor (1958, 20) meant when he described *Kabaka Mutesa* I as “a man who could open doors to any religion but could never submit to any god.” At the point of his death, Mutesa was neither Christian nor Muslim. Partly the CMS and the Roman Catholic missionaries contributed to this by objecting to Mutesa’s request to be baptised. They denied him baptism on grounds of witchcraft, polygamy and other cultural practices (Taylor 1958, 40). This did not appeal to the *Kabaka*, as the custodian of culture,

hence he resisted the change until death. Mutesa I considered it as imposing foreign authority over him instead of engaging in dialogue. This relates to what Ukpong calls phase one in his hermeneutic process. He asserts that the missionaries in the 19th and 20th centuries condemned African religion and culture as “demonic and immoral and therefore to be exterminated before Christianity could take root in Africa” (Ukpong 2000, 12). There was a clash of two cultures, where the missionaries saw themselves as superior in a superior Kingdom. The *Kabaka* was careful not to lose his power to the hands of the missionaries and betray his cultural heritage. The missionaries, as noted by Rowe (2002, 56), came with little sense of adapting to the foreign culture, believing that they would just change the culture and make it their own. Second, they also thought that they had been invited to teach their religion, live like Europeans and teach their way of life, a move to which the Baganda authorities were not willing to adapt. Cultural invasion, as noted above, is a theory of anti-dialogical action where the “the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in disrespect of the latter’s potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression” (Freire 1993, 133). Both missionaries and the *Kabaka* had varying interests. The *Kabaka*’s intention was to use “the missionaries’ technical abilities to strengthen the military force but he also expected them to fit into the Ganda hierarchy as a special class of technical employees and to conform to Ganda laws of behaviour just as the other expatriates (Arabs, Zanzibari, and Sudanese) had done” (Jowe 2002, 56). These contradictions persisted throughout most of the missionary period in Buganda. Freire (1993, 60) notes that one of the major aspects of liberating education is that at the outset the teacher/student contradictions have to be solved if there is to be freedom in learning. This inability or unwillingness to solve the contradictions caused resistance and suspicion between the *Kabaka* and the missionaries.

For example Jowe (2002, 53) describes a situation that emerged between the *Kabaka* and the missionaries.

Mutesa was disgusted with the men who had come on Stanley’s recommendation. He saw them as difficult, unsympathetic men, who abruptly refused his request that they get down to work, said they would make no fire arms, but had come to explain their religion, and demanded a house, supplies of food and a privileged position above ranking chiefs and courtiers.¹³

¹³ Henry Morton Stanley is the explorer who wrote a letter to England asking for missionaries to come to Uganda. The *Kabaka* expected the missionaries to come with guns to fight against his enemies. But when the missionaries came they were not able to bring the guns but instead they told him they came to preach the gospel. See Titre (2010, 60).

The *Kabaka* reluctantly accepted the missionaries as a compromise since their stay in the palace would add to his prestige and also prove useful in counteracting the Egyptian threat (2002, 53). The diverse interests of the *Kabaka* and the missionaries created a great barrier for transformative dialogue. At a later stage the missionaries demanded to sign a treaty with *Kabaka* Mutesa I, demanding to remain independent agents outside the *Kabaka's* authority. When the *Kabaka* objected to the demand, the two missionaries, Rev. C. T. Wilson and Felkin, felt that the mission was a failure and should be withdrawn (2002, 57). It is evident that such a Church developed with a great deal of resistance and hidden motives both from the missionaries and the Baganda. It is quite impossible for dialogue to happen when communication is not effective. Communication in this case was hindered because of conflicting interests, but more so because power relations, and to some degree, racism.

Besides the contradictions, *Kabaka* Mutesa I permitted missionaries to teach the people how to read and write. The first students were called (*abasomi*) readers. For *Kabaka* Mutesa I, this was primarily a literacy programme, where his people at the palace would be able to learn how to read and write just for prestige and not for transformation. No outsider was allowed to benefit and the teaching was done only in the palace and in the presence of the *Kabaka* for security purposes. Taylor (1958, 36) thought that this was one way the *Kabaka* used his authority to possess the missionaries. He claimed that they were his guests hence nobody was supposed to talk to them or even sell food to them. The *Kabaka* could also have been suspicious of what Freire calls 'cultural invasion' or 'cultural imperialism', a situation where the learner becomes vulnerable to ideas imposed from above by a dominant culture (Mayo 1999, 59). Liberating pedagogy is about questioning. In contrast, the CMS seemed to look at questioning, especially by the *Kabaka*, as time wasting and at the same time undermining their authority. The students (*abasomi*) were supposed to be quiet and listen to the missionaries as they imparted knowledge to students who did not know anything. As Freire notes, education on the side of missionaries was meant to be "a narration exercise" (1993, 52). Taylor (1958, 37) commented that though questions facilitated learning, they made the church service take longer than expected. For Africans, the length of the services was not a problem yet the missionaries wanted to conduct the services the way they were done in England.

Byaruhanga (2008, 59) states that the idea of beginning Christianity in the Kingdom was significant for Uganda because the *Kabaka's* court was looked at with reverence, and regarded as the source of authority on which the political structure rested. Although

Byaruhanga's argument is based on the fact that this enabled the flow of Christianity from top to bottom, I view it to be a disadvantage in the development of servant leadership because it enhanced oppressive codes such as hierarchy, inequality and authoritarianism. It further advanced the banking model of education, which is a top down transmission of knowledge. The Ganda culture was already oppressive to the peasants because of the top down flow of information, hence anything done in the name of liberation needed to use another strategy. In banking education, the teacher chooses the programme content and the students, without any consultation, are required to accept and adapt it (Freire 1993, 54). This arrangement had nothing to do with the local people but with the top leadership. Although Christianity had a liberating factor, this missionary version did not in itself contain the transformative characteristics which could help the learners to reflect critically on the oppressive codes affecting them; hence it did not enhance any freedom of inquiry. The missionaries, instead of codifying the oppressive structures and presenting them to the people, wanted to replace the Ganda culture with the English culture.

CMS Christianity further enhanced patronage because the chiefs used the knowledge they acquired from missionaries to teach their clients. The *Kabaka* in his power controlled the missionary plans and teachings since the first worship space was in his palace. Therefore the first Christians were those that had been modelled under this autocratic leadership. The chiefs controlled the decisions of the first Christians because if a chief was an Anglican, then all the clients had no other choice except to become Anglicans; if he was a Catholic then the same happened. This partly contributed to nominal Christianity because some clients did not put their faith in Christ but became Christians in order to maintain their relationship with the patron. In dialogue there is meant to be respect for the students, which includes their suggestions, because it is through them that change can be possible (Gadotti 1994, 50). In the CMS Christianity there was no sense of respect for the decisions of the learners to choose where to go. They were subjected to the decisions of their masters who chose for them to belong to their religions. Pirouet (1978, 6, 20) notes that the chiefs had small grass thatched huts in their compounds where they sat with their clients. These places later acted like house churches or cells, sometimes independent of the missionaries especially during the time of persecution (Pirouet 1978, 6; 20). Later they came to be known as synagogues. It is out of these synagogues that what is known as the first COUA 'bush schools' emerged. The relationship that existed between the client and patron was that of an inferior – a *mukopi* or servant--to the superior lord; therefore it could not all of a sudden be translated into liberating

pedagogy. It was rather hard for the chief to respect a client or the missionary to respect the learner. Because of this lack of faith, love, humility, hope and confidence in the learners, dialogue was a problem. For Freire, dialogue has to be founded on the above values, coupled with mutual trust among the dialoguers (1993, 72). The relationships were built more on fear than trust. There was no humility since neither of the two parties was willing to have genuine dialogue with the other.

There was a great deal of enthusiasm about the new faith and following Jesus, and as time went on some of the chiefs began to discard their charms and fetishes. This was a way of manipulating the Ganda and changing their traditional way of life. In the Ganda culture charms contained healing properties and were also used to ward off evil from the house to ensure blessings (Roscoe 1911, 279). Therefore throwing them away was tantamount to leading those concerned into a health danger as well as dishonouring the *Kabaka*, who was the custodian of culture. Further, it meant disrespecting the Ganda gods (*balubaale*). According to the Freirian model, before any situation can reach a point of being decodified, it should be presented to the people concerned for analysis and found by them to be oppressive. It is evident that the missionaries had coded culture as evil (oppressive) and had sensitized the learners to discard anything they had in relation to traditional medicine. This form of “cultural imperialism” was intentionally used against the Ganda culture.

As the missionaries began to integrate into the Ganda social structures and also replace their servants from the coast with Ganda boys, they opened up their homes to other people. The *Kabaka* gave them permission to sit with the other chiefs in the council, and then to some extent they started seeing the impact of their teaching because there was some sense of belonging (Taylor 1958, 37). This integration did not foster transformation; the Ganda servants whom they adopted still retained a master/servant relationship. Consequently the missionaries began to adopt the life and attitude of the chiefs, in the pattern of their homes and in their relationship with the *Kabaka*. The *Kabaka* rewarded them with gifts of land, pages and even wives although they refused to take the latter. Instead of Christianity decoding the oppressive code of inequality, the missionaries embraced it in order to win favour from the *Kabaka*. For them to stay in Buganda and relate to the *Kabaka* there had to be some level of compromise for both parties.

For literacy to be effective, according to Freire, it has to be dialogical and transformative, aiming at creating a new world for people to live a life of freedom. Yet as Gee (1996, 38)

notes, no literacy is politically neutral whether it is in the church, state or business; to some extent it continues to “undergird Western hegemony”. As the missionaries taught these young boys, their yearning to govern as masters also increased. They continued to treat them as servants doing all menial and personal work, thus undermining their social status. Mayo (1999, 128), while analysing the work of Freire and Gramsci on adult education, asserts that “adult education initiatives directed towards the emancipation of a particular social group from oppression should be carried out in a manner that does not perpetuate the domestication or subordination of another.” The intention to liberate the Ganda servants resulted in another kind of domestication; it only changed the location of servitude from a fellow Muganda to a white missionary.

Although Christianity continued to spread in Buganda, it still lacked the aspect of praxis. Praxis is “an educational process through which the adult learner is encouraged through critical authentic dialogue, to unveil some of the social contradictions in existence within one’s community and beyond” (Mayo 1999, 74). In this process Mayo further states that a learner has to be part of the process of ongoing critical literacy, which engages him or her in reading the world and the word. It has to be democratic with a collective learning dimension; a student’s voice should not be silenced; and finally, it does not deny the teacher’s authority as long as it does not degenerate into authoritarianism (1999, 74). Therefore it is possible to allude that missionary Christianity had implications of silencing the voice of students and commanding obedience to the teacher while limiting the student from the opportunity of dialogue which leads to true praxis. This is partly evident in the four strategic areas they set to achieve.

Taylor (1958, 43) outlines four major areas that were crucial in the proclamation of the Gospel by the missionaries: Congruence, detachment, demand and crises. They were able to fit together into the community, they emphasised complete detachment from the past life style, it was demanded of the converts that they be different from the other people in terms of growth and obedience to the gospel. Christianity demanded humility where the chief and the servant met together as brothers. This was a hard step to take in the Ganda culture, especially in the kingdom setting, and equally for the missionaries who never wanted to compromise their status in the face of Africans. A few of their readers tried to demonstrate servanthood by going home to help their wives in the plantation, a job which was meant for women. Taylor (1958, 46) reports that “Matthew imitating the humility of Christ was not ashamed of manual labour and was often seen handling the hoe and helping his wife Kikuvnwa in the garden.” As

they had to maintain their position of authority, they verbally taught the humility of Jesus as biblical truth but did not embody it in their lives. This was characteristic of the banking model where it was accepted that the missionaries were to set the rules and African Christians were to merely act them out.

2.2.2 CMS and *Kabaka* Mwanga

A new era of political resistance against missionary Christianity emerged after the death of *Kabaka* Mutesa I on 9th October 1884. *Kabaka* Mwanga was inexperienced and did not have the ability to contain the influence of foreigners and the increasing number of readers the way his father Mutesa I did. Karugire (1977, 8) notes that “Mwanga was taking over a kingdom in which the seeds of disorder and disunity had already been sown by the new religions.” Just like Mutesa I, Mwanga wanted to uphold the cultural heritage of Buganda, which had been invaded by the external influence of the Europeans in the name of spreading Christianity. He also had to deal with religious and political tension, coupled with his young age, which caused him a great deal of unrest (Pirouet 1978, 3). This tension led to the death of the Uganda martyrs in 1886. Titre (2010, 61) in his own assessment asserts “the killing of the Uganda martyrs was not to systematically eliminate the Christian community, but to intimidate, to get rid of rivals to make clear that the *Kabaka* should be obeyed and not foreign missionaries.”

Besides the scholars above, Ward (1991, 87), Taylor (1954, 49) and Faupel (2007, 98-99) note that the persecution resulted from the *Kabaka's* anger at the disobedience of the Christian pages, who were absent when the *Kabaka* wanted their services because they had gone for classes with the missionaries. As earlier noted, the pages were meant to stay in the palace all the time and could only move out at the *Kabaka's* command. Disobedience to the elders was punishable, and worse still was disobeying the *Kabaka*. Religious persecution was not a new phenomenon in Buganda. Earlier in 1876, Mutesa I ordered one hundred Muslims to be killed for refusing, on grounds that the butchers were not circumcised, to eat the meat he had sent them (Tuma 1977, 21). It is a reality that manipulative leaders are very conscious about any sort of “critical thinking, class consciousness” or any revolutionary threat that arises from the oppressed. They respond by using all means including “physical violence to discourage people from thinking” (Freire 1993, 130). For example, the execution during *Kabaka* Mutesa's rule resulted from a realisation that the refusal of the meat by the pages was not just a matter of insubordination but also a confirmation that the Muslims were gradually creating a political crisis in the Kingdom (Byaruhanga 2008, 56). Human sacrifice was

prevalent in the traditional Ganda culture at the request of the gods (*balubaale*), especially for the sustenance of the kingdom. The martyrs however were also accused of rebelling against the *Kabaka* on the assumption that the missionaries had probably turned them into “tools of imperialism”. The young pages were caught in between the battle over colonialism; hence they had to suffer the consequences of the lack of dialogue and unresolved contradictions that had caused misunderstanding between the *Kabaka* and the missionaries. Shortly after this persecution the missionaries were expelled from the Kingdom by a Muslim King who succeeded Mwanga.

It is noted by Taylor (1958, 57) that the people who preserved the church after expulsion of the missionaries were the chiefs who had been converted to Christianity, together with the sub-chiefs (*Batongole*). It was a moment of awakening, a time for the Ganda Christians to break the culture of silence and exploitation by the missionaries to stabilise both the kingdom and the church. This is one way of gaining consciousness in an oppressive situation: decode it and engage in a liberating praxis (Freire 1993, 67). Tuma (1977, 21) writes that “while in their hiding places, they utilised every opportunity to spread the gospel. For the first time in the history of the church in Buganda, the gospel was preached to people outside the capital....” Two oppressive codes were decoded during this time, namely the authoritarianism of the *Kabaka* and his officials, and secondly, ethnicity, which had become rampant in Buganda but was recoded later as will be discussed. Due to persecution, the Baganda were able to engage in dialogue with the *Balalo*, an ethnic group whom they had never respected before. This was simply because they had taken refuge in Ankole which was the locality of the *Balalo*. They preached the gospel to them, an aspect which was later enhanced by the East African Revival.

This period was characterised by wars among the Protestants and Muslims. Finally, this led to the Baganda Anglicans returning Mwanga to power, to use him as a puppet in order to gain dominance. With *Kabaka* Mwanga on the throne, the Baganda Anglicans gained control over Namirembe Hill, which became their headquarters. Up to today that is where the COUA provincial offices are located. The rivalry was aggravated again by European powers that were scrambling for Africa, and who took sides on the basis of denominations. For example, the British, under the leadership of Captain Lugard, helped the Baganda Anglicans to conquer other denominations and gain control over the larger part of the country. Yet the Roman Catholics and Muslims also needed a good share. “This political triumph of Christianity attracted many nominal Christians and Christianity ceased to be a matter of life and death but

rather a fashionable and desirable thing to be part of” (Katarikawe and Wilson 1975, 10). It became a prestigious thing for one to be an Anglican because they were the ones in power; hence it enhanced oppressive codes like power and status. Similarly, becoming a Christian was an avenue for Political advancement (Pirouet 1978, 7). This emerged in the formation of opposing factions between Catholics and Anglicans, with a fierce struggle to gain adherents and win converts (1978, 5). Instead of Christianity becoming a means of liberation where the converted and the missionaries embodied servanthood, it became a battleground among the elites, leaving the ordinary Christians in a dilemma. The whole scene can be interpreted as if these were oppressors were dressed in revolutionists’ clothing. For Freire it means aspiring for revolution as “a means of domination, rather than as a road to liberation” (Freire 1993, 108). Nevertheless, the church was in the hands of the Baganda, something that they had aspired for.¹⁴

Taylor (1954, 59) notes that at this point all chiefs were well known Christian leaders. All the church authority lay in their hands and they used the knowledge that they had acquired from the missionaries to sustain the church as both leaders and counsellors. They commanded their authority as chiefs and the Christians respected them more as chiefs than church leaders. Hence it was difficult to isolate the church from the state because the chief was the priest at the same time. Within this short period, the Ganda chiefs, independent of the missionaries, were able to mobilise funds and construct a church in Namirembe which could house one thousand people (Tuma 1977, 22). Without the missionaries, they began to think and plan together as a community. However, this leadership did not last for long for the missionaries returned to take over the mantle of leadership. Although the chiefs did their best, the missionaries on their return did not have the confidence to hand over leadership nor trust them for any leadership position and were not even willing to nurture them for better leadership. The assumption of the missionaries was partly true because first some chiefs were not very committed; nevertheless they needed some kind of appreciation for holding the banner for Christianity over the difficult years of persecution. Secondly, the missionaries could have assumed that involving Ugandans in leadership would undermine their authority. Thirdly, it was also the peak of negotiations for colonising Uganda and the missionaries were part of the move to take over Uganda as a British colony. The arrival of Bishop Alfred

¹⁴ When the missionaries left, the colonialists came in to fight and take over Uganda. These included the British who favoured the Anglicans, and the French who favoured the Roman Catholics. The Muslims were also part of the struggle under the Arab traders who came from the coast but because of circumcision, their religion was not easily accommodated among the Baganda. Nevertheless they also fought for leadership.

Tucker brought a significant change in relationships between the missionaries and Ganda Christians. Tucker acknowledged that among the Baganda, despite wars and persecution, there were Christians who had a real spiritual life and a zeal for greater knowledge that had been strengthened by persecution. With the exile of their missionaries, they had learned a measure of independence of spirit (Shepherd 1929, 57). There was a sense of appreciation and dialogue that began to be established between Tucker in particular and the Ganda Christians. However as will be noted below, Bishop Tucker maintained his leadership at the top of the pyramid, undermining equality.

2.2.3 Bishop Tucker of Uganda and his ministry in Uganda

Byaruhanga (2008), in his book *Bishop Alfred Robert Tucker and the establishment of the African Anglican Church*, writes of the biography, ministry and mission of Bishop Alfred Tucker in Africa, particularly in Uganda. Although Byaruhanga's work is useful for this research, my focus is quite different because he looks at Bishop Alfred Tucker in terms of Africanisation of the COUA, while my interest is to look at Bishop Tucker from the perspective of empowering servant leadership in the COUA. Tucker arrived in Uganda in 1890 and was surprised that during persecution the Christians had constructed a big church at Namirembe, where he attended his first service. Some of the missionaries had just returned, and at the same time the Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC) led by Captain Lugard was also in the country struggling to have Uganda declared a British protectorate. Tucker spent much of his initial time in Uganda building dialogue among the conflicting parties, which he thought would only be possible after signing the agreement and having Uganda as a British protectorate. Tucker also worked hard to stop the slave trade in Buganda. He negotiated with the chiefs and convinced them to alter the law because it was inconsistent with Christianity. The chiefs responded positively and agreed to have all the slaves released (Shepherd 1929, 89). This was a major step in Tucker's ministry--to give a minority group freedom and value by setting them free from oppression and exploitation.

During his time in Uganda, Tucker partly differed from the other missionaries whose interest was to replace the Ugandan culture with European culture. Tucker, as a Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, was interested in "working with the culture rather than to replace it with European attitudes" (Byaruhanga 2008, 14). It was his desire to see Africans taking on leadership in their own country. It is important to note that Tucker was not just interested in Church leadership alone but also developing good leaders in the civil society, something he

gave much more attention to during his time. The establishment of schools and hospitals offered more social services to the communities, coupled with the schools that offered greater opportunities for evangelism. In his initial days, bishop Tucker endeavoured to live among the people and encouraged services that were in the interest of the people. This was indicative of what Freire views as a transformed dialogical kind of leadership in which a leader endeavors to live in communion with the people (Freire 1993, 111). However, at the same time, it required him to bring missionaries from Europe who would temporarily take on leadership roles as they embarked on preparing Africans for the task, a dream that he never lived to accomplish. In 1893, he brought more missionaries into the country to continue the work of evangelism (Tuma 1978, 23), and by 1904, he had brought in more missionaries than ever before. According to Taylor (1958, 71) there were 79 CMS missionaries in Uganda, which implies that during his time there was no leadership position that was ever entrusted to the hands of an African. This actually undermined Tucker's initial plan of an African church because the more he brought in missionaries, the wider the gap and less the dialogue with the local people.

The danger that Bishop Tucker faced was failure to establish dialogue with his fellow missionaries who wanted to remain in control of the church without establishing an African leadership. Due to this, the oppressive code of racism became evident, leading to failure of communion and hence a complete absence of solidarity and group growth. Although he was in communion with some Africans, it was not the poor he was in touch with but the elite – such as the chiefs. Nevertheless this gave him the ability to move forward with his three phase plan on how to accomplish evangelism and leadership development in Uganda: namely, ordination of African priests (accomplished in 1896); drawing up a constitution of the African Anglican church which gave the missionaries and Ugandan Christians to have equal status; and finally creating an African church within which the missionaries could serve (Byaruhanga 2008, 16).

Bishop Tucker achieved one of his first objectives on 31st January 1891 when he commissioned six catechists for the purposes of taking the Gospel beyond the Anglican headquarters of Mengo (Tuma 1977, 22). For bishop Tucker it was one way to discover the leadership potential that the African had. In addition, for the gospel to make sense it had to go beyond the city centre. So these catechists were sent out as evangelists outside the city

centre. This initiative opened a window for dialogue between the church council¹⁵ members and the missionaries in Mengo. The missionaries who had taken charge of every aspect of church leadership, rendering the council redundant objects, now started to encourage the Ganda Christians to take responsibility in the church, which included taking the readings and assisting in the teaching of those who came to enquire about the Christian faith. In 1893, Tucker ordained seven men as deacons after an intensive training of five months. These were selected from a list of fourteen men who had been suggested by the church council (Byaruhanga 2008, 128; Shepherd 1929, 85). Four of these men were chiefs and three were sons of chiefs. This caused a problem because even after ordination the chiefs never surrendered their administrative offices. This not only hindered transformative dialogue but it also caused a conflict of roles, where a pastor is also the chief at the same time. This further led to the maintenance of a master/servant relationship in the church. Taylor (1958, 69) notes that one chief, Nikodemo Sebwato, as soon as he was ordained, transferred his headquarters from Mukono to Ngogwe for convenience (later in 1895 he went off to war against Bunyoro and contracted pleurisy and came home to die). Baskerville, one of the missionaries, speaks about him as a constant help not only in preaching but also in other practical ways. He noted in his diary

The Sekibobo is opening a market tomorrow which if it succeeds, will be a great boon to me and save much expense in the way of meat. Last year the collection in Church was sh. 455 odd, but it is only fair to say that the great bulk of this was derived from a tusk of ivory brought by the Sekibobo (Taylor 1958, 69).

Sekibobo means the chief of Kyagwe. Although the church was very strategic in getting the chiefs into ministry, it was not the right strategy for developing a firm foundation for servant leaders. Pastoral ministry needed people with a calling, not just availability and popularity. This was a great barrier to decoding some of the oppressive situations, first, because the appropriators of oppression were the church leaders. Secondly, there was no way the local people could express themselves because they were intimidated to speak to the chief, having been nurtured to obey leadership. Just as silence was maintained in the palace, so it continued even in church. This can also be attributed to the English culture, where the Monarch was in charge of choosing the bishops. Third, the bishops were not chosen according to the level of theological education they had but from the connection they had to the leading Universities such as Oxford and Cambridge, in order to fit into the English social structure (Hastings

¹⁵ During the time of persecution when the missionaries realised that they might be expelled any time, they put in place what they called “Mengo Council”. The council was comprised of twelve chiefs. Details are given in Taylor (1958, 56-57) and Shepherd (1929, 84-85).

1986, 55). Teaching the converts how to read and write resided in the powers of the chiefs (Pirouet 1978, 20). It could be possible that for some of the chiefs it was not about teaching people to grow in their Christian faith but the desire to have a literate community, just as an obligation entrusted to them by *Kabaka* Mutesa I. On the contrary, the missionaries had pride in the clergy chiefs because of their contribution to the Church. Since the church could not survive financially without them, they had to maintain their position as lords.¹⁶ It is also worth noting that both the chiefs (clergy) and the missionaries shared the same social status, maintaining a class of the elites above their congregations. This could also be part of the nature of the Church of England, as it was part of the English upper class as noted above. The chiefs could leave their ministerial placements to go and do their chieftainship duties which included fighting, raiding, and whatever duties were assigned to them by the *Kabaka*. Their obedience to the *Kabaka* was given greater priority than the church ministry. This somehow robbed the model of servant leadership of its power and privilege. As noted above, leadership lacked commitment to ministry and solidarity with the people because of the sustained gap between the elites and the poor.

When Nikodemu Sebwato died, he was replaced by another chief, Samwili Mukasa. There was still a great deal of disruption and he too had to go for war. He later gave up his chieftainship and was ordained but the *Katikiro* persuaded him to take up the office again. Taylor (1958, 71) asserts “they did not however, identify ministry with Church leadership, nor suppose that guidance and authority must necessarily rest in clerical hands. Even now there was no feeling that the leaders in the state should not also be the leaders in the church.” For the missionaries this was normal because the Church of England was a state church. First the leaders were appointed by the Prime Minister, irrespective of his religious affiliation, for political as well as ecclesiastical reasons (Slack 1961, 16). Secondly, ecclesiastical advice and final decisions in church law rested with the judicial committee of the House of Parliament (1961, 17). The whole church/state relationship was embedded in the life of the English missionaries. This was a hindrance to solidarity or even dialogue among the chiefs and missionaries and the local Christians. This left a vacuum in the life of the ordinary Christians, who were never visited by a priest at all, because ministry rotated around the chief and missionary.

¹⁶ A chief in Luganda is *omwami* which is also translated lord. And wives are supposed to call their husbands *omwami* meaning lord.

Tucker's next step was to work on the constitution. Through this, an authoritative body could be established that would bring about his vision of a church that would be self-governing with African leadership, and one that would be self-expanding (a church that grows beyond the city). There was considerable resistance to this constitution by the CMS missionaries in Uganda who wanted their own identity and freedom of action and did not want to be submerged into the local church (Ward 1989, 1). The missionaries wanted to be a separate body within the COUA but also maintain their privileges, to be an authority and not subject to African leadership. Hence they rejected the first draft of the constitution that Tucker presented to them because the major component in the constitution was bringing together the missionaries and the church members under the control of an African synod (Byaruhanga 2008, 163-164). Although Bishop Tucker was struggling to build an egalitarian church, the British hegemony remained a great obstacle to his progress. His efforts to decode racism and inequality were continuously frustrated by his fellow missionaries. In 1904, the missionaries gathered in a conference in Mengo to discuss the strength of the COUA. According to Taylor (1954, 61) this meeting affirmed the resistance that existed between the Africans and the British in terms of taking up leadership positions. They asserted that Ugandans are "unfitting", they are "mere children", they are not truthful and only a few of them can be trusted especially in financial matters. The desire for conquest was still at the centre of missionary activity. The aim of conquest as an anti-dialogical theory is to destroy in the oppressed the quality of being considerers of the world. Their critical thinking about reality in their own context is suffocated (Freire 1993, 120). In order for the missionaries to preserve their status, it was resolved that higher education be effected before entrusting Africans with leadership. For oppressors to achieve their objective, they mythicise the world by bringing up a situation that increases alienation and passivity (1993, 120). The kind of education that was going to be offered to Africans was English-oriented and hence by the end of the day, the missionaries would have leaders who adhered to their objectives and way of life.

Bishop Tucker steadily held both the church and state in his powers. For him Uganda was not just a mission ground but rather a potential British protectorate. He also devoted his time to the government, trying to influence it for Protestantism, which partly undermined his original mission and brought the patronage model to surface in his ministry. His involvement is extensively discussed by Hansen in his book *Mission Church and State in Colonial Setting:*

Uganda 1890-1925.¹⁷ Although the agenda of Christianising Uganda and modelling state Christian leaders was good, the motives were more selfish than realistic. It was manipulative. Bishop Tucker dictated that every King in Buganda must be a Protestant and he had to possess the Christian qualities and set a proper example to his subjects (Hansen 1984, 318).¹⁸ This was in line with the fulfilment of Tucker's agenda for education in Uganda where the students were taught in order to build their character (building citizens who are efficient and honest), an idea that conflicted with the goals of his fellow missionaries, who were only interested in efficiency (Byaruhanga 2008, 157-158). To some extent this was an interference with the *Kabaka's* administration, whose job of appointing chiefs was going to be censured by the missionaries. Contrary to the Church of England where the state appointed church leaders, in Uganda the missionaries wanted to elect the state leaders.

The missionaries also demanded that before the chiefs were elected their names should be published in the newspaper for approval by the public. And if they were found immoral, they would not be appointed as chiefs. In 1921 it was noticed that *Kabaka* Daudi Cwa was not living according to the Christian standards and the Bishop felt obliged to stop him from taking Holy Communion (Hansen 1984, 288).¹⁹ They also dictated that all functions of the state, including the coronation of the King, had to be presided over by the Protestant missionaries. This was realised at the coronation of *Kabaka* Daudi Cwa at Budo Hill and also at the funeral of *Kabaka* Mwanga at Namirembe Cathedral and then Kasubi tombs, a burial site for all the Ganda Kings. Budo Hill is an important site for coronation because in Buganda "the *Kabaka* does not rule with the help of god alone but also with the blessing of the ancestors" (Hansen 1984, 321). The bishop's going to officiate at the coronation was partly to show his solidarity with the cultural leadership but also for purposes of extending his empire, power and control. Ward (1998, 415) asserts that "the bishop of Uganda was the third in

¹⁷ Hansen engages in a very lengthy discussion in chapters 16 & 17 (pages 259-366) of his book on the demands for a Christian Nation. The evidence of this kind of church state relationship still exists today.

¹⁸ When *Kabaka* Mwanga died, his young one-year-old son Daudi Cwa succeeded him. The missionaries made sure this little boy was taken care of by Protestants and at the age of 5 years a tutor, J.C.R Sturrock, was appointed to nurture the *king* in the protestant faith. Later when he was of age, he was confirmed by Bishop Tucker. Hansen called what the CMS were doing as Christianisation of centres of power. Partly the aim was to have every leader become a protestant and be under the control of the leadership of the bishop. That is why he dictated on almost all the government policies, including the coronation of kings around the country not only Buganda.

¹⁹ As much as the missionaries attacked the natives over issues of morality, it became very difficult for them to discipline their fellow Europeans who did exactly the same things that Africans were blamed for. Hence this dichotomy frustrated their efforts and the government further ruled out that the private life of the chief cannot be the concern of the government as long as it does not interfere with his work and relationship with the people. This was also more of a fight against the Catholic missionaries whom they did not want to hold any prominent position in the government.

precedence in the colonial state after the Governor and the *Kabaka*.” He further affirms the social and professional links between Government House in Entebbe and the Bishop’s residence in Namirembe. The whole intention of preaching and discipleship had turned into patronage and power, wanting to monopolise the whole government and turn them into Protestants. It is further noted that “the government worked within a framework formed by high degree of religious involvement in politics and Protestant political dominance” (Hastings in Titre 2010, 65). The bishop functioned as the chairperson of all the advisory boards. Archdeacons, CMS secretaries and a number of missionaries were all included, some as ex-officials, forming the majority of all the church committees. The Ugandans were a minority. Further, those who represented the Africans were clergy and chiefs from Buganda and the different kingdoms, leaving out the ordinary Christians (Hansen 1984, 350-354).²⁰ The few clergy by then were also chiefs, ex-chiefs or sons of chiefs although some of them were not in active service and had devoted their service to the church. The bishop was both a missionary and an agent of colonialism. The missionaries advanced what Freire calls the myth of “natural inferiority” of the Ganda and the superiority of the British. This is the dilemma that the COUA inherited. The representation was entirely from the elite class but the ordinary Christians were substantially cut out of the missionary leadership system. The EAR emerged as a resistance movement against the banking model of missionary Christianity. The next section explores the contribution of the *balokole*²¹ in the leadership development of clergy in the COUA.

2.3 The East African Revival

The EAR was pioneered by a group of elites, both missionaries and Africans. Many of the *balokole* leaders such as Simeon Nsibambi, William Nagenda, Festo Kivengere and Erica Sabiiti were all from the ruling elite of society; they maintained dialogue with the elites

²⁰ Hansen explores all the different boards, taking note that no elected African clergy was put on the finance board. The chiefs dominated some of the boards because of their power and influence. The missionaries knew that people would listen to the command of a chief and probably at the order of a white man who always worked hand in hand with the chief. They functioned as the economic backbone of the church, were fundraisers, and the missionaries basically depended on them for all the local income. In the real sense it was not the chiefs who worked but all the wealth came from the efforts of the peasants as mentioned above. It is also important to note that Uganda was one diocese by then, so the representation also came from other kingdoms that were part of the diocese such as Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole.

²¹ Ward (1991, 113) gives a detailed explanation of the origin of the word Balokole and I will quote him in detail “Balokole is a Luganda word meaning ‘the saved people’, a nickname given at first by the detractors of the new movement, but which well expresses the basic theological emphasis - the experience of receiving salvation in Jesus Christ. Those who claim this experience prefer to be known as *ab’oluganda* – brothers and sisters. But the term balokole is widely accepted as a convenient designation for the movement and is so used far beyond Buganda itself. In Gahini- Rwanda the first *balokole* were first named *abaka* meaning those on fire. The movement is East African Revival and the people are called *balokole*.”

although they remained critical of their authority (Ward 1991, 123). According to Ward (1991, 114) “the COUA had grown in terms of numbers and prestige, but at the expense of real faith and genuine commitment to a distinctive Christian life.” For some of the missionaries this was a deep malaise in the life of the church. Dr. Joe Church and Simeon Nsibambi²² are the two pioneers of the EAR. The *balokole* had already been influenced by European education and yet had also experienced the traditional culture. Hence they operated in between the two cultures, neither promoting the African cultural religion nor European culture. The EAR identified three major codes that they thought were causing a problem in the church: racism, authoritarianism and clericalism, which they commonly called (*obukulu*). These are people who believed in naming the world for transformation and were not afraid to face reality.

They used their set values, practical and honest lifestyle of simplicity, and leadership styles as targets to decode the identified codes. They realised that power manifests in social relations, that the codes above are a result of power, and that these had affected the social relations between the leaders and the led. Hence the only way to challenge the power structures was to change the social relation (1999, 26). Challenging the power structures through change of relationships, as will be noted below, helped them to make a difference in the communities.

Abakulu in Luganda means elders or those in authority, whereas *obukulu* is a hierarchical system of authority. According to the *balokole*, *obukulu* had turned into authoritarianism. This was a negative critique of the clergy who valued prestige, respect and power at the expense of their call to serve (Ward 1991, 120-121). The *balokole* did not condemn *Abakulu* but *obukulu*. Hence the *balokole* were looking for a church that could have liberating Christianity, where authority enhances freedom and dialogue, not domination. Gadotti (1994,

²² Simeon Nsibambi is known as the father of the East African Revival in Uganda. He is described by Ward (1991, 194) as a Muganda land owner, who lived at Mengo, near Kampala. Before he became a Christian he worked and pursued his academic career in Mengo. He joined World War 1, later joined African medical corps which was engaged in nursing war casualties and he was later promoted to a sergeant. After his time in the war, he returned to King’s college Budo and through his distinguished abilities in both academic and other activities he was made the head prefect. In Budo he was marked as just, faithful, strict, highly disciplined and generous. He worked in the Kabaka’s government as a chief health officer. Joe Church was a missionary and medical Doctor from England, was stationed at Gahini in Ruanda. Ruanda mission operated as an autonomous mission of the CMS and directed its energies to pioneer evangelism in the Belgian territory of Ruanda Burundi. It stood for an evangelical theological position in regard to the bible, promoting an urgent quest for holiness as understood by the Keswick movement (Ward 2010, 3). Gahini was one of the missionary centres of the diocese of Uganda and it is also believed to be the centre for the spread of the East African Revival through Kigezi into Buganda where it started. The meeting of Nsibambi and Church is said to be an encounter of two broken worlds at the feet of the cross. More details of their lives and testimony see, Osborn, H.H. 2000. *Pioneers of the East African Revival*. Winchester, UK: Apologia Publications.

53) comments about dialogue as “an existential demand which enables communication and allows what is immediate and at hand to be surpassed.” For Gadotti, surpassing the limits of the situation empowers both the students and the educator to reach a complete vision of the context (1994, 53). The vision of the EAR included creating an egalitarian community of believers who would be able to embrace one another in the love of Christ. Church noted that revival “opened a window through the barriers of culture, race and status” (Church 1980, 14). Bishop Langford Smith, who later became a bishop in Nakuru, said that “at the very heart of revival is the statement, the message of reconciliation of man to God, and man to man through Christ crucified, and outstanding among its fruits has been the reconciliation of races and tribes....” (in Ward 2010, 54). This was demonstrated by Joe Church with his new African friends Kosiya Shalita, Yosiya Kinuka, Bulasio Kigozi, Nsibambi and William Nagenda and many others. The uniting factor for them was the fullness of being cleansed in the blood of Jesus, the costly love of Christ (Church 1980, 15). For the *balokole*, the blood of Jesus enabled them to have dialogue with everybody who accepted the call into the fellowship of believers. However, this did not make the *balokole* immune to the banking model, which to some extent became evident sometimes in their aggressiveness in the presentation of the gospel as a way of rebuking sin.

Freire, in his analysis of both the dialogical and banking models, states that the banking model suppresses and inhibits creative power while the dialogical model involves a constant unveiling of reality. Secondly, the banking model maintains the submersion of consciousness while the dialogical model strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality (Freire 1993, 62). While the church leadership continued to submerge the Christians in their world of power and domination, the *balokole* were like an intervention to awaken the consciousness of the people to the reality in their context. It was a time of continuous reflection and critical analysis of the causes and dangers of nominal Christianity in the church. For example, Nsibambi, as he reflected on his own spiritual struggles, reports that after he got saved he realised a number of irregularities within the church and he noted, “before my salvation I considered clergy to be righteous people and I envied them for their robes, wishing I were able to go to the holy table so that I could be as upright as they were. I found out later that some of the men were really defeated individuals” (Osborn 2000, 16). For Nsibambi it was surprising to discover that even the clergy were caught up in some of the oppressive codes, especially clericalism. The revival is noted by Ward (1989, 194) as a personal quest for holiness especially on the part of Nsibambi. Dr Church reflecting on the

moment of his meeting with Nsibambi said, “I remember Nsibambi leaving his chair beside me and kneeling down as the Baganda do, and we took each other’s hands and prayed for the fullness of the Holy Spirit, and God answered that prayer” (Osborn 2000, 25). After the prayer they parted company. Dr. Church went back to Gahini (Rwanda) and Nsibambi remained in Kampala. Evangelism set off both in Kampala and Gahini and the two started exchanging disciples, so that they became mission partners. Nsibambi’s first disciple was Blasio Kigozi (Kigozi was the first *mulokole* to be ordained in the COUA), his brother, whom he sent to Joe Church to help with the work of mission in Rwanda.

The message of the cross was almost taken as a theme for the *balokole*. For the members of the EAR the cross is not an oppressive code but a place of cleansing and rest. Malyamu, when asked what she thinks about the cross, said “for me the cross means ministry, it is responsibility to serve others because that is what Christ accomplished for us and released us to do the same (Interview on 02/05/2011). While Nalugya started by telling me how other *balokole* understand the cross, she said

Some of us think about the cross as a burden which can be equated to children, bad husband, sickness, and other problems that one might be facing. Some people say ‘leave me alone, this is my cross.’ But for me the cross is an empowerment for service, whenever I imagine the cross I am immediately reminded about serving the one who died for me (interview on 05/05/2011).

The centrality of the cross and the blood in the movement raised some contention to the extent that they were accused by some missionaries for putting emphasis on blood more than Christ himself. One missionary complained of their gospel, as “unlovely, an excessive emphasis on sin and such a fixation on blood that it became a new charm or amulet (*nsiriba*)” (Ward 1989, 200). All these complaints were a result of the *balokole* challenging the banking model that held the church leaders in captivity to authority and power. They believed that “mankind was created to walk with God and therefore revival is a walk or a way, and we are people of the way” (Church 1980, 126). For the members of the revival, repentance and a daily coming back to the cross, coupled with walking in the light, helped them to sustain their community life. Freire attributes the authenticity of emerging leaders to their “death” and their being “reborn” through and with the oppressed. For Freire, liberation is impossible except when it is done in communion with each other (Freire 1993, 114). It is this kind of communion and care for each other that held the revival members together.

2.3.1 Beliefs and values

The bond that the *balokole* formed through the blood of Jesus came to be associated with the Ganda ceremony of “blood brotherhood” called *omukago*, although they denied any involvement in human covenants. *Omukago* happened between individuals of different clans or tribes as a way of overcoming hostility or rivalry, and establishing a new relationship of love going deeper than that of natural brothers (Ward 1991, 130-131). This is similar to what happened with the *balokole* because they established very close relationships beyond boundaries of culture, race, clan and tribes and they called each other brother and sister. They “modelled a purified form of traditional Christianity, emphasising their membership in a new clan, recreating old communitarian values into a new form...” (Ward 2010, 7). This whole area of enhancing community life while decoding inequality and exploitation of the marginalised groups has a bearing on revolutionary leadership described by Freire. He mentions “incarnation” of dialogue which comes through communion with one another. It is only in communion that both the leaders and the led can grow together with a strong commitment to praxis (Freire 1993, 111). In the revival, the leaders did not talk about an abstract situation but a concrete one where they were equal participants with the marginalised.

The *balokole* promoted African community life as opposed to individualism, while at the same time it also enhanced freedom of expression, especially for those who had been closed out of particular social classes. For example, the Baganda who could not associate with other tribes and ethnic groups freely opened their homes and lives to all other tribes and races. This model was extended to the *balokole* children, who were trained to live beyond the tribal and clan barriers. An example is cited of Erica Sabiiti’s daughter, who when asked about her clan, tribe and taboo, she responded, tribe - born again (*Oweishemwe*), clan - Salvation (*okujunwa*), taboo - sin (*ekibi*). She commented later in her life that my parents “protected me from encountering the barriers associated with drawing generalisations about any group of people and they protected me from meeting the barriers associated with tribalism early in my life” (Osborn 2000, 237). Although this denied the children their cultural identity, it helped them to plant a seed of equality wherever they went without being conscious of the differences that separated them from other people.

Fellowship enhanced community life because it was a great aspect of the revival. Taylor (1958, 102) associates this with the recovery of the clan system, where people gathered around elders for advice and counsel. The elders of the *balokole* established fellowships

where the entire saved group in a particular location or family gathered as a community for advice, Bible study, prayer and counsel. Roscoe, commenting about the clan system among the Baganda said,

The Baganda are charitable and liberal; no one ever went hungry while the old customs were observed because everyone was welcome to go and sit and share a meal with the equals. Real poverty did not exist. When a member of a clan wished to buy a wife, it was the duty of all other members to help him do so; when a person got into debt, the clan combined to assist him pay the fine (Roscoe in Kalengyo 2006, 130).

An example is given of Blasio Kigozi's brother who settled on his farm estate with all the brethren gathered around him (Ward 2010, 86). The same was noted at Namutamba tea estate, the home of one white missionary Leslie Lea Wilson, who was a strong ally of the Rwanda mission. She opened her estate for many *balokole* to stay and it later became a home for the 'rebels' that were chased from Mukono in 1941, as will be discussed below. The other homes included those of Nsibambi's in Buloba and Mengo, and other elders like Erika Sabiiti. Ward (2010, 83) further acknowledges that the *balokole* were seen as creating a movement among those who had a hunger for fellowship that needed to be fulfilled through a deeper and more fervent faith in the transformation which Christ could bring. Taylor (1958, 100-101) takes note of some other African characteristics like ecstasy and dreams, which played a very important role and were treated as a direct impact of the Spirit of God. Another was the expression of the *balokole* in the song *Tukutendereza* in Luganda meaning "We praise thee." This song, according to Taylor, expresses hilarious joy of an African liberated in Christ and it is repeated over and over. It is sung when two *balokole* or more have met as a way of greeting. It is also sung after a testimony or after a confession.

Testimonies were a very important aspect in the life of revival members. The *balokole* were supposed to be honest and participate in the process of walking in light. Testimonies included confession of sin and restitution as convicted by the Holy Spirit (Church 1980, 117). The believers who did not know how to read the Bible were encouraged to share their testimonies as a way of witnessing. This is an indication of a dialogical movement which does not conquer the oppressed, does not manipulate but empowers their commitment to freedom (Freire 1993, 149). Every member of the fellowship was encouraged to talk as a way of cultivating their social and spiritual freedom.

Unlike the missionaries who were settled at the mission stations, the *balokole* evangelists made an effort to go to the communities, such as kraals, and sat with the pastoralists, sharing the gospel with them using examples from their daily lives. Ward (1991, 125) asserts that “the mobility of *balokole* travelling round from kraal to kraal holding evangelistic meetings and fellowships seemed well adapted to the dynamic pastoral life and to the traditions of giving and receiving hospitality.” They had the conviction that everybody in whichever status needed the gospel and hence it was their responsibility to reach out to the people wherever they were. The *Balalo*, as earlier mentioned, were a people who were marginalised, but as Freire further notes, revolutionary leadership is only possible if there is intentional engagement with the oppressed (Freire 1993, 113). This conviction for equality with all humbled the *balokole* to identify with the people and sit with them as equals. It is noted that the peasants who never had access to higher levels of education and women found great power in the message of the revival, and for them the cross and the confession of sin made a great deal of sense (2010, 9). They spent considerable time in prayer and in reading of scripture because the Bible was their power and authority. *The balokole* filled the gap that could have been filled by the clergy in pastoral care (Taylor 1958, 89). Taylor (1958, 102) understood the revival as the reaffirmation of the responsibility of the laity in church, which had previously been underestimated.

The *balokole* as described by Ward (2010, 6-7) resented politics, refused to take oaths, refused to fall into the Baganda nationalism (instead of saying *Kabaka yekka* – the King alone--for the saved it was *Yesu yekka* – Jesus alone). They somehow subjected themselves to a pietistic position as Taylor notes which separated them sometimes from those who were not members of the group (Taylor 1958, 103). The same issue is further commented upon by Taylor (1958, 103) that the *balokole* withdrew from the real life of the church, especially when it came to questions of social responsibility and politics. He also asserts that in the early years of the revival they also withdrew from church responsibility, which included either being council members or Sunday school teachers. “They treasured coming to church on Sunday morning and had a deeper comprehension of Holy Communion than the other Christians.” Mayo (199, 71) asserts that Freire’s aim of literacy in Brazil was to create space for the oppressed peasants to be participants in the political arena and not just to remain on the periphery of political life. He viewed literacy as a process of conscientisation. The EAR’s effort in the struggle for liberation is undermined if they do not want to take responsibility in the social and political life, as this could have been a target place of influence. However it is

also important to appreciate the other side of the *balokole*, with their involvement in education and education of their children. The *balokole* encouraged children to study; some of them studied theology, emerging as bishops and highly placed clergy in the province, which is a major contribution in the leadership of the church. With the exception of politics, the revival was represented in all sectors including schools, hospitals and civil service. This is one way that the revival later penetrated the church because it constructed a foundation of highly educated young and faithful people. For them, education and cleanliness were priorities. Irrespective of their status, they maintained a life of simplicity and equality with one another. There was need for the oppressed to realise that “they can no longer continue to be things possessed by others; but they can move from consciousness of themselves as oppressed individuals to the consciousness of an oppressed class” (Freire 1993, 155). Although not all the revival members were counted among the marginalised, they played a great supporting role to the less privileged, to bring them into public space. They also established self support projects to educate their children. It is this kind of unity that Freire commends.

Gatu (2010, 58) asserts that “revival brought social advancement through money being diverted from consumption on traditional items such as beer, prostitution and traditional religious practices to investment in the home.” Kasibante (2010, 102) identifies the revival members as having a strong sense of stewardship with regard to money and faithfulness at work. He asserts that “many *balokole* were not wealthy and did not enjoy respect that comes from wealth but they earned their respect through trust.” Because of their sense of community life, every new believer was helped to make a plan and raise money for family sustenance and education of children. The *balokole* looked at education beyond the classroom where they had to learn from the teacher, to educating one another on what it means to live practically in their communities. In other words they supported one another and also remained in communion with each other.

2.3.2 Leadership within the EAR

Ward (2010, 22) reveals a different view of Joe Church, writing how “he never claimed to be a leader or director of a movement which he saw as both spirit led and as fundamentally democratic both in the radical equality of all men and women, black and white, Tutsi and Hutu as sinners needing salvation...” Yet at some point Church said, “It was a humbling time when God convicted me of bossing my African brothers so the five weeks were spent in absolute oneness in Christ...” (Church 1980, 155). Although it is not easy to determine the

type of leadership that existed in the EAR, it is evident that they had a team of people who guided the fellowship. Following this assumption, it is also very clear that oppressive codes such as paternalism and favouritism were to some extent recoded again. Generally their interest was to train evangelists with Christ as the leader. I interviewed one elderly woman, Nalugya, who had taken over leadership from another old man because he was very sick. She said

In our fellowship they ask if there is anyone who is being prompted by the Holy Spirit to take up leadership to come up for prayer. When Taata (father) was very tired and sick he wanted someone to help and take over responsibility of organizing the fellowship. After a time of silence I stood up and went forward, he prayed for me and since then I have been in leadership (Interview on 05/05/2011).

The EAR leadership struggled to maintain cultural synthesis as opposed to cultural invasion. Freire notes that in “cultural synthesis there are no invaders, no imposed models, instead there are actors who critically analyse reality and intervene as subjects in the historical process” (1993, 162). Leadership is open to all and is at the same time voluntary.

Until today the *balokole* do not vote for their leaders within the fellowship. However, in other circles like politics they have been encouraged to vote and some of them have taken up political positions in the government. These examples make it clear that the movement had/has a leadership in place but up to now it does not have a clear policy as to how leaders can be chosen, so leaders stay in office until death. Zabulon Kabaza (a retired head teacher but still in leadership), when interviewed about how leaders emerge, said

Leaders are not chosen or appointed. For instance they call me a leader, but nobody ever said I should lead. One only develops a sense of responsibility, arising out of the love for Jesus, and the way you walk with him, your testimony among the brethren, these are the things that matter (an interview recorded in Muranga 2005, 29).

If anyone campaigned for leadership in the revival, then the brethren would challenge him or her. This partly suggests that the system of leadership was democratic and the leadership was embraced in a team, so that no decision was made by an independent mind but by the group. Lloyd (1979, 36) and Katarikawe and Wilson (1975, 176-178) describe a team as a group of members who were not officially chosen or elected but those to whom the Holy Spirit gave messages to share and who had a gift of preaching. These people at least had some education and training, such as teachers, doctors, pastors, government officials or any other profession in that category. The team members had the responsibility to organise conventions, to discern

any kind of falsehood in the fellowship and to restore unity. Before any gathering, the team members had to arrive earlier than other members to pray. Cultural synthesis discourages individualism and advocates that people work together. Even when they have different views, they can still support each other (Freire 1993, 162).

The leadership involved both men and women. In a leadership that is informed by cultural synthesis people experience new birth, new knowledge and action leading to freedom from alienation (Freire 1993, 162). Revival transformed the patriarchal structures, allowing women to exercise freedom in leadership, which is a way of being reborn into a liberated culture. The revival indeed improved the status of a woman both in the churches and homes. Women were allowed to inherit land, women's ordination, which had been debated for a long time, was finally put into action by Bishop Festo Kivengere (Larsson 2010, 192-193). The structure of the revival began with two people in a local community or a hostel or work place. Hence it was dialogical and open to all, irrespective of their social status. Hunter, who is a revival leader and mobiliser at diocesan level, said

These two are meant to mobilise others, disciplining new converts and helping them to fit into the group of older members of the fellowship. Some of these leaders could move on to lead at parish or diocesan level while others maintain their leadership within their small group depending on how the Holy Spirit guides them (Interview 29/01/2011).

Leaders are only chosen to head different departments, especially when they are hosting a convention or conference, and after that the position is relinquished until perhaps a time when the person can be re-elected at another large gathering. To a great extent, leadership was democratic, dialogical and gender sensitive, but it lacked a clear system of operation, which probably led to improper identification of people's talents.

Even with this resistance to structures in leadership, Ward (1991, 126) states that among the *balokole* there is "a quite tightly knit informal structure of authority based on senior brethren (*ab'olouganda*), who often received the honorary title (*Taata*) Father ... which to some extent has caused feelings of excessive authoritarianism, friction and schism within the revival." It is further important to note that after the *balokole* had been fully incorporated within the church, they experienced internal doctrinal problems that led to the split into different groups. For example in Northern Uganda they were called the trumpeters, a group that gave rise to two Archbishops of the COUA. Janan Luwum (the Archbishop who was executed by Idi Amin--the dictator President of Uganda) and Silvanus Wani (his successor) were later

ordained and served the church with loyalty (Ward 1991, 129). In 1976 Bishop Wani was able to bring reconciliation between the two groups in a church service that he conducted (1991, 129). Much as the *balokole* to some extent recoded the structures that they had decoded, it did not suppress the intention of an egalitarian community. As already noted, cultural synthesis does not deny different opinions as long as the people support each other. The elders always established an environment of creativity in order to prevent alienation for the members.

The major split happened in 1971. Two groups were formed, commonly called the re-awakened (*bazukufu*) and a sleep (*abebafu*), but neither of the groups ever left the COUA until today (Ward 1991, 138). Both groups have maintained the same structures, fellowship, conventions and Bible studies. Even with this schism within the revival, their contribution cannot be underestimated. The first three Archbishops, Erica Sabiiti, Janan Luwum and Silvanus Wani, were strong members of the revival; bishops such as Festo Kivengere, the founder of African Evangelistic Enterprise and later Bishop of Kigezi, were products of the revival. Most of the church leaders today ascribe their spiritual development and growth to the revival. All the conflicts and power struggles that are happening in the COUA today have been attributed to laxity in upholding the values of the revival. It is true that there is an emerging renewal in the COUA, though with a mixture of the traditional revival values and charismatic renewal which I am not going to discuss in this thesis.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have analysed the three models of leadership: the Ganda Kingship model, the CMS model and the EAR model. I have noted that Buganda was a well structured hierarchical Kingdom with the *Kabaka* as the symbol of glory. I also noted that socially the Ganda live under class distinctions depending on where one lies in the social hierarchy but with total submission to the *Kabaka* as the supreme authority and custodian of culture. The Ganda also adopted the banking model, which resulted in manipulating the subjects in order to retain power. In my analysis I have identified codes such as patronage, patriarchy, authoritarianism, and inequality. Finally, it is through the Ganda structures that the missionaries found a home to establish what is now called the COUA.

The establishment of a new religion was received with mixed feelings especially within the palace. The changes of the new religion came with models of cultural invasion that sought to replace the traditional Ganda culture with the English culture. This resulted in religious wars

and conflicts between the different religions but worse still it resulted in martyrdom in 1886. The Ganda saw the missionaries not only as appropriators of the new religion but also as perpetrators of imperialism. Nevertheless the CMS, through Bishop Tucker, initiated formal education through building of schools, which helped to advance the Christian faith. Through resistance of the missionaries and persistence, Tucker was able to put in place a constitution that gave space for the Africans to be involved in leadership.

Through the pedagogy of the elites, some oppressive codes emerged that needed to be decoded if the church was to construct an egalitarian community. The EAR emerged as a resistance movement against the banking model which had been cultivated by both the Ganda culture and the missionaries. The major codes were racism, clericalism and autocracy. Their enthusiasm and evangelistic zeal brought many people into the church, with a deep sense of discipleship. The fellowship, evangelistic zeal and social development, especially in the areas of health and education, created a great sense of community life. Although the EAR was not intended to model church leaders, its contribution to church leadership cannot be underestimated. Most of the clergy and Bishops ascribe their spiritual growth to the EAR. It is because of the revival that the COUA is called an evangelical church. This model is closely related to the Jesus model of servanthood in the gospel of Mark, as shall be discussed in chapter six.

Chapter Three

Theological Education

3.0 Introduction

Theological education in the COUA was a missionary initiative in response to the rising demand for educated clergy in the formative years of the church. It was one of Bishop Tucker's projects to establish formal education both in the church and the civil services. Bishop Tucker however retired in 1911 and died suddenly in 1914 in Westminster, England (Shepherd 1927, 200). When the news of his death reached Mukono, Uganda, the seminary was immediately named Bishop Tucker Memorial College by Daniell Edward, who was the Warden of the College.²³ It was left for the seminary to carry on Bishop Tucker's legacy of training African leaders for an African Church. In my analysis I try to explore the extent to which the theological educators achieved the objective of training African leadership and what exactly Tucker meant when he talked about an African clergy. Engaging with Freire's philosophy of praxis in education, it is evident that Tucker's goal was more about quantity than developing a leadership that can engage in transformation of the church. Praxis is "the relationship between theoretical understanding and critique of society (its historical, ideological, socio-political, and economic influences and structures) and action that seeks to transform individuals and their environments" (Leistyna and Woodrum 1996, 199). In the absence of true praxis there developed a culture of silence where there was no authentic voice except for the missionaries to speak and the Ugandans to listen. Freire (1998b, 504) notes that "the silence of the object society in relation to the director society is repeated in the relationships within the object society itself. Its power elites, silent in the face of the metropolis, silence their own people in turn." This will be evident when we analyse the relationships between the African clergy at the top of the hierarchy and those below them, a structure which has maintained the oppressive code of clericalism.

3.1 Antecedence to formal theological education

As noted in chapter two above, there was an informal programme for preparing church leaders in Namirembe before the establishment of BTTC. In 1893, formal training of clergy started. The first six ordinands were ordained as deacons after five months extensive training.

²³ In 1973 the name changed to Bishop Tucker Theological College, abbreviated BTTC and this is the abbreviation that I am going to use while referring to the college. The title Warden was later replaced by Principal in the 1960s. Hence the Warden was originally the head of the College.

However, the first theological school was established in 1898 and was later moved to Mukono in 1913.²⁴ However, Bishop Tucker did not want to concentrate only on theological education. The establishment of schools was one of his strategies of raising leaders who could work in different sectors of the government.

In 1897 Bishop Tucker invited a CMS educationist with the name of Charles William Hattersley to help in the construction of primary schools in the diocese of Uganda. Even the beginning of formal education embraced the code of inequality, as the very first people to respond to this kind of formal education were chiefs, pastors and catechists. They had already heard about Christianity and some of them reaped the benefits of informal education. Hence to be educated meant raising one's social status and prestige. Bishop Tucker took responsibility to go to the chiefs and mobilise them so that they in turn could mobilise parents to bring children to study. The Prime Minister (*Katikiro*) gave Tucker the chance to go and address the Parliament (*Lukiiko*) about the issues of education. Towards the end of 1898, the number of children in schools had grown nearly to 700 (Tucker 1908, 235; Byaruhanga 2008, 157). The medium of instruction was the vernacular (Luganda). According to Bishop Tucker's policy, there was no desire to turn Ugandans into "Black English men, but rather to strengthen their own national characteristics, and thus to fit and equip them for taking their proper part in the administrative, commercial and industrial life of their own country" (1908, 339-340). After the establishment of primary schools, Tucker went ahead to begin establishing secondary schools. The first school to be built was Mengo Secondary School, and the first student was a son of King Luba (it was in Luba's kingdom that Bishop Hannington was killed in 1885) from Busoga. Both Mengo and Gayaza high School were constructed in 1905 followed by King's College Budo. The medium of communication changed to English because the students being trained were being prepared for higher influential places both in the church and state (Byaruhanga 2008, 158-161). This is in contradiction to what Tucker intended--of not turning the students into Black English men--because these schools were constructed to cater for the children of the elites at the time. These were the chiefs, clergy and other influential citizens (Hansen 1984, 252).²⁵ These schools have remained at the level of catering only to the rich, and today most of the children

²⁴ This information is contained in the report of the Church of Uganda service review commission (SRC) 1978 p.57. Commissioned workers were mainly women who had been allowed to train but not to get ordained.

²⁵ In one of the missionary letters to the secretary of state it is stated "the high schools cater for the sons of chiefs, clergy and other influential natives with object of making Christians and developing Christian character in those who will eventually rule in church and state in this country." Many CMS schools followed later across the country and until today they are counted among the best performing schools in the country.

in these schools belong to ministers, bishops, and other highly placed people in the government. Besides Tucker's tireless efforts to create a better Uganda, he empowered a social hierarchy that could not be decoded even up until today. The poor have no access to good education. This remains a challenge for the church, because most of the church leaders come from families that do not identify with the big schools and they find themselves being undermined by some members of their congregation because of their low education levels. Secondly, the children of the elites who went to good schools were the only ones targetted for better government jobs and good salaries. The poor continued to be disadvantaged even when they struggled through poor schools commonly called "bush schools". Gadotti (1996, 60), while reflecting on the institutional pedagogy,²⁶ noted that "in institutional pedagogy, a teacher should renounce the hierarchy in favour of cooperation and freedom of expression." For him, traditional education lacks training and hence trains "conformists and rebels". Though I may have trouble with rebels, I am certain that traditional education trains students into submission to the teacher, suppresses questioning and in most cases does not provide space for critical thinking about the world around us. The purpose of education according to the pedagogy of the oppressed is to create awareness among the poor oppressed and exploited people by opening their eyes to see the existential situations that affected them, so that they can name the world and act upon it. Transformative education is meant to generate "inquiry, praxis to enable the oppressed to be truly human" (Freire 1993, 53). This was not so with the missionary education, where the poor were neglected and education was given to the rich. Missionary education is to some extent incompatible with the liberating/transformative education that is at the heart of Freire's work. It is also true that what was taught in Uganda was a direct curriculum from Europe, and nothing African, even if part of the instruction was in the vernacular languages. There was no consultation with the learners; their task was to receive, keep and sit for exams. This was a clear reflection of the banking model.

Given the fact that the Europeans wanted to employ people with skills, English became a very important aspect in securing a good job and promotion in the British administration (Byaruhanga 2008, 159). This makes one wonder and doubt the vision of Bishop Tucker to train people in the local language, because it was not going to put them on the job market. Language, according to Freire (1993, 77-78), is meant not only to empower communication but rather to help people to perceive reality and view the world in which they live by

²⁶ This was an idea pioneered by Michael Lobrot a French educationalist whose objective was "to create the school as a non alienating institution." His desire is to see schools that are open and autonomous, where students can learn to manage themselves making them less dependent (Gadotti 1996, 58-63).

identifying the themes (generative themes) that stimulate their awareness. He further asserts that “the language of the people cannot exist without thought; and neither language nor thought can exist without a structure to which they refer” (1993, 77). One is compelled to see this education as oppressive because it was never intended to expose to people the reality of their world nor to reveal the oppressive codes for reflection and analysis. Rather, it was specifically meant to deposit foreign knowledge, a characteristic of the banking model. Those who were educated were to serve the purpose of the British, because they were the employers in both the church and the government and they imparted to people that which suited their own interests. Hence, even in church the time came when the catechists were replaced by trained teachers (Byaruhanga 2008, 159). The elementary vernacular schools, sometimes called “bush schools”, were small schools established near churches in very rural areas. In most cases even the teachers had very minimal education (those called vernacular teachers were mainly those who had received informal education with the missionaries or chiefs) while the European teachers only taught in the schools of the elites. Hence it was a pedagogy of the elite, promoting the agenda of the British while suppressing the talents and interests of the poor. For the purpose of strengthening the educational system, the CMS directed their funding towards strengthening the school system which partly affected the training of ministers. Ward (1989, 3) however notes that after Tucker’s death an appeal was launched for the construction of the college but not for training clergy. Byaruhanga (2008, 212), commenting on the weaknesses of Tucker’s policy, asserts that “his model of an African ministry resulted in poor educational levels especially those of the clergy, and consequently their low status and pay.” He further comments that “the policy was completely divorced from everyday life and thus even with the low status those clergy were not able to meet the social and spiritual needs of their communities.” This section helps us to appreciate the educational gap that exists between the school system and the seminary. Most of the people who were brought to the seminary did not have formal education yet they were being prepared to go and minister to people who had gone through the school system, the elites.

3.2 BTTC: conflicting priorities to Missionary education

When BTTC started in 1913, it had a dual role of training both teachers and clergy. Complete separation of the two happened in 1958 when the church decided to confine itself to the role of training clergy for purposes of ordination and commissioning (SRC 1978, 57). It evident that by 1913 Ugandan Anglicans had not yet been educated to a level of heading a theological institution according to the measures of the missionaries, most likely because of the

concentration on the school system. Hence the leadership and the teaching staff were predominantly white. Tucker had earlier pointed out that “the only way the Africans in Uganda could contribute to civilisation... was to give them western education...” (Byaruhanga 2008, 207). This view had implications for a kind of Christianity and education that was brought by the missionaries. It had the intention of turning the minds of Africans from their true identity to conforming to the Western lifestyle as a means to contribute to civilisation. Bediako (1992, 228), while discussing the subject of theology and identity, asserted that “since the technical and cultural achievements of Europe were now generally confidently identified as fruits of Christianity, it seemed appropriate that to effect the salvation of Africa, Africans must be given the total package of Christianity and European civilisation.” Therefore the issue of theological education was not about relevance but imposing a foreign culture in the form of education, which instead alienated the clergy from their socio-cultural reality. This is closely related to what I discussed in chapter two on cultural invasion, which actually serves the interests of the dominator or oppressor and helps to preserve oppression. Freire (1993, 141) asserts that this “parochial view of reality, a static perception of the world, and the imposition of one world view upon another implies the superiority of the invader and the inferiority of those invaded as well as the imposition of the former...” Although Tucker is looked at as a missionary with a vision for African leadership, he assumed that education and Christianity were all about Western civilisation.

The top administrators of BTTC were missionaries, with Daniell Edward as the first acting warden until 1916. He was then confirmed and served the college until 1927. He was succeeded by John Jones. Although Paulo Mukasa, a graduate from Budo and a son of Ham Mukasa the *Ssekibobo* (Chief of Kyagwe), joined the college as the first African member of staff, the leadership was limited to missionaries alone. Baskerville, while objecting to African leadership, said “to me the greatest objection seems to be proposed equality of Europeans and native²⁷ workers, thereby in some cases placing Europeans under native control” (Taylor 1958, 87). This can be related to Freire’s assumption that in cultural invasion decision-making lies in the hands of the invader but not the invaded (Freire 1993, 141). The Africans on staff had to act in obedience to what was decided upon by their superiors and this affected the output of clergy.

²⁷ The missionaries used the word native whenever they made reference to Ugandan Christians, either clergy or lay. It was a way of isolating themselves from the locals which was partly a form of hierarchy.

Responding to the low status of clergy, Bishop Willis wrote, “The conditions of today call loudly not for a spiritual ministry only, but for an educated ministry, educated at least up to the level of the best educated Buganda lay men. And this we have so far failed to secure” (Ward 1989, 5). As the teachers and other professionals received better education according to European standards, the clergy were limited to what they called “African standards of learning” in the local language. Yet this was a form of oppression because due to this kind of education level, the clergy were never promoted to any position of responsibility, indicating a reflection of the character of a colonial master control. Secondly, what they called vernacular curriculum entailed a direct translation from English to Luganda, but carrying the same meaning as the former. The curriculum despised any form of association with the African context. Yet for Freire, literacy is not about teaching people foreign words to memorise but words that are familiar to their cultural reality (Freire 1998a, 483). Bediako further notes that the missionary approach served to treat “everything pre-Christian as either harmful or at best valueless, and to consider the African once converted from paganism as a sort of tabula rasa on which a wholly new religious psychology was somehow to be imprinted” (Bediako 1992, 225). Freire notes that the elites conceived illiteracy as “a poison herb”, intoxicating and debilitating persons who cannot read or write. Hence eradication of it was akin to a cure to the disease (Freire 1998a, 482). For Freire, teaching men and women to read and write does not help to eliminate the culture of silence, it is only important to allow the poor “to know and create the texts that would express their own thought language at the level of their perception of the world” (1998a, 483).

This attitude did not cause development as far as leadership is concerned. Instead it retarded the life of the church by developing a leadership who lacked critical thinking and were dependent on the mindset of the missionaries. Submission to conditions of oppression alienates the oppressed from being fully human and consequently retards authentic development (Freire 1993, 142). This explains why for a number of years the church was dominated by old men, mainly chiefs and former chiefs, who were unable to respond to the emerging challenges of societal needs and yet were mindful of their status and prestige. For the Europeans, the old men who were recruited without any formal training to join BTTC were better candidates for domination. This is because they were indoctrinated against their own cultural values, values that could bring ministry down to the people and thus expose them to oppressive codes of power, status and prestige. This somehow gave way for the use of the banking model in theological education, where the teacher knows everything and the

students nothing. Christianity dressed in the English culture coupled with Ganda autocracy became the model for theological education in the formative years. This has been passed on to the succeeding generations, including the current church. Freire remarks on the transfer of knowledge from the teacher to the student.

If during the time of my education which in any case should be on going, I begin believing that my teacher is the subject in relation to whom I consider myself to be the object... he/she is the subject who forms me and I am the object formed by him/her, then I put myself in the passive role of one who receives quantities of accumulated knowledge transferred to me by a subject who knows...I will also in my turn become a false subject responsible for the reproduction of further objects (Freire 1998, 30).

As already noted above, the funding of theological education was problematic because much of the resources had been diverted into the school system. This caused a problem of dependence on the missionaries. It is also true to some extent that the lower status of education among the clergy created a social hierarchy where the people trained in other fields were ranked highly while the clergy were low on the scale and therefore not respected at all in matters of education. Gee mentions this same attitude in his work, "The most striking continuity in the history of literacy is the way in which literacy has been used in age after age, to solidify the social hierarchy, empower elites, and ensure that people lower on the hierarchy accept values, norms, and beliefs of the elites, even when it is not in their self interest or group interest to do so" (Gee 1996, 36). The good schools were meant for the children of the elites, who would be trained intentionally to work in the government. The first untrained clergy were chiefs. When it came to formal theological education, it was for the low class and yet they were meant to do ministry among the elites. Besides the social hierarchy in education, the road to ordination, as compared to other school models, was also very complicated. Taylor (1949) calls it "a ladder of slow promotion",

The hierarchy of church's ministry resembles a ladder of slow promotion. A Christian of small educational achievement may be selected by his parish council to study for a year in the little training centre run by his African rural dean, the teacher in charge being a lay reader. Then begins a long process of alternating periods of field work and training, as he passes through the successive stages.....the structure of church organisation, with its ponderous ladder of promotion, is indicative of a policy of safety first, which is the natural product of all such ladders...a man who is working as a catechist or lay reader will be unlikely to venture into even the mildest experiments in his work or worship, when he knows that only by preserving his record untarnished by any suspicion of divergence

from the stock pattern of clerical behaviour can he win the approval of his African rural dean upon whom his further advancement in the church depends (quoted in Ward 1989, 199).²⁸

With this kind of ladder, which required a great deal of patience, most young people found it easier to join the school system than to go to the church. The church system was similar to a society deprived of their power of decision-making and which had to follow what was prescribed by the superiors (Freire 1993, 142). Hence it was a reproduction of a system that they never contributed to forming, but whose prescriptions they had to follow. It was not only the mode of training that hardened the ministry, the relationships also completely undermined equality and the development of servant leadership. Taylor comments on the relationships among clergy and missionaries, which seem not to have changed, even though all of them would have lived as colleagues in ministry.

Toward the chiefs their relationship was that of protégés, not of equals, yet they were expected to be their ecclesiastical counterparts. Their relationship to the missionaries was still fundamentally the same as when they had been their boys and pupils...and the delightful but dangerous paternalism of that house hold was extended into the relations between the missionary and the African clergy. They were still mere children. To match this ordered hierarchy of ministry there was a corresponding organisation of the body of the church itself into a pyramid pattern (Taylor 1958, 76-77).

He further notes that “the architectural metaphor was a European photocopy where the structure created a pyramid, or a series of arches, supporting one great arch while directing the eyes on the apex and an arch leans upon its key stone.” It was this absolute dependence upon the central power, who was then the missionary that created a weakness in the church (Taylor 1958, 78). On the contrary, Bishop Tucker’s legacy of the creation of a self-supporting church never developed at any point because the missionaries did not allow Africans to share the beauty of their cultural heritage to enrich Christianity, imposing on them instead the culture of silence. The culture of silence renders the oppressed voiceless while allowing the oppressor to dominate (Freire 1998b, 503). Africans were used to supporting one another through their particular communities, but instead of building on the existing communal life, Bishop Tucker introduced the same idea with a European terminology (self-supporting). Nthamburi discusses communal life as opposed to individualism, stressing that cutting oneself from one’s communal link means ceasing to exist. He asserts that “the person has life and livelihood in relation to other members of the

²⁸ The little training centres mentioned in the quotation above were not formal centres but were organised to help the catechists to learn the basics of the church, learn how to read and write before being sent to BTTC. They existed at the same time with BTTC. The problem was that one had to work hard to please the Rural Deans before they could finally recommend them to go to BTTC.

extended family” (Nthamburi 2000, 37). The missionaries in their teaching forgot that they were addressing a particular cultural context, with different needs and aspirations. The church as introduced by the missionaries did not fit well into the structure of community village life that the Africans were used to; instead it became a centre for learning the white man’s religion and language. It is noted by Hovil that the church had “a formalised rigid training, over centralised and under resourced.” He further quotes Slater (2002);

While the church was growing numerically, much of it as a result of the Ugandan evangelists, its Ugandan leadership was being tightly controlled by the CMS missionaries. Creative theologising was not encouraged and opportunities for advancement and development were limited. Consequently, the best students chose to enter the teaching profession or other professional occupations instead of entering the ministry. This in turn was compounded by the CMS policy of encouraging self financing in the COUA, which meant that the clergy were poorly paid while teacher’s salaries were higher, being supplemented by government grants to the schools (in Hovil 2005, 229).

The Ugandans did not own the church because nothing contextual was allowed to manifest without the approval of the leadership. The liturgy and the music remained the same, prayers were made for the Queen though the Africans had no idea whom they were praying for, and apart from the translation which was made in Luganda nothing changed. It is noted by Freire (1993, 77) that it is not the right of the organiser of the programme to impose their own view on the people but rather to dialogue with the people about their view in relation to what you think and come up with what works best for the community. This lack of a dialogical approach resulted in a shallow form of Christianity with elements of hypocrisy among both the laity and clergy.

Bishop Willis further tried to improve the quality of theological education by beginning an English course to try and attract high school graduates. But this was also resisted by the old clergy because they thought it was going to mean relinquishing their power and increasing missionary control (Ward 1989, 198). This I believe was the result of not initiating the spirit of a church as a community; rather it was an institution where people work to earn a living. Hence the old clergy were not looking at the young ones as people who were coming to join the ministry as fellow ministers but as competitors who were going to take over their jobs and hence reduce their popularity. According to Nthamburi, the church should be a place that gives all people, irrespective of who they are, a kind of family support socially, emotionally and spiritually, a place where all members feel comfortable to freely express themselves without fear of being ostracised (Nthamburi 2000, 38). In the dialogical theory of

cooperation, dialogue can be achieved through communication irrespective of the diverse levels of the subjects (Freire 1993, 149). The problem that faced both the missionaries and the priests was lack of dialogue, yet the Christian community which they were establishing was to be a place where people were to meet together as a family in a spirit of cooperation.

In 1939 Bishop Stuart managed to convince three Budonians,²⁹ William Nagenda, Elieza Mugimba and Erisa Wakabi, to join Mukono for theological training. As will be explained below, they were expelled later in 1941 after being labelled as “rebels” because of disobedience to the college authorities due to their commitment to the EAR. The lack of educated clergy was a constant source of lament among the Baganda, especially in cases where they had to import bishops from Europe to come and work in Uganda and yet Ugandans, if well educated, were capable of doing the job. In addition, when the time came to elect an African Bishop in 1947 he was not a Muganda (Ward 1991, 104).³⁰ Bishop Aberi Balya from Toro, just like Tucker, believed that “civilisation was the application to the Ugandan situation of European learning, technology and Christianity” (Byaruhanga 2008, 207). And because of his support for the CMS policy he won their favour, leading to his appointment as bishop by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This, however, did not please the Baganda because their problem was not just having a black bishop but a Muganda. As the missionaries were advancing racism, the Africans were also busy advocating for ethnic divides culminating in the superiority of certain tribes. The system was rather mixed up with both racial and ethnic differences because both the Baganda and missionaries felt superior and needed power in their hands.

Irrespective of the struggles in church leadership, the church continued to look for measures of improving the status of church by having well qualified clergy. In 1964 a report of the provincial conference on recruitment (PCOR) to the ordained ministry made some resolutions to empower the ordained ministry. Among other resolutions, firstly, they recognised that the major factor facing the church and hindering young people from joining ministry was low salary. Secondly, it was also resolved that emphasis be put on recruiting professionals, especially teachers, but also those in other professions who could work as tent makers in the church while they kept their jobs. Thirdly it was further resolved that urban and school

²⁹ This is a school called King’s College Buddo mentioned in the previous chapter, which was started by the missionaries for the education of the sons of chiefs.

³⁰ Bishop Balya Aberi was from Toro and was consecrated to be the first African bishop in East Africa in 1947. Details about him can also be found in an article entitled Aberi K. Balya 1877 to 1979: Church of Uganda by Kateeba Tumwine http://www.dacb.org/stories/uganda/balya_ aberi.html . Accessed 4/04/ 2012

ministry be given considerable attention; hence there was need to educate clergy on urban ministry, so that they would be able to take the gospel where people were, including social places, in order to reach the lost sheep. To meet these goals there was also the need to carefully recruit staff for theological colleges who would be able to meet the needs of the candidates who were recruited. Amidst all these resolutions, the underlying factor for all recruits was that “an educated young man shows in his life that he has yielded himself to Jesus Christ. However urgent may be the need to find talented candidates, this factor needs to be kept to the forefront of all recruitment work” (PCOR 1964, 7).³¹ Although yielding to Christ has been the desire for the COUA, there has constantly been a crisis of a transformative pedagogy that releases students from the bondage of silence, to freedom of expression and critical thinking (praxis). Even if people were carefully chosen, they still found a domesticating pedagogy in college that subjected them to being objects, receiving from a non-transformative curriculum that which did not speak into the situation of the Ugandan community. Freire (1993, 160) asserts that while the oppressors would never accept a transformation of structure sufficiently radical to overcome its antagonistic contradictions, they may accept reforms which do not affect their power of decision over the oppressed.

3.3 BTTC and the EAR crisis

In an attempt to achieve some kind of reform in theological education, the EAR, towards the end of 1935, organised a mission to BTTC. This decision followed a proposal by the synod after realising the church’s need for a revival because of nominal Christianity and the declining morals of the church workers. The *balokole* were received with mixed feelings in BTTC. The African clergy still felt the *balokole* were intruding into their private space while the missionaries thought that too much heresy had crept into the church. Ward (1989, 200) states that “Ugandan clergy painfully aware of their declining social prestige and academic limitations were especially upset by the attacks of the Budo educated laymen.” Taylor (1958, 102) asserts that “there was a clash between the great majority of the clergy and the young enthusiasts who sometimes tended to hold the established hierarchy responsible for all the hypocrisy and deadness in the church.”³²

³¹ The abbreviation PCOR refers to the “Provincial Conference on Recruitment.”

³² One of the evangelists, Rev. Blasio Kigozi, prepared to address the synod meeting with his three specific points concerning issues that he understood as crucial for the church. Unfortunately he met his death from a relapsing fever shortly before the synod but his points were addressed. Blasio’s message to the Church of Uganda was (*zukuka*) awake and after his death the word *zukuka* was engraved on his grave.

This approach towards the church leadership supports Ward's contention that to some extent they had "judgemental pride and division, planning programmes independent of the clergy and church activities" (Ward 2010, 83). It was more of a church within the main church. For example, the topics that were explored in Mukono were the same as those already shared in the Kabale convention. There was a danger of making listeners memorise the same message, not only to effect change but also to advance the interests of the teacher (Freire 1993, 53). Each day was spent on one subject and for five days they covered sin, repentance, new birth, separation, the victorious life, and the Holy Spirit. At the end of the mission, forty students confessed their faith in Christ.

Some of the evangelists received comments before they left and one evangelist reported "one person found our gospel unlovely and another warned the bishop that this mission was unsettling his baptised and confirmed students and still some Baganda found it difficult to be preached to by the Banyarwanda³³ cattle men" (Church 1980, 128). The evangelists were also criticised for pride and excessive self confidence.³⁴ Ward (1991, 5) notes the words of J.C. Jones, the Warden of Bishop Tucker by then, who said "they are very young, and have more zeal than tact." Their message was intended to drive the congregation into humility and yet it was more of an attack because of the preconceived mind that Bishop Tucker seminary was the proprietor of clericalism. Ward further states,

The call often made with considerable stridency, for African clergy and European missionaries to confess their sins and come in brokenness³⁵ to the cross, was often resented by leaders in a hierarchical church and by missionaries for whom the boundaries of propriety in their relationship with Africans had been unquestioned in the colonial milieu. The preaching of radical equality between clergy and laity, between Europeans and Africans was threatening... (2010, 6)

Much as Bishop Stuart³⁶ was sceptical about incorporating the members of revival in the life of the church, he saw them as the only source of renewal for the church and hence

³³ The Ganda tribe considers themselves to be superior to all other tribes in Uganda. Hence there was no space in their hearts to commune with people from Rwanda who were known to be cattle keepers in Buganda. It is because of the revival that this conflict was broken and they embraced one another as brothers and sisters.

³⁴ There was confidence in all the believers when they spoke that they have no other way to heaven except by being born again. They emphasised that if others do not run away from sin, hell awaits them.

³⁵ The word brokenness among the *balokole* has no relationship with personal injury but it implies a situation of individual awareness of sin and a return to the cross for repentance. In other words, it means genuine repentance. Ward (1991, 131) adds that "in this awareness all hypocrisy and self justification are done away with."

³⁶ Bishop Stuart was a key supporter of the East African Revival and was the one who hosted both white and black evangelists in his house for a reconciliation meeting before going for the mission in Mukono. He replaced Bishop Tucker as the second bishop of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire. He was very keen to encourage young men from the revival to join the ministry.

encouraged some of them to join Bishop Tucker College for ordained ministry. William Nagenda, a leader of the mission school in Rwanda, was among the first students to join the college. He found a new Warden, J.C. Jones from England, who was completely unsympathetic with the revival values. Jones is described by Ward (1989, 202) as “a liberal evangelical, a scholar open to biblical criticism of a moderate kind, who valued Catholic elements in the Anglican Church, put emphasis on the historic creeds and on beauty in order and worship but above all disliked the emotionalism of the revival.” Nagenda, after his first year at the college, was overwhelmed by the suppression of the students who were in the EAR and it became very hard for him to adjust from the revival life of fellowship, evangelism and prayer he had been used to in the mission field. Hence he made a comment to Dr. Church who was his mentor, “one can easily get cold here before he realises” (Ward 1989, 12). Ward also describes Nagenda as “a son of a chief, a sophisticated, educated young man, at ease in the company of Europeans, full of self confidence and vigour” (1989, 12). Nagenda decided to come out openly, and shared his vision of starting a fellowship with fellow students who were born again. They were joined by the college chaplain and a young missionary, Bill Butler. However, before starting the fellowship Nagenda wrote to Bishop Stuart to inform him about his status in the revival, but the bishop’s response did not encourage him. The bishop criticised Nagenda for his critical spirit and told him how he would not allow him to return to Gahini after training. Ward (1989, 204) interprets the statement of the bishop as telling Nagenda that he will send him to a parish to work under a trusted Muganda clergy who is not even a *Mulokole*. It was during this period that the bishop decided to transfer Butler, who was a close friend to the *balokole* in the college, to another faraway mission station.

The formation of the fellowship in the theological college led to a strained relationship between the college administration and the students. The fellowship was scheduled in such a way that the *balokole* had to wake up at 4.00 am for prayer, followed by evangelism to the fellow students at 6.00 am. This widened the gap between the older clergy and the ordinands, as they accused them of disrespect. Irrespective of the strict rules in the college, the EAR members were determined to take a revolutionary stance to change the status of the college. Following this view I suppose that it is difficult to analyse the *balokole*’s status as liberators while their preaching in some cases was more confrontational with no communion and hence lack of dialogue. I would also imagine it was a kind of dualism--which embraces both the oppressor’s and liberator’s techniques. With regard to such a situation, Freire states that they

are likely to run into a danger that might give rise to sectarianism leading to installation of bureaucracies which undermine the revolution (Freire 1993, 108). It can be assumed that throughout the life of the revival, the heart for liberation was embraced, but the EAR lacked a clear approach and were not willing to listen to those whom they had already categorised as sinners. In their preaching, they attacked sins including theft, adultery, and secret drinking which they saw taking place in the college (Ward 1989, 13). Yet at the same time they disrupted the peace and programmes of the college. In addition, the students also openly challenged the Warden's Bible teaching in class, and in one of the classes some refused to take notes. This was humiliating to the Principal, who was supposed to be respected by theological students as a superior. In an interview, Wakabi, one of the students, said "the Principal lost peace and even at a time we were studying the story of Abraham offering Isaac, his modernist views were seriously questioned in that lecture" (recorded interview in Ward 1989, 204). This also depicts a problem of teacher/student relationship. There was rigidity on the side of the missionaries, who engaged with the banking model to silence the students. They were not ready to be questioned.

The tradition was that a student is not meant to challenge the teacher but to listen. This is a true characteristic of the banking model. Freire (1993, 54) outlines several characteristics of the banking model which include "the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which he/she sets in opposition to the freedom of the students." This policy had permeated the life of the college, and as a result, challenging a teacher was something they were not prepared to accommodate. The only solution was to find a way of forcing the students to leave in order to advance their banking model without being challenged. Since the college environment was not open to questioning, the college branded such students (*abajeemu*) rebels. Yet the students believed in themselves as liberators and were not prepared to be intimidated and denied their vision of liberating the church.³⁷ They were aware that they joined the group as representatives of the liberation group and therefore were not willing to betray their colleagues. The Principal made rules prohibiting the *balokole* from waking up before 6.00am, holding any meeting without permission, and preaching in the college compound. Students were also forbidden to meet together in groups exceeding three in number. They were supposed to abide by these rules by either signing their names or leaving the seminary (Buttler 1976, 62; Ward 1989, 13).

³⁷ This has implications of bandits as will be noted in chapter six on the gospel of Mark. Every institution that is engaged with the banking model will always find a way of dealing with revolutionaries, in order to frustrate their efforts.

A total of 26 students were expelled, along with the chaplain, three wives (these were wives of students Nagenda, Musajjakaawa and Wakabi) and three trainee primary school teachers. After their expulsion even the preaching licences were withdrawn to prevent them from becoming a problem to the church again. When the Archdeacon persuaded them to apologise and accept the rules, the students refused, saying that repenting to the principal would mean disobedience to God. They would rather disobey man and preach the gospel than disobey God by endorsing rules that were against the preaching of the gospel. As Ward comments, the expulsion of the students was a great blow to the church because those expelled were the most intellectually and spiritually alert (Ward 1989, 14). The church valued maintaining power and authority and, as noted above, the interest of the college leadership was to have students who could be silenced, adapt to their style of teaching and be manageable in all ways.

Although Bishop Stuart seemed to be sympathetic to the *balokole*, he did not declare his stand publicly but remained neutral and defended the Principal of the college for the action he took to expel the students. Despite the *balokole* critique of the COUA, they all believed that they were called to witness from within the church not outside the church. Some of the students, such as Nagenda,³⁸ after expulsion believed that God had called them to be lay evangelists and therefore were not hurt by the experience but took it as an opportunity to preach the gospel. It is noted that if these men had stayed in the parishes as priests, they would not have reached as many people as they did when they witnessed as lay evangelists (Katarikawe and Wilson 1975, 110). Though their preaching licences had been withdrawn, they continued to preach in the communities and marketplaces, unveiling scripture to those who had never experienced it before. There was a commitment among the EAR to transform the church from within and live to see the fruits of their struggle.

Following this incident the bishop decided to call an emergency diocesan council to discuss what he called the greatest crisis in the COUA. The council meeting worked on rules that would govern the COUA. However the bishop remained suspicious that the *balokole* might walk out of the church and he said “it would be a very sad day for the church if they (*balokole*) are driven out and they never will be as long as I am bishop, but I cannot prevent them from driving themselves out” (Farrimond 2010, 148). This assertion indicates the sympathetic position of the bishop to the *balokole* but he could not take a stand to help them

³⁸ Nagenda William later became a prominent evangelist together with Bishop Festo Kivengere.

because he wanted to please the majority. Furthermore, he did not want his authority as bishop to be undermined. Therefore the rules were put in place and in a way they were meant to halt the ministry of the *balokole*. Katarikawe and Wilson (1975, 110 extracted from the diocesan gazette, Vol 1, no 4, 3.42) outline these rules as follows:

The revelation of shameful sins either in confession or in preaching was strictly forbidden. No reports of wrong doing against deacons or other servants of the church were to be made unless such charges were first referred to the bishop. Baptism, Communion and Christian marriage were granted to all members in good standing, no matter whether or not they had publicly confessed their sins. Any person denied these rights could appeal to the Rural Dean or beyond. No preaching missions were to be carried out without the express permission of the Rural Dean of the area concerned, and the school missions would require the permission of the bishop. Priests posted to the deaneries were to be acceptable to the rural dean. Finally, servants of the church were reminded that they feed the whole flock of Christ as a whole and not one section of it.

These rules were circulated around the churches in Uganda and used against the *balokole* which made some European *balokole* contemplate starting a new church, a suggestion that the Africans rejected completely. For example Erica Sabiiti (who later became the first black Archbishop of Uganda Rwanda Burundi and Boga Zaire) said,

The people of the COUA do love their church much and wouldn't listen to anyone who was supposed to be trying to leave the church....the people of Uganda have seen those who failed to reform the COUA by leaving it, and they would be afraid of us if they supposed that we are trying to form a new church (Ward 1991, 123).

It was also noted that the loyalty of the *balokole* was more to the church and not always obedience to the hierarchy (Farrimond 2010, 155).

In response to the crisis, the *balokole* made a resolution which they called the Kabale report reaffirming that “the COUA is our Church; we are members and love it and therefore there is no question of forming a new church....and it was wrong to chase the students from the seminary” (Katarikawe and Wilson 1975, 111). In their report they also asked the bishop to reconsider the rules because they were hindering the ministry of evangelism. The Bishop responded to them in a paper while addressing the Uganda missionaries' conference entitled “the danger of schism”. He condemned the *balokole's* unwillingness to compromise and that they had continue working with the rebel students who had been expelled from Mukono. It would have been betrayal most likely if the *balokole* students chose to obey the authorities and not the legacy of the revival. The revival was a liberation movement that was aware of

their objectives and what they wanted to achieve. They were not interested in turning back except to use the past events for a better future. In problem posing education, humanity determines to move forward transcending all obstacles in order to build a better future (Freire 1993, 65). The revival members were determined to transform the church and they used every opportunity as a point of departure to advance the gospel.

It is worth noting that the battles between the church and the *balokole* helped to spread the gospel further, especially to those who did not come to church; the gospel found them in their homes. Fellowship and Bible study meetings took place in people's homes and the gospel spread day by day. Community life was strengthened, new relationships were developed and the believers grew together as a team. What happened in BTTC affected all the *balokole* who were serving in the church either as ordained or lay especially in terms of posting. The bishop, in his endeavour to frustrate and punish the *balokole* priests, decided to post them to very remote parishes, but they used that as an opportunity to preach the gospel to the unreached, supported by their fellow *balokole* in those particular locations. For example one *mulokole* in Busoga called Isabirye was posted in Lwangosya, which was very deep in the rural area South-West of Busoga, as a way for the church to discipline him for disobeying the superiors. He went there but still remained loyal to the revival. Many people were transformed because, to Isabirye, God had sent him with his wife to different parts of Busoga to preach the gospel (Farrimond 2010, 152). For some, the situation of serving under authoritarian clergy became unbearable and they had to give up, thereby remaining free evangelists. An example is given of Erasto Kato who was posted under a clergyman who was his contemporary in BTTC. Kato later resigned his post to work as a lay evangelist because they were completely incompatible (Ward 1991 215). The success of the *balokole* was embedded in their humility before God, dialogue with people of all categories and commitment to their cause of the gospel of liberation irrespective of the harsh conditions they were sometimes subjected to by their superiors. For Freire, not many liberators have such courageous encounters and yet "solidarity is born only when leaders witness to it by their humble, loving and courageous encounter" (Freire 1993, 110). The interest of the EAR was to nurture new life in the COUA and not to destroy it as they assumed their oppressors in the hierarchy did.

In order to strengthen the members of the EAR during the time of conflict with the church, the leaders of the revival decided to set up more conferences where they concentrated on discipleship, in order to equip the believers and distract their attention from the conflict. What

held the church together during this time was that the *balokole* saw no question of rivalry for leadership. All they knew was that the church was spiritually dead and they themselves were dead in it until Jesus found them. This made them stay in the church until they saw the impact of their ministry in people's lives (Katarikawe and Wilson 1975, 117). In 1945, the *balokole* organised a conference in Kabale which brought together 15,000 people from Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and Sudan. The theme of the conference was "Jesus satisfies" (*Yesu namara*) and this became a great testimony of the work that God had done during the crisis. Through these conferences the *balokole* devoted time to educating their own people and sending them out, instead of depending on theological education in BTTC. It was at this time that young couples like Festo Kivengere and Merab his wife with their little children decided to go as missionaries to Tanzania. Some people went to Kenya, Congo and Sudan. Four of the couples that went out of the country for mission were the named rebels from Mukono. The fruit of this crisis is still being celebrated in the COUA today because some of the men that were accused of heresy in the revival turned out to be great leaders and evangelists in the COUA and beyond. There is a time when Freire called himself a militant educator who did not separate his task from the liberation cause of the oppressed (Gadotti 1994, 47). In order to pursue the cause of revival, the *balokole* needed to become militant otherwise they would have given up.

The *balokole* started to slowly gain acceptance with the change of leadership. Bishop Stuart went back to England, and Jones, who was the Principal of BTTC, was replaced by John Taylor. The missionary team in the United Kingdom chose to send John Taylor to come and lead the college, purposely to open up space for the revival to become established. Taylor was a former president of Cambridge University Union, with sound evangelical principles, and hence one who could easily be accepted in the COUA. His presence in the college made tremendous changes and ended the years of trauma and conflict between the church and the *balokole*. The *balokole* gained acceptance and the revival was able to penetrate into the life of the whole church (Ward 1989, 14). Because of the crisis and the lifestyle of the clergy, the *balokole* had prohibited their members from joining the ordained ministry, but by the 1950s the majority of the students in BTTC were members of the EAR.

3.4 From BTTC to UCU – 1958-1997

As the numbers started increasing in Mukono, there developed a need to begin new colleges as well as increase the number of courses. The college's expansion can be analysed on three levels: the move from vernacular courses to English, the move to offer higher diplomas and

degrees, and expansion of other sister colleges within the country. Since 1958 the duration of courses and qualifications of entry became much clearer than before. For example, the recruits who had a junior certificate in education took an intensive period of 6 years, while those who had trained as teachers only joined the course for ordination in the last two years of the programme. In 1961 a diploma course was started and diplomas were awarded by the Association of Theological Colleges in Eastern Africa (ATEA). This was an ecumenical qualification because it combined the students from different denominations with common academic subjects in Eastern Africa. The entrants for this course were holders of the East African Certificate of Education. In 1966, the Provincial board of Education of the COU Rwanda, Burundi and Boga-Zaire awarded a Provincial Certificate in Theological studies, which was a three-year residential course. The candidates for this course had a pass in English at least at the level of East African Certificate of Education and those who did not pass were awarded General Ordination Certificate. In the bid to increase educated clergy for purposes of teaching at BTTC, a Provincial scholarship panel was set up and a good number of scholars were sent to Europe to acquire higher qualifications (SRC 1978, 57-61).³⁹ Though this was a positive move, it was a step to quieten the Africans. This is something Freire calls the nutritionist view of knowledge. It was knowledge deposited into the Africans to silence their hunger and thirst (1998a, 482). Griffiths, writing on the relevance of theological education, quoted Harvie Conn, who looked at Western education as “educational circumcision” which initiates students into a new cultural context. For Conn it is “a form and system of education inherited from the West which lays too heavy an emphasis on historical theological analysis of a highly academic character, whose aim is to transmit the logical knowledge and tradition as a complete whole, not sufficiently concerned with the concrete problems of the people” (Conn in Griffiths 1990, 9). He further notes that “the Europeans have failed to grant Africans theological freedom and independence which to him is nothing other than theological imperialism” (Chao in Griffiths 1990, 9). The missionaries propagated their education in partnership with Ugandans but as Freire notes “it is absolutely essential for the oppressed to participate in the revolutionary process with an increasingly critical awareness of their role as subjects of the transformation” (Freire 1993, 108). This was not the case with Ugandans because they had already been assured by Bishop Tucker that the only way to civilisation was to take up western education, hence they had no thought about contextualisation. For the Africans, sending students to Europe for higher degrees was a form

³⁹ The information on courses in this section is from the report of the Church of Uganda service review commission 1978.

of liberation. Yet those who were sent came back influenced by the western culture and thus had become irrelevant to the church. After their return, they were reserved about contextualising education. Instead they taught exactly what they had learn from the West.

Ward (1989, 24) acknowledges that during the bloody days of dictator president Idi Amin, some of the expatriates left the country and the college became truly Ugandan, with at least two thirds of the staff Ugandan as compared to 1960 when two thirds were expatriates. The college was also affected by the emergence of dioceses and the need for well-educated Bishops. Mukono became the resource ground where they could obtain the bishops, resulting in a rapid turnover of principals.⁴⁰ As the demand arose for more dioceses, more parishes emerged and communities needed to have their own clergy, which Mukono did not have the capacity to meet. BTTC certainly grew stronger in the 1980s. Student numbers rose and new courses began, but Ward also noticed one great danger that was likely to befall BTTC if they did not integrate training more deeply into the life of the community, especially in areas of worship, pastoral care, evangelism and preaching.

There is always a danger that the search for ever higher academic standards may make theological education less related to the church...for the aim of higher theological education must always be able to speak more clearly and more profoundly and more relevantly to the real needs of church and society. Simply to avoid raising academic standards does not in itself produce greater integration into the local community but may rather condemn theological education to sterility and inability to respond to the changing needs (Ward 1989, 31).

The issue of relevance was still a problem because the African staff did not allow their own culture to inform their understanding and interpretation of theology. Griffiths (1990, 11) notes that theological institutions need “educators in men and women who somehow achieve street credibility and not just library credibility... if we are to restore relevance to theological education.” He looks out for grassroots educators who can practice theology at the bedside, in the street, by the grave, in the home as well as in the pulpit, thus theologians who have both

⁴⁰ Ward notes that in 1969, there were 9 dioceses but by the 1980s, the number of dioceses had risen to 20. The rapid growth of the church was partly attributed to the loss of credibility in the government political institutions hence people found more security in the church. This led to the demand of ordained clergy and the establishment of new dioceses to cater for rising numbers of Christians. In the 1980s the educated staff included Misaeri Kauma who became the Bishop of Namirembe, Amos Betungura who became Bishop of Ankole, Yustus Ruhindi who became Bishop of Bunyoro-Kitara and Eustace Kamaniyire who became Bishop of Ruwenzori. All these were also Principals of BTTC who left the college upon their election. Eliphaaz Maari became Principal in the 1980s but when he went for studies, the office was occupied by Obaikol Charles who later became Bishop of Soroti and William Magambo who is also currently retired Bishop. Maari returned and resumed office as Principal until 1997 when the college became a University. He then became the Acting Vice Chancellor from 1997-2000. Maari also became Assistant Bishop of Kampala Diocese. This justifies the point that BTTC has been a training ground for Bishops of the Church of Uganda.

library and local church credibility (Griffiths 1990, 12). Lack of transformation became evident when the Ugandan scholars from Europe resorted to duplicating a foreign style of education, using their notes from the United Kingdom without interpreting them to suit the context. Kewaza, a former student of BTTC, stated that “in the 1980s the diploma was not preparing people for ministry, there were no practical subjects, it was irrelevant to our situation here” (in Hovil 2005, 234). He further qualified the reason for this irrelevance:

What was taught at Cambridge was taught exactly the same here and was irrelevant. So and so says this, the student is busy copying the notes, cramming to pass the exam and go to the field. Macquarrie never helps in Mityana, nor Bultmann in Masaka. At that time there was no relating it to African culture. What people were saying in America was important, and they were quoting them for the poor students (Hovil 2005, 235).

There was a missed opportunity to create a transformative pedagogy that could release the Ugandan scholars to appreciate their own context and be able to adjust to a curriculum that was fitting for their own communities. The same kind of teaching was passed on to the regional colleges who owed their allegiance to BTTC (now BTSdT) as the mother college.⁴¹ Another social hierarchy was formed which limits creativity. This kind of bureaucracy is very problematic for the development of these colleges, and the members of staff feel a sense of stress and lack of freedom of expression. On the same note, BTSdT is also controlled by the hierarchy of Ugandan Christian University (UCU) hence it cannot effect any decision without the endorsement of the University Council. During my visit to one of the UCU campuses the Principal noted that

They undermine whatever we say and the bureaucracy is so stressful. We cannot get enough students for theology because most of them want to go to the main campus and those who come here are not given scholarships yet even the few that we have cannot be registered because the policy suggests a certain number which we don't have (Interview on 06/07/2010).

Developing leaders for servanthood from such a background of patronage has become a great challenge, as has the desire for academic excellence and the need for contextualisation and critical thinking. Ward's comment above on the search for academic excellence relates to achieving a model of higher theological education that is not integrated into the culture of the people and the life of the local church. This is partly being done through teaching courses

⁴¹ The regional colleges include Bishop Usher Wilson Buwalasi, Uganda Martyr's seminary Namugongo, Bishop Barham in Kabale, Bishop Barya College in Fort Portal, Archbishop Luwum Memorial College in Gulu and St. Paul McAllister College Bushenyi. Some of these colleges have now acquired new status as Uganda Christian University Campuses. They were created originally to meet the rising demand of clergy in different regions of the country.

such as African Church history, African traditional religions, and African theology but they are still being taught as courses in books for information, and are not yet integrated into the life of the community--hence they are still constructing the road to contextualisation. The challenge is to bring some of these courses to speak the language of the people at the grass roots. The seminaries have done great work in empowering theologians intellectually but it is still a problem to transform the knowledge into people's culture and speak into their situations. Developing a pedagogy that embodies discipleship is one of the viable means of forming leaders who can speak to the people in their different situations regardless of who they are in terms of social status, gender or ethnic group. Ankrah quotes a missionary who said that "If the church is to grow in East Africa, it will call for the most alert, sensitive, humble servants, men and women in whom the overtones of power are dulled by a commitment to a supra-national Lord" (1999, 27).⁴² To some extent, the situation in the COUA corresponds to an anti-dialogical characteristic "conquest" where individuals aim at conquering others and increasing their status by all means irrespective of the circumstances (Freire 1993, 119). Every aspect of church life seems to be engaged in conquering and being conquered hence the leadership is engaged in struggles for power in order to reach their aspirations. Oppression today is embedded in the very leaders who have been democratically chosen by the people. The Christians are leaderless in terms of servanthood.

3.5 Uganda Christian University (UCU) and Ministerial formation today

Kalengyo (quoted in Hovil 2005, 213) asserts that "If the church is to have an impact on society the thing to emphasise is theological education. Once it is weak then the church will become weak. Once it is strong, the church will become strong." I do think given the above background, that the church has tried work at educating clergy but the problem still remains at the point of translating what is taught into the daily life of the communities. It is true that some of the bishops, due to lack of funds but also wanting a quick means to increase the number of clergy, train clergy at their diocesan centres for a short period of time. This has completely lowered the quality of the clergy because their ordination is taken as an act of favour, hence they serve the bishop and not the community. But it is also true that even when numbers are a significant issue, the major problem lies within the pedagogy and its lack of emphasis on praxis. As long as the pedagogy is still oppressive and wrapped up in western culture it will be hard to transform leadership at the grassroots.

⁴² Ankrah Kodwo presented a paper during the Janani Luwum Memorial day entitled, Janani Luwum in Pursuit of Compassionate Leadership in *Archbishop Janani Luwum Memorial Lectures: A Twentieth Century Christian Martyr of the Church of Uganda*. Place: Centenary Publishing House LTD, 27. It was published in 1999.

In 1997 what was known as Bishop Tucker Theological College (BTTC) became Uganda Christian University (UCU) (Provincial Assembly 1996 minute 15a). With the emergence of the University, BTTC now became Bishop Tucker School of Divinity and Theology (BTSdT). The University which started with 250 students now has 10,000 students with different programmes--both undergraduate and postgraduate--in disciplines of Law, Business, Information Technology, Agricultural Science, Social Work and Nursing. This growth however did not affect the Bishop Tucker School of Theology and Divinity because most of the students are sponsored by the dioceses not parents (Noll 2010, 4).⁴³ Noll takes note of the rapid growth of Christians in Africa as a whole and specifically East Africa, Rwanda, Burundi and Congo and in West Africa Nigeria and Ghana. Yet all these countries suffer the shortage of educated clergy, mainly in urban congregations where they expect educated leadership, due to either staffing or underfunding (2010, 3). In response to this problem, Uganda Christian University started a scholarship programme in 2006 which offered tuition scholarships to 3 students per year in each diocese on a three year trial basis. In 2010 the Anglican Communion scholarship fund was established to further the above goal. Although the scholarships have not been sufficient, the School has managed to raise the number of theological students from 120 to 180. Bishop Joel Obetia, who is the current chairman of the commission for theological education and ministerial formation, commended the University for the great work done to prepare servants and labourers to send into the ripe fields of Uganda (2010, 6).

Dr. Olivia Banja (Noll 2010, 8-11), the Dean of the School, while appreciating the growth of the School through provision of scholarships, mentions three core values that hold the school together: prayer, studying God's word and Christian fellowship. She further appreciates the faculty of mature and faithful Christian scholars, for providing the best possible pastoral theological education based emphatically on the study of scriptures. She notes that the school exists "To train men and women for pastoral and academic ministries through having the knowledge and love of God. To train men and women in godly living. To equip them to preach, evangelise, teach and pastor the knowledge and love of God throughout the world." These are very good objectives but they are no different from what the missionaries put in place when the seminary was beginning. There are several myths that come alongside conquest and the particular one in this case is "the myth that dominant elites recognising their

⁴³ This is the Vice Chancellor Prof Noll's address documented in a booklet entitled Uganda Christian University: A report on University Scholarships May class 2010 and Diocesan bishops. Different University officials are also documented in the same booklet and I will use that information more in this section.

duties promote the advancement of the people, in a gesture of gratitude, should accept the words of the elites and be conformed to them....” (Freire 1993, 121). Banja, as head of the school, has a duty to design statements to which the students are called to conform without questioning. This is still a banking model which does not challenge a student to look into their context and think together with the lecturers on how to transform their own situations where they come from, but to conform to what has been designed for them.

Besides these values, the school provides the opportunity for personal interaction between students and faculty, meals together, joint student and staff retreats at least once a year, full time study and residence on campus for both students and staff. But all these efforts have left a gap because what is spoken is not what is done. Hovil (2005) asserts that “Theological education should aim to build missional leadership that is biblically rooted, practically oriented, and contextually relevant. Such empowering leadership should be able to equip others and release whole congregations into mission” (2005, 218). He further notes that “Integration in leadership development is of particular importance in the Ugandan context given the need for servant leadership.” He emphasizes the need for a holistic training of head, heart and hands. He notes that the church structures are overly inflexible and hierarchical, meaning that the focus on training has been very narrow rather than broad, lay involvement in ministry is minimal, and those who train for ordination have their focus on promotion in the church not on the ministry itself. Hovil highlights the need to integrate leadership development into the curriculum of theological education in order to produce ministers who are holistic. Hovil is contributing to the drive to extend theological education from the seminary to the grassroots where the poor, rich, lay or ordained individuals can access education and improve on their leadership skills. As Hovil endeavours to reach out to the marginalised categories and engage them in theological education, I suggest going beyond just engaging them in education but rather developing transformational leaders who have the capacity to think, reflect and act upon their own world in order to change it. Hence theological education has to allow our Ugandan context to inform the way theology is taught and practiced. This is an aspect that the missionaries neglected in their initiative for theological education and which continues to be neglected even today.

The COUA, just like any other part of Africa, received theological education completely clothed in the Western curriculum; it was embraced and we have since then adopted it as our own, leading to abuse or contamination of our own cultural values. Freire (1998, 30) asserts that transfer of knowledge hinders production and construction of knowledge. In this case,

theological educators should be able to establish a kind of dialogical teaching which goes beyond transferring knowledge to critical thinking about the reality facing the church as a family of God's children. In other words, theological education should stimulate the students to think about remaking their culture and social environment and to commit themselves to changing the societies around them. It is further noted that education should not only aim at preparing student for the workforce but should challenge them to be socially responsible and politically active (Leistyna and Woodrum 1996, 1). As mentioned above, the shortage of clergy has remained a constant problem for the COUA and all the efforts are focused on producing a great output while neglecting the aspect of relevance and praxis.

3.6 Curriculum review

With the transition from BTTC to UCU, there arose the need to review the curriculum in order to suit the wider community. It was also necessary to shift from the three term system to the semester system. The report of the curriculum review was compiled and submitted to the academic board and University senate in July 2004. The report was reviewed as “a very important first step in what may prove to be the gradual unfolding for a much broader vision of the future of Christian leadership, ministry, and theological training in our region...” (Curriculum review report 2004, 3 in Hovil 2005, 252). At the opening of the curriculum review meeting, Bishop Zac Niringiye addressed the gathering on the models of theological education in Africa. He challenged the members to notice the difference between theological education and ministerial formation, noting that the former can have a number of purposes and one of them is ministerial formation. In his address, Hovil (2005, 252) argues, Niringiye called on theological educators to decide on the purposes for which the curriculum is to be designed. His advice was that the curriculum be focused on ministerial formation and the nurturing of professional ministers who will equip the people of God for works of service rather than a more general discipleship for leadership. He finally stated “this lack of leadership has contributed to the state of the COUA and its leadership” (Hovil 2005, 252). Niringiye does not deny the reality of the efficacy of theological educators in developing leaders but the fact he is emphasising is the focus which has been more general than specific. He advocates for a more specific focused pedagogy that leads to equipping others for true service, which is the primary intention and gap that this thesis wants to address. It is true that theological education in Uganda has been equipped with good scholarship, a good number of students, and a good academic curriculum but it lacks a clear focus on praxis and contextualisation.

The curriculum review, besides ministerial formation, had to put a number of factors under consideration depending on the categories of students who were going to benefit from it. Hovil (2005, 253-254) discusses the different categories of students. First the curriculum review committee had to consider ordination training for ordinands, the need for general ministry training as well as more advanced ministry training and theological training for those who have been in ministry before. But this also had to be considered in light of the demands of the University: the importance of academic standards, research, academic ability, cognitive knowledge, and competence in writing skills. With this kind of hierarchy, I think theological education in Uganda has generally managed to deal with a considerable number of the challenges that need to be sorted out before real servants can be formed. The struggle and shift from Bishop Tucker to Uganda Christian University, changes in the curriculum, the pressure from bishops regarding the sending of inadequate students for training, most of the lecturers having been trained in the West, and finally our heritage from Bishop Tucker who was bishop and colonial master--all these have affected the development of transformational servant leaders. Ira, in dialogue with Freire, comments about “bookish or dehumanising curriculums which, in principal, have courses which do not offer conceptual frameworks, concepts are abstract, so far from applying to reality that they keep the students unarmed in challenging their culture” (Freire and Shor 1987, 137). This compels the staff work to retain their status while the students similarly long to go out and fight for their status.

3.7 Service or status?

Irrespective of the efforts by the COUA to empower theological education, the gap of servant leaders is still evident. The very graduates of BTTC and BTSĐT become involved in power struggles after spending three or more years in college. One of the senior lecturers told me that “unfortunately some of our students come to us with these struggles at heart and graduate with the same mind set. Their whole focus is on how they can climb higher on the ecclesiastical ladder. Yet sometimes as faculty we have not been a good example” (Interview on 14/10/2010). He further noted that leadership formation is no longer an issue. For example, one of the theology students said “for me I am here for leisure”. This is an indication of students who are not bothered about transformation or the community, but life is about “I”. Freire states that

I cannot understand human beings as simply living. I can understand them as historically, culturally and socially existing...I can understand them as makers of their “way” in making of which they lay

themselves open to or commit themselves to the way that they make and therefore remake them as well (Freire 1994b, in Glass 2001, 17).

For Freire it is evident that language, culture, history and community are dependent on education, freedom and the capacity to create new ways of life. Therefore students should be mindful of their culture, language and the communities where they come from, in order to effect meaningful transformation which will help them to remake their own societies.

He further noted that some students come for a degree because it is the minimum qualification to become a Bishop. During selection, some students have been sent back because they are new believers. Some come because of familiarity with the Bishop or Diocesan Secretary.⁴⁴ There was also an observation that students do not attend chapel and some do not even carry their Bibles, an indication of low or even lack of spirituality. Motives are rather different; some of the students come because there is funding, hence it is a means of climbing the ecclesiastical ladder, but a focus on the mission of the church is lacking. The theological aspect of leadership development is not an issue in the church today because some students raise their own fees. People are not theologically informed. In addition to this, if a student is raising their own fees, the only way to reward themselves or pay back their money is to struggle and attain a better position in the hierarchy that is well paying. With the establishment of the University, students lack involvement even in the services. There is a need for space for theological education because the *katogo*⁴⁵ model is not working. It has suppressed the identity of the school and the philosophy of training. The focus of the students is to run through the semester and make sure all is done – with exams written and passed. There is no time for personal devotion, self-examination and focus on ministry. Bishops ordain special course clergy who have not had any formal training. There is a great deal of church politics. Therefore there is a need to focus on recruitment, mentoring, scholarships, and the need to recapture the mission of the church. Finally people need to change their attitude when they come for ministry.⁴⁶

Looking through ways to resolve the problem of power struggle, one Professor in the School noted that

⁴⁴ The school of theology conducts interviews for all students sent from different dioceses and when they find a student who does not meet the requirements they send them back to the bishops for further nurturing.

⁴⁵ Katogo is a Kiganda meal that has a mixture of different kinds of foods, for example, plantain mixed with beans or ground nut source. Hence theological education needs to be set apart instead of mixing with other disciplines. The respondent was referring to theology students studying in a University setting.

⁴⁶ Most of these points will be expanded in the next chapter especially in regard to short term training of clergy.

Power struggle is a result of very juicy posts at the diocese, secondly the poor system of deployment also causes power struggle. Therefore the school needs to stress it to the students that there can only be one person at a time in positions we call juicy. Secondly students should work hard to fight poverty which seems to go away by one becoming a Bishop. To the Bishops the school needs to have what is called in other places “Bishop’s College” where they can be reminded of their responsibilities and also deployment techniques/ human resource management (Interview on 15/01/2011).

One part time lecturer and former student of BTTC noted that for the school to alleviate the power struggles there is need to have

Role models in the School who are worth imitating, mentorship should be intentional and deliberate; curriculum should intentionally have those elements of conflict resolution, mentoring and leadership development. Bishop Tucker has to go beyond the current students to doing workshops and conferences in the dioceses for leaders and also a follow up to their students as well as running seminars for Archdeacons. And finally short courses on certain leadership aspects like servant leadership and conflict resolution should be conducted by the school (Interview on 29/01/2011)

During an interview with a retired theological educator, he noted that some of the clergy, when they go out with the fire for Christ, are fought by the Archdeacons and some senior Christians. They report them to the bishop and the bishop handles them appropriately, either by not posting them or posting them in a very remote area where their gifts will be underutilized and result in frustration. For this theological educator it is important that the students are part of the EAR but his frustration has been finding bishops who do not subscribe to the revival, and consequently kill the zeal of the students. He also emphasised the point about good selection process of students during recruitment (Interview on 03/09/2010).

The students who are in training, when asked to comment on the extent to which servanthood is practiced in the School, gave varying responses. One student, Silas, said “to me God should help us because there are some lecturers in the school who behave like bosses not servants and it is only a few individuals to a certain extent who try to be servants” (Interview on 20/07/2010). Ephraim, a theology student, argued that “some issues need to be addressed in a more Christian manner because the spirit of dictatorship is evident in the school” (Interview on 19/07/2010). Another comment from a student also indicated a sense of dissatisfaction with the lecturers; “there are a few individuals who try to live as servants. But others are not called to serve but to command, harass us, causing fear for us that sometimes we fail as students to interact with them. God should really help us to serve otherwise people are bosses in the school” (Interview on 20/07/2010). However some students appreciated the lecturers, mentioning particular individuals whom they affirmed as models of servant

leadership; “the lecturers train us for ministry, students meet at regional fellowships with their tutors as patrons and open participation in UCU main Fellowship in itself is an act of service” (Interview on 24/07/2010). Most of the students appreciated the time of fieldwork, where the lecturers are able to move to their work stations in different countries and dioceses to supervise them. One student commented that “my place is very rural and far from the main road but my lecturer struggled and reached where I was and appreciated the good work that I was doing. I felt very happy and for me that is a servant heart” (Interview on 20/07/2010).

These responses explain the diversity of how the students evaluate their lecturers, especially in terms of the practical aspect of servant leadership. I can also assess a code of inequality in terms of treatment of some students—because others are fairly treated and can say “yes” there is servant leadership while some students are treated unfairly by the same lecturers. This is evident in the way that the same people who are noted as very good by some students are also described as very bad by other students. The other assessment could be that the definition of good varies from student to student. In the final analysis, the lecturers need to be role models to students in order to enhance Jesus’ model of servant leadership. There is a need for consistency in the way lecturers treat their students so that all the students can have the same voice in the way they assess a particular lecturer. Jesus did not merely talk about service but he embodied and liberated all those who had been categorised as servants in the cultural sense by taking up their place. The school needs to embody servanthood by treating their students equally and being accessible and available when students need them. Generally three oppressive codes are evident which need to be decoded: authoritarianism, dictatorship and inequality. There is also a lack of consistent dialogue between the educators and the students, causing a relationship of master to student. Finally, contextualisation has not been considered at all by all the respondents, which means that it is still hard to incorporate context in all aspects of theological education.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have stated that Bishop Tucker’s legacy did not help to establish contextual church leadership because for him education meant civilisation and numbers, but not quality clergy. Since his time, there has been a missed opportunity of creating a transformative pedagogy that trains clergy to be able to engage in critical thinking and reflection, and act accordingly to change their communities. The subject of irrelevance is still evident in theological education. Additionally, the curriculum has not been thoroughly adjusted to the needs of the community, leading to the continuation of a banking model which does not give

space for dialogue and praxis. It is also evident that despite the hard work on increasing the number of seminaries, educating more staff and developing a new curriculum has not dealt with the question of servanthood. Most of the clergy go for studies with the aim of acquiring status by climbing the hierarchical ladder rather than serving the congregation. The servanthood model that still lacks evidence in theological education is what Jesus modelled in Mark 10: 35-52, as will be discussed in chapter six.

Chapter Four

Impact of the contextual models on the contemporary church

4.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the development of theological education and how it has empowered the leadership development of clergy in the COUA. I also highlighted the weaknesses that have hindered it from developing servant leaders in particular. This chapter focuses on the impact of the three previously discussed models on the COUA today. It describes and analyses the influence of the oppressive codes discussed in the above models, upon the leadership development of clergy in the COUA in the light of the Freirian model. An oppressive code in this chapter is any existential situation that undermines the dignity of another person, and dehumanises, exploits or hinders one's progress due to their gender, ethnicity or social status. Codes such as hierarchy, authoritarianism, patriarchy and patronage that serve the interests of those in power while exploiting those below will be discussed. As Hope and Timmel (1984, 55) suggest, a code is meant to raise questions and not to give answers. This is because people become familiar with the codes as part of their life and fail to ask the relevant questions that can eventually lead to liberation and transformation. Through dialogue, individuals reflect on the codes and find solutions that are liberating. The codes below are intended to raise questions that the church may need to reflect on and respond to in a relevant manner for effective liberation. This chapter is based on data from four dioceses as mentioned in chapter one. The data includes primary data from interviews, questionnaires, participant observation, and secondary data from relevant literature, documents from UCU library, letters, and reports from the provincial assembly and other church boards and organisations as will be described.

According to the Report on UCU scholarships May class 2010, the COUA has 33 dioceses, 33 bishops and one Primate. Some of these dioceses have experienced bitter power relations over the years. However since 1992, these conflicts turned out to be a concern both for the church and the general public. A case in point was the Busoga crisis under the leadership of Bishop Bamwoze that took place between 1992 and 1999.⁴⁷ On 1st October 1992, a letter was written to Bishop Bamwoze passing a vote of no confidence in him, with the resolution that “you have lost the qualifications and qualities of a spiritual leader like a bishop.”⁴⁸ In the

⁴⁷ A copy of the letter describing the causes of the crisis is in Appendix II, document 1.

⁴⁸ This letter was signed by 1500 Christians from across the diocese. See Appendix II, document 2.

letter that was addressed to the Political Commissar NRM Secretariat Hon Eria Kategaya in April 1994 explaining the situation of Busoga diocese, section 3.2 under the heading church administration states,

Bishop Bamwoze is a poor administrator, in fact a dictator, has no respect for others, no respect for other people's views, no accountability in governance, full of sarcasm...practices nepotism based on clan sentiments and political party values.... He ruled the diocese with no constitution, synod, chancery and a commissary. He ruled by inspiration of the Holy Spirit and an iron hand under the guise and mysterious canon law....⁴⁹

During Bamwoze's time as Bishop of Busoga, he operated as the chairman for the diocesan council, chairman of the Synod and Dean of the Cathedral. When pressure became too much from the Christians, he appointed a Dean but denied him the opportunity "to administer the body of clergy in the cathedral, control the finances of the cathedral, and to plan and develop the cathedral."⁵⁰ In other words, the Dean was put in place as a figure to satisfy the demand of the Christians yet the bishop remained in control of all the duties that could have been discharged by the Dean of the cathedral. This was confirmed by the ACCLAIM Report that there were also other dioceses where the bishop was the chair to the synod, council, the chair on all boards and also the Dean of the Cathedral. As a result, the boards met infrequently and the only items discussed in the minutes were the visit of the bishop, visit of the Archbishop and staff transfers (ACCLAIM Reportc 1997, 54). This again adds to what Freire asserts "in order to dominate, the dominator has no choice but to deny true praxis to the people, deny them the right to say their own word and think their own thoughts"(Freire 1993, 107). When the bishop was requested to voluntarily retire and bring an end to the conflict, he said,

I will not relinquish responsibility committed to me openly and publically and solemnly....and I will not relinquish responsibility into the hands that are openly irresponsible...if it was not for these things, my own programme was to have retired in December 1994. I will not because it will not be godly, it will not be responsible (Involvement magazine, issue 2, vol.5 October –December 1995, 16 in Baalwa 1996, 55).

Bishop Bamwoze further notified the 6th synod, which was expecting him to take early retirement in 1994, that "we also know how old we are. We shall be 60 years on May 15th 1994. Legally we are here until the age of 65 years old, and then we must go."⁵¹ Bamwoze

⁴⁹ Appendix II, document 3. Actually Bishop Bamwoze became bishop of Busoga in 1972, but the synod that was elected during the conflict presided over by the archbishop was the 6th. This means that the synod was only constituted when there was an emergency. He did not shepherd but ruled the diocese the way he pleased.

⁵⁰ Appendix II, document 1.

⁵¹ Bishop's charge to the sixth diocesan synod of Busoga at Kiyunga 5-6 November 1993, 2.

was not only a manipulator but also a conqueror. In conquest a leader or the oppressor “keeps people in a passive state, without true communication except depositing myths indispensable for preserving his status” (Freire 1993, 120). Although some Christians decided to leave the church, the bishop remained in office until he was sixty-five years old. Bishop Bamwoze never applied the diocesan constitution in his life as bishop, and when it came to his retirement he manipulated everybody with his knowledge of the provincial constitution. One of the respondents noted that by the time of his retirement “The projects had been ruined, the Cathedral was almost collapsing, the bishop’s house had been deserted and many of the Christians had joined the Charismatic renewal which came as a rescue” (Interview on 04/08/2010). The bishop also applied the anti-dialogical theory of divide and rule. In this case the oppressor subordinates and dominates the majority and keeps them divided in order to remain in power (Freire 1993, 122). During the crisis, the diocese was divided into two strong groups, namely the anti-Bamwoze and the pro-Bamwoze.

Wakabi, who was a strong opponent of the bishop during the saga, stated that

Bishop Bamwoze gathered people of his political party around him; he divided the flock without care, was very arrogant and lacked respect for his employees in public space which included abusing clergy even during confirmation services leading to embarrassment before the congregation, he assumed that he was the only great brain in the diocese, he never listened to any opinion beyond his. The bishop also practiced nepotism openly because the majority of the employees in his office were from Bugabula (the royal clan in Busoga) his home area and others were from his political party (UPC). His own daughter was the chief Accountant. Because of all these when the saga began most of the clergy joined the anti Bamwoze team in order to get rid of him (Interview on 04/08/2010).⁵²

It is further noted that the oppressor cannot tolerate the unification of people, which can pose a serious threat to his hegemony (Freire 1993, 122). Bamwoze kept a divided congregation and never advocated for unity until his retirement. This is consistent with Freire’s statement that “concepts like unity, organisation and struggle are immediately labelled as dangerous” (1993, 122). It was further written in one of the newspapers that

Talking to the Christians of Busoga diocese in private one learns that there is much more these Christians hold against their shepherd which they have withheld from the public especially the press but which according to one prominent University don from Busoga are known by even every Musoga child. They withhold the complaints because it is very dirty linen which cannot be washed in the open

⁵² Actually the respondent I interviewed was also from Bugabula but when he became disgusted he also joined the anti-Bamwoze group. The conflict resulted into two opposing factions--the pro-Bamwoze and the anti-Bamwoze.

and because religious ethics requires that at least they give some respect to their Bishop as well as protect the image of their church and its leadership in general...(in Gifford 1999, 76)⁵³

It also true that “oppressors do not favour a community as a whole but rather selected leaders...by preserving a state of alienation, hinders the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention of reality” (Freire 1993, 124). Gifford (1999, 78) summarised the saga: “the bishop was a law in himself and accountable to no one. This is therefore much more than a personality clash. At the root there is a rejection of the entire system of unaccountability, autocracy and despotism.” The Bamwoze leadership raises a number of oppressive codes that have already been highlighted in both chapter two and three of this thesis. These oppressive codes are still evident and have led to a lack of efficacy in leadership and have deterred the development of servant leaders.

4.1 Church hierarchy

Hierarchy is one of the oppressive codes that has affected the development of servant leaders in the COUA. It true that the leadership of the COUA has been shaped by oppressive models both in the cultural and political arena. Freire would view this as a leadership that is “submerged in the culture of oppression” (Freire 1993, 27). In this case, the oppressors imagine that their true humanity can only be realised if they oppress others. It was noted in the Acclaim report that “Uganda’s moral fibre was fractured in the criminal inhuman rule of Idi Amin in the 1970s and 1980s during Obote’s regime and it is from this morally sick society that the church draws her leaders” (1997, 33). This statement affirms that the legacy that had been set through the EAR in the persons of Festo Kivengere, Erica Sabiiti and Janani Luwum to some extent was eroded because of the dictatorial regimes which not only affected the political life of the country but the religious life as well. Dialogical leadership challenges people to view the world objectively in order to understand how they live, bearing in mind that the world is not static but in motion and in need of transformation (Freire 1993, 64). It is time for members of the COUA to engage in dialogue in order to identify critically where the church is coming from, what oppressive codes are emerging, and how they can act in order to transform the church. Freire says “because dialogue is an encounter among men and women to name the world, it must not be a situation where some name on behalf of others” (1993, 70).

⁵³ This article was written by Tumwesigire in a Church of Uganda Newspaper entitled *New Century* under the heading “Who will redeem Busoga?” March 1993, 3. The quotation is from Gifford as indicated above.

It is very evident in the COUA that those at the top of the hierarchy oppress those below both consciously and unconsciously. Decisions flow from the top only to be implemented by those below and in most cases without question. D'Souza (2001, 24) notes that "the church has borrowed the models of leadership from secular organisations where a servant attitude is regarded as untrendy, out-moded and even demeaning." He further asserts that "structures of our church related organisations are carbon copies of organisational charts of giant corporations where the authority or lording structure is shaped like a pyramid." For him this kind of pyramid leads to "a command and control model" which leads to one-way, top down communication. This contributes to what Freire (1993, 53) calls the banking or anti-dialogical model of education where the student "receives, files and stores the deposit" or "receives, memorises and repeats" the same thing without questioning. The love for higher positions has blinded the church leadership from the kind of critical thinking which could lead to the transformation of the church from a pyramid structure to an egalitarian community.

In response to the question, "how has the church hierarchy affected the development of servant leaders?" Bishop Mugeru (Interview 06/07/2010), a former theological educator, noted that

With this hierarchical nature of our church, people go to upgrade in seminaries or Universities in order to get promotion. If people have a diploma, they look forward to becoming an archdeacon. With a degree one is sure of being posted in an urban area looking for better pay. Secondly the first degree is now the minimum qualification for becoming a bishop, so priests with first degree are on their way to the top of the ladder. Many clergy are struggling to acquire the degree and once they attain forty five years the next step is to become Bishops. This competitive spirit in the church has ruined the ministry of discipleship.

The Provincial constitution states that "a person to be elected into the office of a Bishop must have at least a Bachelor's degree in Theology or a first degree in any other field with an additional qualification in Theology...and should be 45 years of age" (1994, 22).⁵⁴ Still responding to the influence of church hierarchy upon the development of servant leadership, the respondents gave a variety of answers. For most of the respondents, hierarchy is time wasting, duplicates roles, it is painful, affects professional development and sabotages one's future career. These reasons reflect a church where the "naming of the world", as Freire notes above, is the business of the elite at the top of the hierarchy and all the power rests in their hands. One respondent who is currently a lecturer in one of the seminaries lamented, "By

⁵⁴ Provincial constitution 1972 as amended 1994.

now I would have finished my PhD if it was not for the long process of going through the hierarchy. Some people signed my papers but for others who were guarding their positions, I was going to become a threat. My career was blocked” (Interview on 01/07/2010). It is also mentioned above that revolutionary leaders have the task to view the world objectively, bearing in mind that it is not “static” but moving to a certain destination. For most of the church leaders, the church seems to be static. It is only their ideas that have to be applied to it, not new knowledge. Hence they work hard to block those whom they think will change the system. This indeed is the source of corruption in the church --an issue that some respondents noted as being enhanced by hierarchy. One clergy stated

People aspire for promotions not mindful of quality but tribes (tribal dioceses).⁵⁵ Originally bishops were identified by the church but now it has changed. Since the economic and social gap has widened, spirituality has reduced. If they can use any means to get into the office, then they can use any means to get rich (Interview on 03/09/2010).

For this respondent it is the oppressive code of tribalism that has corrupted the church. He further noted that

There is a wider gap between the top leadership and the lower clergy. The higher you go, the more resources you get. The gifts given to the archdeacon or bishop cannot be compared to what has been given to the local village priest. Bishops can drive several good cars while the local priest has no bicycle. On addition to that the standard of living improves when one gets a promotion. Therefore this makes clergy want to become bishops at whatever cost (03/09/2010)

Edward, a retired provincial secretary, similarly regrets that tribalism and nepotism contribute to a wider level of corruption in the COUA. He asserts “the COUA is to blame because the election of bishops is so exposed, subjecting it to bad elements in society. People in dioceses want to elect their own even when he is not able to perform” (Interview on 23/08/ 2010).⁵⁶ The procedure of electing the bishop has always been that the incumbent Bishop presides over the election of the diocesan Electoral College during the Synod and also chairs the Electoral College when electing the new bishop. In an interview with Mugeru about the election of bishops he said,

⁵⁵ In the COUA almost all dioceses ascribe to a particular dominant tribe hence they speak the same language. So bishops are elected from that particular locality. A bishop cannot be elected to lead in an area where he was not born or if he does not speak the same language. Worse still, in Buganda even the wife of the bishop must be from Buganda. The constitution is silent on the issue of tribal bishops.

⁵⁶ He used a non gender inclusive language because most of the respondents do not expect a woman to become bishop soon.

In the constitutional review we are just ironing out a few issues but every diocese has its own way of electing their electoral commission members. The nomination committee standard is 15, comprising of youth, women, laity and clergy. But some dioceses have 9 while others have 11. But many dioceses in Uganda are acting without a constitution (Interview on 06/07/2010).

Hence the influence of the bishop has been very visible, resulting in battles by the Christians who have always assumed that some bishops are imposed on them by the outgoing colleague. It is true that dialogue is an act of creation and cannot serve as a crafty instrument for domination of one person by another (Freire 1993, 70). In corruption, dialogue is used as “a crafty instrument” to dominate others, especially in the case of bishops when it comes to their successors. A recent example was in Kinkizi diocese where the House of bishops announced the name of the bishop elect.⁵⁷ Later, when the Christians rejected the person, fresh elections were required. The Provincial communications officer told the public that “his election was found to have been conducted in breach of the provincial constitution. A fresh election was ordered and Rev. Dana Zoreka was elected....” (New Vision 06/10 /2010). This brings up the question of dialogue in the process of election. If the incumbent bishop presides over the election of the new bishop as mentioned above, then election remains in the power of the bishop and his committee without the voice of the people whom the bishop is going to serve. And if other dioceses have no constitution, then the bishop holds all the power in his hands. The same case happened in West Buganda diocese where the bishop and Archbishop were summoned to court for allegedly interfering with the election of the new bishop. Even after the above resolutions, a new case is in court over the election of a new bishop of West Lango diocese (Sunday Vision 19/06/2011). As mentioned above about naming the world, Freire asserts that “dialogue cannot occur between those who wish to name the world and those who do not wish this naming--between those who deny others the right to speak their word and those whose right to speak has been denied” (Freire 1993, 70). The whole problem of climbing the ladder of hierarchy is contributed to by the corruption of those in power, who, at the same time, want to promote their own agenda while denying others to the right to speak. Transformation happens only in the context of dialogue, but in a case like the one mentioned above where the banking model is evident, domination and oppression seems to emerge.

A similar case happened in Muhabura diocese, leading to five years of conflict and war. It was allegedly stated that the retiring bishop influenced the election of the incoming, an issue

⁵⁷ Bishop elect is a candidate who has been elected by the House of Bishops to become Bishop but he is not yet consecrated.

which he refuted. Omondi, one of the archdeacons in the diocese, noted that the crisis was a result of ecclesiastical succession and the selfish ambition of the then bishop, who wanted to impose a person of his choice on the Christians (Interview on 08/05/2010). The bishop elect insisted that God had called him to the office of the bishop even if people did not want him to be bishop, and consequently the retired bishop also refused to hand over the diocese until his candidate was consecrated. There is what Freire (1993, 80) calls “limit situations” which stand as obstacles to liberation. In the search for liberation, the oppressed can respond by neglecting any situation that hinders liberation, through what is called “limit acts”. The case in the COUA still calls for people who are willing to engage in responding to the “limit situations” created by the hierarchy, in order to bring about liberation from the imposed leadership. For example, the House of Bishops decided to consecrate Sebuhinja in another diocese (Mbale diocese) and gave him other duties at the provincial office outside his home diocese. The Archbishop Henry Orombi said,

We want to thank everyone who has prayed that a solution would be found for the impasse that has held Muhabura diocese captive for the past five years. A breakthrough has now come. The House of Bishops has always been confident of God’s call on Sebuhinja, and the COUA will be blessed to have him as a member of the House of Bishops. It was clear that he would not be accepted in Muhabura (*New Vision Uganda* 12/09/2006).

It is not clear whether the language used by the Archbishop was meant to silence the masses by convincing them of God’s call on Sebuhinja or whether he just trying to please his bishop who wanted his friend to be consecrated. This does not promote dialogue but domination. It is a realistic feature of the banking model where deposits have to be received followed by silence. During an interview with Oundo, who confessed that he has been chairman of the organising committee for the new bishops three times, he stated that the power struggles go beyond the tribe into the clan. In a diocese which has one tribe, they will need the office of the bishop to be shared among the clans. If one clan has a capable person and yet they have just been in the office, then another clan has to take over even if the candidate is not capable (Interview on 04/07/2010). He also noted that in the current elections the bishop who had influenced the election of the incumbent fainted on the day of election.

The bishop sent out messages to invite people to come to the Electoral College. He had his candidate who was by then working as the diocesan secretary. When we realised that he had invited only a few people who would form the quorum, we also decided to send messages to those he had left out whom we knew would let him down with his candidate. At the time of the meeting the bishop realised that

these members had also come, he fainted and we took him to the hospital. By the time he gained his consciousness we had finished the election and the candidate of his choice had lost.

The retired bishop, out of anger, decided to stay in the diocesan house for eleven months while the diocese hired another house for the new bishop to stay. The autonomy of the bishop becomes very clear when they approach retirement. Hence ecclesiastical succession has posed a big problem in the life of the COUA. The “limit situations” can be analysed in the form of oppressive codes such as nepotism, authoritarianism and status. For example, if the Archbishop issues a communication similar to the one above, then no Christian or clergy is supposed to respond. These “limit situations” create an environment of hopelessness for the oppressed but if embodied in action the leaders can create a climate of hope and confidence in creating a democratic environment where all humanity is free to make suggestions and engage in dialogue (Freire 1993, 80). Issues of hierarchy need to be approached by individuals who have embodied service as a tool for liberation.

The majority of the respondents further noted that hierarchy creates a great gap between the senior and junior pastors, resulting in a lack of freedom due to canonical obedience. This not only undermines equality but affects information flow, creates bad relationships and hinders support to development initiatives. Commenting on poor relationships, one respondent said,

Relationships are generally not good. The young clergy have their clicks how they want things to be done and the old clergy also have their own clicks, others talk in terms of being charismatic, others are intercessors but for the elder whether saved or not can't work with young people and therefore in most cases the Christians are left in suspense. The bishops are not good with either group. They are very good at blaming and not guiding (Interview 30/08/2010).

Still responding to the issue of impaired relationships caused by hierarchy, Serugo noted “that it varies from place to place.” He gave an example of a bishop who said that deacons must be able to polish the shoes of their seniors. They must obey and be under the authority of the senior clergy. Some people work very normally but others make you feel the pinch of being a deacon. He added that people need to be given respect, to be helped and guided, not ill-treated and humiliated. It is also clear that most of the young clergy are better academically, and their personalities are very different from those of the elderly clergy (Interview on 03/09/2010). For Serugo, even different academic levels create problems in relationships-- which indeed hinder dialogue.

A few clergy among the respondents however noted that hierarchy creates order in the system and, secondly, that hierarchy creates efficiency if well streamlined. Wright (Interview 1/09/2010) acknowledges the truth that “there are few positions at the top which makes everyone struggle even to the extent of hurting others in order to acquire or maintain high position.” He cited a case in one of the dioceses where an Archdeacon was indefinitely terminated from service because the bishop suspected that he wanted to break off from the mother diocese. Okullu, a senior clergy, urged,

There is too much emphasis on hierarchy which makes people at the top to possess more authority and hence demand obedience without questioning. Secondly hierarchy creates tension among the people at the top, they don't work hard or even try to mentor those below because they fear to be replaced. Thirdly they also don't work hard because they think of themselves being at the top and so have reached the goal; they develop a sense of power and prestige defending their status while suppressing those below them (Interview on 12/08/2010).

What is being described by Okullu indeed proves that there is no comfort and freedom for those below the pyramid, which causes many to begin the struggle for power immediately after they qualify from the university or seminary. There is a possibility that the people at the top of the hierarchy, applying the banking model, have “inhibited the creativity” of those below. Freire asserts that “banking education inhibits creativity and domesticates the intentionality of consciousness from the world, thereby denying people their ontological and historical vocation of becoming fully human” (1993, 64). Bishop Mugeru (Interview on 06/07/2010), who is also a member of the constitution review commission, affirms that

There was a lot of resistance when some of the members on the committee suggested a change of emphasis from first degree to pastoral experience or a compromise of first degree with ten years pastoral experience. I realised that most clergy want to be promoted immediately as long as they have a first degree, which has partly created a gap in the leadership where some people end up becoming bishops without pastoral experience or even Christian maturity.

Such leaders can only maintain their positions by exerting considerable effort to cover up their ignorance of the office. The clergy below the pyramid are being denied their opportunity to be fully human and therefore they struggle to find a place in a better office. In addition, the assessment of a leader in the Anglican COUA seems to be based on academic eminence and intellectual standing and not spiritual maturity; hence competition for positions and status has ruined the place of servanthood. This relates to what Gitari (2005, 5) noted during his experience as a bishop, “the world may assess a man's greatness by the number of people

whom he controls or by intellectual standing and his academic eminence or by the number of boards....or possessions...but the assessment of Jesus is simply how many people have been helped?" Gitari, given his experience as a bishop, is mindful that the assessment done by the church might not help in choosing a leader who is concerned about the needs of the marginalised but instead creates a church that is built around personality rather than the people of God. And if people are chosen according to qualifications without considering a servant heart, the end result is pride and selfishness. Ogwal (Interview 3/08/2010), who is a senior clergy and theological educator, noted that "when people climb ladders, they become very proud thinking that those below them will ride on their shoulders." Freire notices that there is a point at which the oppressed cannot resist attraction to the world of the oppressors. He states that "the oppressed want at any cost to resemble the oppressors, to imitate them, to follow them...they yearn to be equal to the eminent men and women of the upper class" (Freire 1993, 44). That is why there is great need for the church in Africa to equip the clergy for quality leadership, especially in regard to the construction of egalitarian communities where issues of socio-economic and political realities become everybody's concern. This issue was raised by Irenna (1995) in his paper "African leadership development: an overview." Irenna states that it is important to equip clergy with relevant skills in order for them to more effectively serve in their societies and churches, meeting both the changing socio-economic and political challenges in Africa while also creating a Christian response to given situations. Leaders should be developed and formed in order to "critically reflect on the church's role in society and to promote solidarity as a community of people within and outside the church" (Irenna 1995, 21). Irenna notes with concern that "It is a common practice in Christian churches in Africa that the organizational structure is pyramidal which puts emphasis on position rather than responsibility." Although his focus is on general leadership development in Africa, Irenna's remarks with regard to the clergy's need to have relevant skills for service and for sensitivity to the changing social and economic situations around them is very vital. Importantly, he recognises the danger that the pyramidal structures present to the ministry of discipleship as the latter calls for an egalitarian community. His suggestion also warns against imitation of the oppressive leaders, which seems to be the direction of the emerging church leaders in COUA.

The struggle to reach the top of the hierarchy is motivated by the expected access to greater privileges that are attached to the position. When I asked the question why people struggle to get into top positions, the respondents gave a variety of answers. The majority of the

respondents stated that people struggle because of the privileges that are attached to positions, including attaining more authority, status and power, and material gain because the higher you go the wealthier you become (big house, good car, glory (*ekitibwa*)). Two respondents noted that some people want to climb higher for psychological satisfaction. One of the two respondents added, “For example if someone was mistreated when they were deacons there is a longing to get somewhere and revenge on others” (Interview on 04/08/2010). A few of the respondents said that some people do not want to work in rural areas and it is only by getting a higher position that they can be stationed in urban centres. Wakabi noted that some people aspire for positions because “they have a yearning to do ministry and hence getting at the top gives them a bigger audience and privilege to be exposed to wider ministry. There is public exposure both within the country and overseas, people need to be heard and not to be undermined” (Interview on 04/08/2010). According to my own observations as the researcher as well as an Anglican priest, most of the clergy are struggling financially, their children are not going to good schools--while others drop out completely, and they continue to live below the poverty line. They remain with no choice except to admire those at the top and use the same means to struggle and reach there. The struggle is largely based on material gain rather than spiritual development and service to the underprivileged. To some extent D’Souza (2001, 34) summarises the various responses given by people on why they struggle for positions of authority in three categories: to get power, to take control and to be served. For him, being served includes acquiring recognition, respect, prestige and wealth. It is also necessary to be aware that the oppressed in the struggle to gain their humanity, must resist the temptation of becoming oppressors; instead they can become restorers of the humanity of both (Freire 1993, 26).

The whole issue of the poverty of clergy can be confirmed by a survey conducted in 1997 by Acclaim. It was reported that the salaries are very low and some of the clergy even do without salary because of the low levels of the offertory in their churches (Acclaim report 1997, 37). The diocesan or provincial quota has to be submitted for the top officials to get their salaries and for accomplishing other diocesan duties.⁵⁸ Those below work and raise money but those at the top of the hierarchy enjoy the labour of the ones below. In this report, the respondents expressed their frustration at the quota system, “they demand too much

⁵⁸ Quota is the money that is submitted to the diocese or province after every three months. After the budget is decided by the diocesan committee for every parish, the parishes are expected to collect that money and submit it before or by the end of the financial year. The same applies for the diocese that has to submit to the province.

money at the diocese and we end up taking everything we collect to them. This is very frustrating for us.” Another respondent urged that

Since the quota is decided at the diocese, it is too high and difficult for the parishioners to save money for parish development hence people end up running away from the Church or contribute towards activities like construction which is helpful for the parish rather than giving offertory which is to be taken to the diocese (Acclaim report 1997, 37).

These issues arise because before budgeting, the top leadership fail to locate themselves in the positions of those below. Allocations of funds to be remitted as quota do not take into consideration the financial status of either the diocese or the parish. It is rather a chain of the oppressive structure because the provincial office puts pressure on the diocese, the diocese puts pressure on the parishes and the parishes put pressure on the sub-parishes. At the end of it all, it is the sub-parish that suffers most because it has nobody to cry to and no choice except to submit. Yet the lay reader in the sub-parish is the one closest to the people and if he is not happy then the whole ministry of discipleship crumbles down, since the top officials have no regard for those below. One respondent noted that “when people fail to raise their personal quota, and are denied services like baptism for their children and Christian burial for their dead, they have no alternative but to stop going to church” (Acclaim report 1997, 37). This raises the problem of the poor being punished by the church for their poverty instead of being helped to meet their need. This element of greed is what Freire (1993, 40) notes as a tool that the oppressors use to transform others into objects of their purchasing power. He states that “money is the measure of all things and profit the primary goal. For the oppressors, what is worthwhile is to have more, always more even at the cost of the oppressed having nothing.” This greed has undermined the teaching of discipleship. In discipleship, a servant sacrifices for the needs of the poor, but in reality, the church leadership wants the poor to sacrifice for the needs of the rich.

Edward (Interview 23/08/2010) noted that “hierarchy affects professional development.” This idea was noted by the retired Archbishop Nkoyoyo in his biography. Mbabazi (2004, 180) in his book *Leadership under pressure: The authorized biography of Archbishop Livingstone Nkoyoyo* quotes the retired Archbishop’s reflection on the failures in the leadership of the COUA. He identifies the problem of the lack of respect for professionalism by claiming that “clergy and other church workers in a given area are trained in various fields, but when it comes to deploying them, authorities in the church do not respect the training and gifts of the different workers.” For him, the failure to address this issue will leave in place an archaic

church. Mbabazi highlights the problem of the abuse of authority and power invested in church leaders through the church structures, where these leaders assume dictatorial roles over those below them. Okullu (Interview 03/08/2010) reacting to the question of professional development, shared a story about a friend who was going to study in the United States of America. For him, hierarchy coupled with power can be very frustrating to every priest who is at the bottom of the ladder.

He had everything he needed to go except the endorsement by the bishop. He pleaded with him until the last day but we told him to be ready because we somehow thought the bishop wanted to assert his powers but will certainly release him. As it approached evening and all of us were almost losing hope we went and knelt before the bishop in total humility requesting him to let our brother go. It was at 9.00 pm when he said yes finally, we hurried home picked the luggage and rushed to the airport for the 12.00 am flight.

Pasquariello (1987, 88-91), in his article “Theology, hierarchy and power”, outlines ten characteristics of hierarchy. Although his paper does not address the Anglican Church, his ideas correspond with this thesis. He asserts that in hierarchical leadership, the operative assumption is that leaders are “upperarchs” and they ask questions like how should the world be organised, what should be done and by whom. They are the ones who decide the answers for these questions, take the initiative and it is up to the lower people to obey. In addition, in hierarchy the leaders are never in the wrong; hence instead of blaming the whole system or checking the faults, they tend to blame individuals who are below them; the end result is either reform and conform or be purged by censure or excommunication (1987, 90). This system is closely related to what Freire calls “a misguided system”. In this kind of system, there is no platform for inquiry, praxis and creativity. Individuals who try to be creative and inquisitive are all thrown out of the system, leading into dehumanisation (Freire 1993, 53). This is one way of retaining top officials in the position. If people are eliminated from the system or cautioned to be silent then the top officials establish a better foundation for domination because the oppressed will work under fear of losing their positions. The power that is invested in the church hierarchy turns those below into objects of domination who can be intimidated and denied any opportunity of dialogue with their top authorities. Hence there is need for freedom and critical thinking. One archdeacon (Tusubira interview 12/05/2011) expressed his desire to have someone to act as a pastor in his life.

If you have someone who can accept to have pastoral oversight over me please let me know. I am an Archdeacon, clergy come to me when they have problems but I cannot go to my bishop because he chooses who to see and not to see. Sometimes it is the wife who responds to the calls and asks you

what you want. Then she will judge if you need to talk to the bishop or not. For some clergy she just tells them, the bishop is busy. In this case appointment to see the bishop goes through the Diocesan secretary, then to the bishop's wife, then to the bishop if the wife deems it necessary.

Some priests seem to be disgusted with the system of inequality where some get special treatment and others are closed out of the system completely. They only wait for commands to do what their leaders have thought and analysed for them. Oppression in church circles, especially in the COUA, has made the clergy lose the zeal for ministry and they wish to opt out. According to Schussler, it is about kyriarchal societies where the elites look at others as their properties, and exercise power and control over the subordinates to affirm their dependence on them (1997, 2). In most cases clergy are there only to function as objects that maintain the system but cannot suggest anything to transform the church. Indeed it is an example of indirect patronage where one has to depend on another for survival and the only way to survive is to be placed at a better position in the hierarchy yet it is not possible for all people to be at the top. The chain of oppression is still a reality and hence discipleship is still a hard phenomenon to practice. Russell (1993, 46) argues that “the quest for a table that is truly round continues among those who reject hierarchy and competition and instead search for alternative models of partnership in which moving up the tables is no longer an issue.” Both Schussler and Russell approach leadership from the perspective of feminist ecclesiology but their argument can be applicable to both males and females in church leadership. To have effective discipleship that caters for the needs of the underprivileged in congregations and among the disadvantaged clergy, all must agree to sit at the round table and not have high tables and lower tables as is practiced in the church today. Freire notes that “knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world and with each other” (1993, 53). The church cannot be transformed unless individuals engage together in meaningful inquiry of the structures. Although the Acclaim report attempted to change the church structure, it only suggested the merging of different offices and excluding others, but it did not tamper with the pyramid. This thesis suggests a change in the pyramid to enhance equality and not inequality. All church leaders and congregants, irrespective of the offices they hold and social status, need to find a place around the table and be able to enjoy the discipleship of equals as children of God.

On the similar issue of hierarchy, Duta (interview 01/09/2010), a lay evangelist and a senior officer in Acclaim Africa, indicated that people are struggling to get to the top to avoid

domination and exploitation from the top officials. He further noted that although decision-making involves a large committee, when it comes to critical decisions the bishop does what he thinks is right. He further added that “the bishop is unquestionable because he chairs all the meetings and also implements and hence no one can challenge him.” Oppression in the church circles is sometimes done unconsciously but it is quite similar to the context of Paulo Freire where the elites approached the peasants with projects formed according to their worldview and expected the people to accept them (Freire 1993, 75). The system of the COUA seems to act in such a way that the lower clergy and Christians only implement what has been decided for them.

During an interview with Wright (10/08/2010), he explained that

Christianity was introduced in Uganda most especially in the COUA with that social class of the bishop being Lord while clergy were also part of the upper class. It found the same kind of social class in the Ganda culture. Anglicanism in Uganda cannot be quite fully understood without Buganda. In Buganda there is the common man and class of royalty which defined who you were totally. Therefore in the church everyone wants to rise up, “my Lord the Bishop.” This was carried over to us by the British.

He also commented that the COUA has no proper policy for staff development. The bishop is the most highly regarded person and all a clergy try their level best to get close to him for purposes of promotion.⁵⁹

As clergy climb the ladders, they also look forward to new titles. Titles take a very prominent place in the leadership of the COUA. Titles work hand in hand with hierarchy, authoritarianism and patriarchy. All these oppressive codes enhance patronage among church leaders in the COUA. Before one addresses a church leader, consultation has to be made to know his or her title and also how to address them correctly. This applies not only to bishops but to all clergy. The bishop has to be addressed as “my lord” or (*kitaffe mukatonda omulabirizi*) “our father in God the bishop”. Failure to address the bishop with the right title can lead to public embarrassment and humiliation. The same applies to the Archdeacon if a priest forgets to say “Venerable Archdeacon” or “Canon so and so”. If it is a priest who is a canon, they will stop you and ask for better way of introduction giving proper titles. This I have observed because I am a priest in the COUA. Titles are used to dominate the subordinates and domination is an act of anti-dialogue. Hence titles act as oppressive codes in

⁵⁹ Promotions are done by the Bishop as the supreme authority. This is because he chairs most of the diocesan boards including the Electoral College where his successor is to be elected. Getting close to him brings promotion but similarly being far from him leads to frustration. He appoints Archdeacons and decides who should become a Canon.

the COUA. The characteristic of the bishops is to some extent what Freire calls “populism”, referring to someone who pretends to represent the opinions of the ordinary people. He calls him “an ambiguous being”, an “amphibian” that lives in two elements (Freire 1993, 131). On one side they are the shepherds of the flock, but on the other side, they are the oppressors of the people.

Focusing on the issue of hierarchy in the church, some respondents expressed disgust about the dressing and the ring which the bishop wears because it separates him from the people as a servant. At the same time, there is no difference between his enthronement and that of the king. Edward (interview on 23/08/2010) noted that “the ring symbolises greatness, power and honour and it is worn by both the bishop and king. Therefore when people see the ornament of honour they give the bishop a unique place of honour and consider him to be very special” (interview on 23/08/ 2010). However, it is noted that some of the bishops do imitate kings in the way they administer their duties. In Buganda, during the time when the *Kabaka* was exiled, the bishop was always seen as the *Kabaka*.⁶⁰ This is clearly stated by Ward (1995, 94), who mentions how the *Kabaka*, in a way, passed on the mantle to the bishops in 1967. He further states that in some areas the bishops have inherited the role of father of the people as a whole from the traditional rulers. Wakabi made the same observation that Bishop Bamwoze in Busoga in the 1990s used to walk with the king’s stick and he emulated the king even in his character (interview 04/08/2010).⁶¹ It was also noted by some respondents that some bishops have Kingdom flags on their cars which represents their solidarity with the Kingdom. The Archbishop’s residence is very similar to the *Kabaka*’s residence in that all of them are palaces.⁶² Some clergy are not happy because about this because it is something copied to bring false honour to church leadership. The church culture has been invaded by both the colonial and the traditional culture. For the church to emerge out of this oppressive culture it has to engage in meaningful dialogue in order to identify what is useful and what is irrelevant for transformation. There is the need to decode some of these titles to allow space for dialogue. Titles hinder dialogue, critical thinking and effective communication. Yet when there is no communication, true education becomes impossible (Freire 1993, 74). It is noted

⁶⁰ When Obote took over as the President of Uganda in 1967 he abolished Kingdoms and the *Kabaka* went into exile. But before he left he told the Bishop Nsubuga, “We are going. You should look after Buganda.” The bishop took it as “a commission to guard the traditions and cultural heritage of Buganda” (Ward 1995, 76).

⁶¹ In Busoga the King is called *Kyabazinga* that is why I have not used *Kabaka* as for the case of Buganda. It was noted by one respondent that Bamwoze came into power as the king’s nominee. He did not go through the normal procedures of electing a bishop. Once the king suggests, the subordinates are supposed to obey and he also is from the royal clan of the Bagabula.

⁶² At the gate of the Archbishop’s residence, it is written “Archbishop’s Palace”.

by Rakoczy (2004, 209) that hierarchy as aligned from the Roman Catholic churches continues to affect the church today; “hierarchical authority was paramount and women were subordinated in theory and practice.” She further quotes Hunt extensively in her work,

Everything in church from architecture to the structures of decision making, from the design of bishop’s headgear to papal authority, was construed in a top down way with virtually no horizontal lines. Implicit in this culture and often explicit in its teachings, was the radical inequality of men and women, of clergy and lay people (2004, 209).

The COUA, like any other church, is caught up in this kind of hierarchy that discriminates against women in different ways.

4.2 Patriarchy

Patriarchy is defined as the “rule of the father” or “systems of legal social economic and political relations that validate and enforce the sovereignty of male heads of families over dependent persons in the hose-hold” (Ruether 1996, 2005). The COUA is predominantly male at the top leadership, and since there is no female voice when it comes to voting or making a suggestion, women are always left out. However, it is important to note that there is a strong link between patriarchy and hierarchy. Most of the information in this section responds to the question, “Do you think we shall ever have a woman bishop in Uganda? Explain your answer.” Most of the male figures I interviewed started by laughing. To my respondents, the answer was obvious. One respondent told me, “You already know my position, why do you have to ask me?” However, I explained to them that this is an important study and I do not want to take assumptions or rumours. Even after the explanation, some of the male respondents were a bit sceptical of telling me directly what they thought about women clergy and I could tell the resistance that was in their hearts as we discussed. The all-embracing reason for almost all of them was culture, although a few issues seem to be academic, biblical and social. Culture continues to be the major hindrance for women’s involvement in leadership in the COUA.⁶³ One respondent pointed out that “female clergy have come in late especially in matters of education and so it is has been hard to think about them as far as positions of leadership are concerned” (interview on 06/07/2010). As discussed below, the first woman joined theological training in 1957. To others there is nothing valuable that can be done by a woman. One respondent said, “It looks odd because a woman leader in any department means failure or going downward and it is forbidden in the Bible and if the church follows the Bible, then we cannot have a woman bishop” (Interview on

⁶³ I will discuss more on culture below.

11/07/2010). He also added that culture does not even allow a woman either to be educated or even to sit on the chair in the presence of men. Although this has definitely changed in many circles, it still remains evident in the way women, though educated, are not permitted to take up leadership positions. Looking at the imagery of “margin” as noted by Russell (1993, 26), the hierarchical thinking of the church has located those considered less important, less human, powerless and weak to the margins. Most of the responses in this thesis indeed locate women at the margins and make it very difficult for them to move to the centre. One elder in the church asserted that “the absence of women in leadership is partly not our responsibility because the structures do not allow a weaker sex. This comes directly from the Jewish and western background. The Bible does not have a friendly environment to women” (Interview on 23/08/2010). Some respondents noted that since women have no place of leadership in the home, then it is obvious that they cannot lead even in church. Hierarchy coupled with patriarchy has located clergy as upper class, lay men as middle class, while women come as third class. According to this kind of structure, a woman is caught up in what is called “status inconsistency” (Russell 1993, 51). For Russell, these classes do not reflect a church in which gifts of ministry can be appreciated. Instead it becomes disastrous and continues to enhance structures of hierarchy and domination whether or not one is a female or male clergy person (1993, 50-51). Wright said “some women think that gender equality message must be brought wholesale into the church as it is in the secular world” (interview on 10/08/2010). This argument is based on bias against women who have come out strongly in the government to debate the issue of equality between women and men, after the bill for women’s emancipation was passed during the current regime. The church has become very protective of their position not to have women who speak openly and strongly about their status in the church. It is important to have a cultural revolution where society and the church in particular are reconstructed, an aspect that Freire calls “remoulding action” (1993, 139). This remoulding action requires embodying the Jesus model, as we shall see in chapter six. As Russell notes, “Jesus’ inclusion of women as disciples, followers and witnesses stands as a constant correction of the patriarchal biases of religious leaders of his time and our time” (1993, 23).

The church has not given space to women to express themselves. Instead it has threatened them and subjected them requiring them to work extra hard in order to keep their ministries and to be attached to a particular place of operation either a school or parish. Ham, a senior priest, stated that “women are passive, weak, impatient, unprincipled, anti social and not

ready to give constructive ideas or transformation” (01/07/2010). Graham (06/07/2010) assumes that “the post of a bishop is too big for a woman because God calls according to our abilities and to be a bishop is a call that women do not have.” His judgement is closely related to Wanyama that “we have seen women fail to manage parishes hence they cannot be entrusted with a diocese” (06/06/2010). The shift or adjustment from cultural domination and patronage into sharing a table with women is still a problem in the COUA because men do not want to lose their honour and sit before a woman as a leader. Women are still looked at as mothers at home, especially those of child-bearing age, while other women are seen to have low self esteem. According to Rakoczy (2004, 222) justice has lost meaning in the churches in Africa and male leadership are blind to the power of kyriarchy and how it has shaped the church. For her, exclusion of women from “full participation” in the church is no less an injustice than economic injustice that other women are exposed to. It is true that women in Uganda have been accepted in the church but they have not been granted full participation compared to their male colleagues. It is always assumed that the woman is weak and therefore should be placed under a male clergy. For Kanyoro, male leaders blinded by kyriarchy consider the existing order to be normal, even ordained by God (Kanyoro in Rakoczy 2004, 222).

It is noted that poor leadership and discrimination still persist among the top leaders. This will not easily allow a woman to get into the position of a bishop very soon. When I asked women clergy how they feel as women in their parishes, some of them expressed contentment while others felt that they are not recognised, they are pushed into schools because they cannot manage parish work, some of their top leaders think that they cannot perform, some people tell them that they are unclean, and some are underrated by their Christians and bosses. One clergywoman noted that “several times I have been reminded that women are meant to be a source of wealth to their parents and not to be leaders in the church.” Given this situation, there is great doubt that the COUA can have a woman bishop given the fact that the Electoral College is predominantly male. It was also noted that the certainty of having a female bishop can be based on the previous attempt of one clergy woman Rev. Janet Muhindo. Her name was suggested for the diocese of Ruwenzori but she never went through. She currently works with the province of the COUA in the education office as the children’s coordinator. One respondent, on giving his reasons why there are no women in leadership positions, challenged the women theologians to be role models to other women and girls and to go out and do more fishing because the traditional attitudes against

women are still strong in the church (Interview on 14/10/2010). Duta (interview 01/09/2010) gave me a survey of a list of reasons stating that “women being out of leadership is an inherited tradition. Paul says no to women, Jesus had only male disciples, there were only church fathers not mothers, the CMS carried the same tradition, all chiefs were men. Maybe in Europe where they have queens but I have never heard of any here in Africa.” Okullu elaborated that “there is lack of confidence in a woman because you do not know what is going to happen next. Partly they don’t belong, they can get married, women are still looked at in the image of the original sin hence they are a source of sin, it is hard to see a pregnant woman in the pulpit because this is connected with sinfulness”(Interview 03/08/2010). In view of the hierarchical ecclesiastical structure, Russell notes that “until structures of oppression are confronted and transformed in a situation of true partnership, the church seems to be one of the last institutions in society to hear and respond to its own gospel mandate...” (1974, 70). This affirms that the position of women in the COUA is ambiguous, and they are still viewed by their male colleagues with a great deal of suspicion.

However, in the cause of this study I also noticed a few cases where women are also oppressors of their fellow women and some interpret scripture against women’s liberation. At an interview conducted in Busoga, some women were very negative about the ministry of women in Church. (*Omukazi yena aba mwawule? obulwayire bwange busobola okutandiika nga ndyeyo. Ebyo byenda basadha, katonda musadha, aba mwami, me omukazi yenna osobola okumweta mwami?*) “Can a woman be a priest? What if my sickness begins when I am there? That work is for men because God is a man and he is Lord, can a woman be called Lord?” (Interview by Egessa on 03/11/2004 in Iganga). This is very true, especially with the tribes where they have kingdoms and it is known that women cannot be made kings. Some still say that the Bible itself does not provide a safe environment for women to be ministers, while others still think they are forbidden by culture to speak in public and hence they cannot be leaders. Some women also use the Bible to stay out of church leadership. For example, Serugo (interview 03/09/2010) mentioned a Christian woman who refused to preach because Paul said that “women should not stand in public.” It is partly lack of exposure to feminist hermeneutics but also listening to male figures who keep interpreting scriptures against women. In Uganda, very few women clergy are educated to the level of a first degree, hence they have not encountered the arguments for or against women’s ordination. BTSĐT in the previous years has had only one female full time lecturer and sadly there is no department of gender and religion in the University. So the women see only men in their parishes, and when

it comes to the seminary they also encounter mostly male lecturers and somehow this increases their low self esteem. All they know is that they have been called into ministry and suffering is part of their Christian journey, and if they challenge anything they will be named feminists, which might lead to being left out of ministry. Hence for some women, instead of embracing “discipleship of equals” they are used to the discipleship of suffering. It is further cited by respondents that some of the wives of bishops assume the authority of their husbands and use it against the freedom of their fellow women because the bishop’s wife is the mother of the diocese. Hence there is also oppression amongst women themselves. Women to some extent use the oppressive code of patriarchy against themselves by opposing one another. Kamanyire (Interview on 30/08/2010) emphasised that women’s emancipation has caused women to be so aggressive in exercising authority. He cited one clergy who has had problems in all the parishes where she was posted because of her authoritarian spirit. For some women in the struggle to make their voices heard, they have been labelled authoritarian by their fellow male clergy or even Christians because they imagine a woman is supposed to be submissive and not to take decisions in the church.

In the recently ended provincial assembly in August 2010, the COUA passed a gender policy to deal with the ills of discrimination; this includes women in church service, emphasising equality and oneness.⁶⁴ It was agreed that women should have equal rights with men. This actually follows on what was earlier included in the Provincial Constitution in 1994 Article 3 on the dignity and rights of people (Article 3 in the Provincial Constitution 1972 as amended 1994, 4). On the subsection of women’s participation in leadership and decision making, it states that “Gender gaps persist in all leadership-making organs of the COUA. The apparent low level of women’s participation in decision making in which the COUA operates is attributed to social cultural dynamics of society.”⁶⁵ There is a sense in which the church is aware of its own shortcomings in handling women but the church leaders are still so tied up in their culture that they cannot easily overcome their prejudice. Probably they do not want to undermine their status or bring shame to themselves. They would rather continue to hold women where they are and bring them into leadership at a slow pace. However, following the

⁶⁴ The Gender Policy for the Church of the Province of Uganda: There is Neither Jew nor Greek, There is Neither Slave nor Free Person..... (Gal 3:28), May 2010. I quote a statement “the church of Uganda is committed to promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment where all clergy, laity, administrative staff, female and male enjoy equal opportunities, human rights and non discrimination on all spheres of church life” (page 1).

⁶⁵ Provincial gender policy page 2.

proceedings of the provincial assembly, a woman clergy, Rev. Sandra Mwebaza, was appointed as a member of the UCU council. It is a positive move if it will be maintained.

Byaruhanga, a Professor in the school of Divinity and Theology at UCU, while comparing the calling of both men and women in ministry said,

“Over the years the role of clergy has been viewed in terms of power rather than servanthood.Clergy have tended to glory in their image as authority figures who have a prestigious job. Clergy women in the church of Uganda do not see the ordained ministry as just another job rather they seek ordination because they have a calling and a conviction that God has a plan on their lives.⁶⁶

When women come into ministry, they are not ignorant about the challenges that their colleagues go through. Sometimes the suffering and pain of women in Uganda and elsewhere is so evident that even the Christians discuss it. Still, a woman from a particular congregation cannot hold back the calling and she ventures to come and share the pain with fellow sisters. It is true when Oduyoye (2001, 83) comments that

Women’s solidarity is with the church as they see it in the eyes of Jesus. Women’s solidarity is with the church as they envision Christ represents. They know the real church with its shortcomings as well as its strength. They remain in the church because they are called by Christ to do so.

Clergywomen in the COUA have experienced hardship when it comes to their postings because the posting is all done by men with their own biases. Therefore, wherever they are posted, they have to work extremely hard to convince their male counterparts that they are able. Issues of envy and competition are very evident in the ministry of women in Uganda where the male figure feels very bad when a woman is complimented for her work. In a convention organised by women clergy in 1986, the women vowed to resist all forms of oppression. Mari Tripp states that

In the Anglican church of Uganda women are pressing for larger roles. At a meeting of the first national convention for Uganda’s Anglican women clergy, 30 clergy women from dioceses throughout the country accused the church of discriminating against them, vowing to resist oppression of women in the church (2000, 74 quoted in Byaruhanga’s paper above).

This was the first conference for women clergy. The numbers were still very small and the struggle for recognition was very high. Although since that time the numbers have grown steadily from 30 in 2006 to 200 in 2011, there is a cause and a need for empowering,

⁶⁶ Byaruhanga’s keynote address to woman clergy on 2nd July 2011 at Uganda Christian University Mukono at their biannual conference on the theme “Identifying our potential for effective women ministry”.

welcoming and embracing the gifts of women's ministry in the COUA if the church has to live up to the words of her mission and core values of "Godliness, faithfulness to holy scriptures, integrity, selfless service, unconditional love, unity in Christ, and upholding Biblical family values."⁶⁷ The mission does not hold meaning if some parts of it are applied and others left out for the sake of devaluing a woman.

4.2.1 Women in the Ganda culture

Given the survey above, it becomes possible to form a picture of the Ugandan culture and their treatment of women. Here I will highlight women in the Ganda culture and the role of the missionaries in empowering women. There is a strong objection to women rulers in the Ganda culture. Since the inception of Kingship, a woman has never been a *Kabaka* in Buganda. Scholars (such as Roscoe 1911; Taylor 1954; and Mukherjee 1985) all share closely the same views about women in the Ganda culture. A few women though have been given considerable authority such as the Queen sister/royal sister (Lubuga) and the King's mother (Namasole) but they can never sit on the throne on behalf of either the Prince or the King (Roscoe 1911, 234). Besides Namasole and Lubuga, there are also other women who held a great deal of responsibility and power in the hierarchy: The chief wife, known as Kadulubaale (Queen), held a position of considerable power, together with two others known as (*Kambeja*) second wife and (*Nasaza*) third wife (Taylor 1954, 23). The above names applied either to the *Kabaka's* wives or the wives of the chiefs. Currently, the wife of the *Kabaka* has acquired a different title called Nabagereka, which is a 20th century development. Kadulubaale was in charge of the whole palace but when the *Kabaka* married Kambeja she took half of the palace and then later Nasaza also took her share. It is important to note that in Buganda women were manipulated with gifts and offices to make them silent about the oppression that their fellow women were encountering. The few women in the palace were made to feel superior because they had been assured of their own personal success. This is one of the tricks of the oppressor (Freire 1993, 110).

Hierarchy prevailed among women and the system in the palace made women themselves participants. Wives were ranked, especially by the *Kabaka*, beginning with first wife who took responsibility for all the others. Because his enclosure was full, he also had to appoint wives as guardians over various blocks of houses. As an inferior chief would kneel to his superior, the same way he would kneel for the chief's important wives, suggesting that

⁶⁷ Church man's pocket book and diary for the province of the Anglican Church of Uganda.

political status transcended gender status. In the same way, a woman would only kneel to her equal or superior in status (Mukherjee 1985, 96; Roscoe 1911, 205; Schiller 1990, 457). According to Roscoe (1911, 236-237) the *Kabaka's* wife and the mother had absolute power. Their offices were below the *Kabaka* but above the chiefs. They owned estates and took the title of the *Kabaka* but with their residences some kilometres away from the *Kabaka's* palace. The Queen mother's palace was called Lusaka, on a hill separated by a stream from the new *Kabaka's* enclosure, since according to Ganda tradition, two kings could not occupy the same hill. She had the freedom to appoint her own chiefs from the top to the bottom just like the *Kabaka*, including estate managers (Schiller 1990, 459).

The queen had her estates in each district, and she appointed chiefs, with titles similar to those given by the King to the District chiefs. She held her own court apart from that of her brother the King, though she consulted him in difficult cases, where other men beside her own people were concerned. She had powers to put a person to death if there was the slightest reason for doing so (Roscoe 1911, 237).

The same privileges and administrative power applied to the King's mother, and like the queen she was also carried on shoulders when travelling. However, she was not allowed to marry again and if she was found close to any man, the *Kabaka* would order the man in question to be executed (Roscoe 1911, 237). Women also worked as mediums and priestesses in traditional culture. Besides these few places given to women, the woman's place in Ganda culture was the *lusuku* (*banana plantation*) as described by Fallers (1964, 82). The woman's role was the production of food for the family,

Food production for the house hold, which seldom contained more than one elementary monogamous or polygamous family was, and is today, in the hands of the woman, with her short handled iron hoe. The main focus of her energies was the *lusuku*, the banana garden.....the banana garden was a woman's world and she was proud of it (Taylor 1954, 82).

Her job, in addition to working in the plantation, was to bring up children and work in the kitchen. Women in Buganda were under the patronage of the male figure, which included her father, brother and husband (Richards 1964, 257). Women, at the same time, were vulnerable because the *Kabaka* or chief would give away a woman/girl to any man as they so wished as reward for services or to redeem debts. When the *Kabaka* thought about gifts to give away, women and slaves were included, but he retained the boys at his palace. In other words, women were meant to support the father, clan and her husband but without any kind of authority in her own perimeters. Although a few women were highly esteemed in Buganda, the status of a woman remained subordinate since they were not allowed in positions of

leadership. In addition, they acted on behalf of their husband's status. Woman existed in a position of the submerged in structures of domination, fearful of standing out to fight for their liberation because of the risks involved (Freire 1993, 29). They were also manipulated in order to keep them silent, by leading them into an unauthentic organisation to make them feel they were respected. Yet the positions were very limited. The rest of the women had no voice.

They were dehumanised to the extent that even married women were taken away from their husbands and given to other men without complaint because, as the saying in Buganda indicates, "all women belong to the Kabaka", and the women refer to the *Kabaka* as "bba ffe" (our husband). The *Kabaka* was free to take any woman in the kingdom and the owner of the wife is meant to thank the *Kabaka* because it is an honour to share a wife with the king. A middle aged teacher is quoted by Richard (1964, 276) saying "if the *Kabaka* took your wife away you would just go down on your knees and thank him, and in time if she became a favourite, she would probably ask for something for you and you might get promotion." It is evident that in Buganda women were both a possession of the husband and *Kabaka*. Roscoe (1911, 246) further notes that "women often formed the principal item of a man's wealth; they were not so conspicuous as cattle, and did not excite the envy of his district chief or of the king, as was the case when a man became possessed of large heads of cattle." Schiller (1990), in her article *The royal women of Buganda*, describes the roles and status of royal women of Buganda by relating them to Ganda society. She asserts,

Women knew their place in society and were expected to be deferential to their superiors. They were as a rule considered inferior to men in that they were considered jural minors; a male (husband, father or brother) acted as a guardian and was responsible for their actions. Only a man could plead their case in court and if a woman were found guilty, a man would have to pay the fine (1990, 457).

The low status of women was equalled to that of children; they did not have anything to inherit from their family or even the property of her husband. Schiller notes that they could not easily be liberated by the missionaries because all of the missionaries were men and could not identify with female problems (Schiller 1990, 457). Female missionaries only came later. In other words, culture dictated the roles of a woman because she was part of the man's properties--but in this case less valuable than cattle. Women were not only dehumanised in Buganda but were abused and their integrity completely undermined. Therefore it is a point of controversy that some women have such great powers and yet others are completely exploited by the patriarchal system. Freire notes that "an act is oppressive when it prevents

people from being fully human” (1993, 39). Women in Buganda were not able to enjoy their full humanity unless they were in the company of men of status.

4.2.2 Women and the missionary influence

On 13th May 1892, the church council discussed the need for work among women, because it had become impossible for the men to handle women’s issues in the absence of female missionaries (Pirouet 1978, 16-17). This is the first time women were discussed in the development of the church and yet they had been moving alongside men and probably sitting in the same classes with men since 1877. It is noted that in the late 1880s women such as Malyamu Mukasa, Doti, Sara Nakima, and Mubulire who was later baptised Fanny, Nalumansi the princess, and Rebecca Magali (the second princess), Ketula and Rachel became the first named converts.⁶⁸ It is noted (Taylor 1954, 81; Tuma 1977, 25) that Rachel Sebuliba and three other women of Ngogwe congregation offered to go as missionaries to the islands on Lake Victoria for ministry when all other evangelists had abandoned the place because of sleeping sickness. They successfully accomplished their first mission with very exciting results. Rachel offered to go back a second time in 1903. She contracted sleeping sickness and died later in Mengo hospital. On her death bed, Rachel said “my body hurts me very much but my spirit rejoices.” It is also noted that Sara Nankima with her baby alongside, narrowly escaped the persecution during the reign of *Kabaka* Mwanga, which claimed many lives. Although women were determined to break the culture of silence, culture remained a problem. Given the fact that missionaries had no concrete regard for women’s ministry, they maintained the banking model to keep them in their place. Freire notes that “anti-dialogical action explicitly and implicitly aims to preserve within the social structure situations which favour its agents” (1993, 160).

Some of the named women above are recognised under the umbrella of their husbands, as helpers, and others are mentioned because of their attachment to royal families. For example, Rachel is named because of her attachment to the royal family and the other two are simply mentioned as women so that even today their names cannot be traced. This also helps us to realise that there were many other nameless women who had been converted to Christianity and were most likely involved in ministry but history is silent about them. Fiorenza (1997, 2) states that the “discipleship of equals seeks not to make women the same as men but to rather appreciate equality in diversity as the central ethos for discipleship.” Christianity, since its

⁶⁸ Stories of women converts are not systematic but can be traced from Taylor (1958, 54-56, 72, 81). I am not sure whether these are among the three or four unnamed women in the quotation above.

inception, separated women and men according to their gender roles, keeping women in the background and men in the front. The missionaries' intention was to have women taught how to be good Christian wives and mothers. In one of the council meetings mentioned above, the missionaries said

We discuss the advisability of appointing female elders for the better instruction of women...there are some three or four eminently qualified to give scripture instruction, and in the absence of women missionaries, it is impossible for us to do what should be done for women...I feel confident that the church cannot be firm unless the women are taught to be good Christian wives and mothers, and this can be scarcely done until we have lady missionaries to teach them (Pirouet 1978, 16-17).

This is a task that women missionaries did effectively and indeed when Bishop Tucker seminary started, the wives of ordinands were taught how to read, weave, cook and how to look after their children and husbands well. They were very good at welcoming guests, which was a very good aspect, but this kept them at the background and during that time most of the clergy wives never did anything beyond their house work. They remained dependent on their husbands. Revolutionary leaders are supposed to believe in people's potentialities and not treat them like objects of their action; they must believe that people are capable of participating in pursuit of their liberation. If the women had been exposed to their potential rather than only to domestic work, they would have had the capacity to fight for their liberation. This was no different from Schussler's view, who notes that "Western kyriarchal system of domination has produced not only sex-gender ideologies but also colonialists theories of inferior races and culture" (1997, 2).

4.2.3 Women in ordained ministry

The CMS found that the place of a woman was in the domestic sphere, where they were buried in domestic work; they advocated for her education but did not liberate her from domestic work. The church, following the footsteps of the CMS and their own culture, are still struggling with what to do with ordained women. The first woman who ventured into full time ministry joined Bishop Tucker Theological seminary in 1942 and trained as a catechist. She later went back in 1957 to train for ordination. Florence Njangali⁶⁹ was not allowed to enter into class with men but sat outside on the veranda and listened through the window. She managed to finish her course and was posted as a commissioned worker while her male

⁶⁹ For details of Florence Njangali's story refer to Byaruhanga, Christopher . 2009. Called by God but Ordained by Men: The Work of Spetume Njangali in the Church of the Province of Uganda. *Journal of Anglican Studies* 8:219-239. She was once a headmistress of Duhaga girls and a member of Synod--a forum which helped her to address women issues directly to the church leaders whenever she had chance to speak. This was before she was ordained.

counterparts were ordained. She was later ordained in 1973 by her former classmate Bishop Yustus Ruhindi⁷⁰ as the first deaconess in East Africa. Her life and commitment to ministry is what set the pace for the ordination of women into priesthood in Uganda in the 1980s (Byaruhanga 2009, 175-178). In cultural synthesis there is confrontation with culture as a preserver of structures (Freire 1993, 161). Njangali was one such woman who confronted culture and fought her way into ordination. Originally women were commissioned and employed as non-stipendiary deacons to offer cheap labour for the church. This hurt Florence and whenever she had chance to address clergy or church leaders she expressed her concern for the lack of women in positions of leadership (Byaruhanga 2009, 177). This is in agreement with Russell's idea of "overturning the tables." She notes that advocating for a Christian feminist vision of the church in the round, one had to begin by "opposing the social and ecclesiastical patterns of domination and subordination that have been perpetuated in the ordering of church structures" (Russell 1993, 58). What Florence saw as a long journey regarding the ministry of women as leaders in the church is slowly beginning to be arrived at, though with a great deal of complexity. In the academic year 2009/2010 when I did the survey there were only 11 women training for Bachelor of Divinity out of one hundred eleven men.⁷¹ The church is still struggling with the whole idea of women having equal status with men in the church, and as Schussler states, "in discipleship of equals women have equal status, dignity and rights as images of the divine and also equal access to the gifts of the Holy Spirit" (1997, 2).

Women were persistent in fighting for their liberation. In 1984, three women were ordained in Kigezi by Bishop Festo Kivengere. Since then the ordination of women in the COUA has never been a problem, except for a few dioceses, for example, North Mbale, which ordained the first women deacons on 12th December 2010. In 2008 a woman by the name of Rev. Canon Dr. Olivia Banja was appointed as the Dean of the BTSDT at UCU, so far the most prominent position held by an ordained woman in the COUA. The majority of women are assistant vicars, chaplains, coordinators of children's ministry and yet others are left in suspense without being posted or even informed about their next place of ministry. The recent statistics, according to the Women Clergy Conference dated 2nd to 5th January 2011,

⁷⁰ Bishop Ruhindi ordained her as a friend but it had not yet been passed by the provincial assembly that women should be ordained.

⁷¹ This information is contained in the Uganda Christian University Bachelor of Divinity and Theology self assessment report April 2012. Submitted to National Council for Higher Education and Inter- University council for East Africa. It also indicates that for a period between 2005 – 2011, Bishop Tucker School trained 191 men and only 20 women.

indicates that there are about 200 women clergy in the province. However, in the 34 dioceses, there are only two female archdeacons and a few canons. Stories of different women reveal a great deal about women's experiences and struggles in ministry. At a funeral of one of the pioneer female clergy, Meibo Katahweire, in Uganda in 2008, her husband stated that "my wife was made canon but the church didn't know what to do with her."⁷² This title has been given to a number of women in Uganda now but it does not seem to make as much sense to the women in terms of status as it does to the male clergy. It still leaves women in a state of domination.

In the early years women struggled to maintain their place in church. For example, Rev. Canon Grace Ndyabahika recalls an incident where a bishop stopped them from celebrating communion because they were women. He asked them to go back and remove their vestments in the pretext that "women are not acceptable in church". After the service, another Bishop, Mukasa, stated that "we are sorry that we have ordained women into ministry, but we do not know what to do with them" (07/03/2006 in Nyegenye 2006, 97).⁷³ Rev. Canon Prudence Kaddu⁷⁴ also tells a story of one of her lecturers, Rev. Charles Briston, who shut women out of his class for a whole term (an interview 27/02/2006 in Nyegenye 2006, 97). The same experience is shared by Rev. Canon Lovy Kitembo in her days of training: "men were the majority, they teased us asking us why we should bother training yet we shall never be ordained (an interview on 22/02/2006 in Nyegenye 2006, 97-98)."⁷⁵ All these stories and many others are indicative of a church that has never been liberated from patriarchy. It is true that the culture of the "dominant class hinders the affirmation of humanity from beings of decision" (Freire 1993, 138). In this case the dominant class are the male clergy, bishops included, who hindered women from making any decision and subjected them to their command and cultural affiliations. It is apparent that women find themselves as victims of hierarchy and authoritarianism because they are below the ladder of importance, yet patriarchy makes it worse because they are treated not as subjects but of objects due to their gender.

⁷² I was present, heard and observed everything in All Saints Cathedral Nakasero in 2008. Meibo served in different positions in the church of Uganda until the time she left to go to USA with her husband where she met her death as a result of cancer.

⁷³ Grace joined Bishop Tucker in 1969 and was ordained as a deacon in 1983.

⁷⁴ She states that "Life in Mukono was not easy when we started. Charles Briston our Pastoral Psychology teacher shut us out of his class for a whole term but our warden Thelma encouraged us together with Florence Njangali who acted as our mentor."

⁷⁵ She also added that some women have continued to suffer domestic violence even when they are married to fellow clergy. Some have never been posted, leading to failure, but the majority have persisted.

4.3 Authoritarianism

Most of these codes complement each other because every one accomplishes the same goal of oppression and domination of those below the pyramid. Authoritarianism emerges as soon as an individual is lifted to a higher position in the church, for example, the office of an archdeacon, bishop or canon. Sometimes it is not a position of authority but as long as there is another person of lower status, power relations become evident. It is also true that where authoritarianism exists, there are conflict/wrangles. This section will handle the two consecutively. Freire notes that in the banking model “the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which he/she sets in opposition to the freedom of the students” (1993, 54). Authority that domesticates the freedom of the students can be termed authoritarianism. Respondents were asked the question, “Why do we have authoritarian leaders in the COUA?” Most of the respondents attributed the authoritarianism of the church leaders to their borrowing from both cultural kings and the missionary legacy (refer to chapter two above). Others associate it with pride, lack of servanthood principles, lack of vision for their calling, too much power and status, demand for respect, and popularity. To some, the authority received at ordination or consecration is what is being abused, turning it into authoritarianism. During an interview, one Bishop (07/07/2011) said,

Bishops fear to expose themselves too much, they want to keep an air around them, and they don't get to the bottom of people's heart because their weaknesses will be exposed. The bishop becomes very anonymous; nothing gets to you as yourself as a spiritual entity, we live a life which is impersonal very distanced from the actual you. Humanly bishops have lost their personality, they cover up themselves in order to be able to do counselling, forgetting that they too have personal needs. They are superficial wanting to be seen as angels but also a few of them are proud.

His response suggests that most bishops exercise authoritarianism as a way of hiding their real personal problems and fears. They want to show their subordinates that they are in control. This kind of leadership only changes the consciousness of the oppressed but not the situation that they face (Freire 1993, 55). Hence the situation in the COUA is that of fear of the superiors.

Kamanyire (interview on 30/08/2010) noted that

Some bishops and clergy derive their authority from the prayer book during ordination or consecration, “Receive power” (*toola obuyinza*) most clergy and bishops apply this that during their consecration, priesthood they were given power and hence this power has been used both positively and negatively. Pastors don't need guidance, they are proud and this makes them forget their role. Bishops use their authority to tell clergy “If you do not do what I want, I will post you to such a parish” hence most of

the transfers are based on the bishop's authority. Some clergy have been forced into retirement and some have developed high blood pressure.

He gave me an example of a priest who was admitted to hospital at the time of this interview because of forced retirement. It is true that the bishop commands God-given authority, according to the mandate given at his consecration, yet the abuse of this authority has prevented real transformation in leadership. The remarkable words below are very clearly said to the bishop while the Archbishop hands over the Bible to him

Give heed to reading, exhortation, and doctrine. Think upon the things contained in this book. Be diligent in them that the increase coming thereby may be manifest to all people...be to the flock of Christ a shepherd, not a wolf, feed them and devour them not. Hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts...⁷⁶

What sometimes happens is that the God-given authority has been used to hurt, scatter, intimidate and sometimes humiliate Christians. At the consecration of Bishop Johnson Gakumba on 20th December 2009, the Archbishop prayed "...Grant to your servant Johnson such grace, that he may be ready to spread abroad your gospel of reconciliation and humbly use the authority given to him to build than to destroy; to heal than to hurt, to save than to condemn..." (2009, 17). It is appropriate that as an individual moves from one position to another will be able to develop a humanising pedagogy that will liberate people other than using the prayer book as a tool for domination. In a humanising pedagogy revolutionary leaders establish a permanent relationship of dialogue with the oppressed; the teachers cease to manipulate the students because it expresses the consciousness of the students themselves (Freire 1993, 51-52).

In the COUA, authoritarianism has given birth to endless power struggles in the dioceses, sometimes arising from authoritarian bishops and archdeacons who do not want to lose power. In response to the question, "Why do we have fights and wrangles in the church?" several short answers were given by the respondents, especially through the questionnaires. The majority of respondents noted that fights and wrangles happen in the church because of a monopoly of authority, concealment of the church constitution from the Christians, crises of ecclesiastical succession, leaders imposing themselves on the people, and lack of proper teaching of the faith. Some respondents attributed the church wrangles to lack of transparency, lack of team work and delegation, favouritism, lack of clarification of roles and

⁷⁶ Order of service for the consecration of Bishop Johnson Gakumba on 20/12/2009. Also found in the Luganda prayer book *Ekitabo Kyóksaba Kw'abantu bonna* (1977, 431).

lack of adequate training of clergy coupled with poor recruitment. All these are characteristics of authoritarian leadership. Authoritarianism lies at the heart of the banking model of education. This model serves the interests of the oppressors: they treat the oppressed as objects, and “the more easily they adapt to the situation, the more easily they can be dominated” (Freire 1993, 54-55).

According to the Acclaim Report (1997, 53) it was noted that “the structure of the church gives the bishop too much power, the autonomy of the diocese is embedded in the church constitution, making bishops have too much authority, bishops are not aware of the dangers of too much power.” It was also reported that the bishops have used their office in a way that undermines the promotion of the mission of the church. Therefore it would be better if the bishops allowed the synod and the council to do their work of governance, “if there was no interference by the office of the bishop in the routine administration of the diocese, if the House of Bishops exercised effective collegiate authority over its members then the bishop will be left with the role of exercising Christlike servant leadership” (1997, 53). This simply means the bishop should relinquish some of these extra duties and learn how to delegate and trust other people in order to exercise his servant role effectively, or else power will continue to manifest negatively. Bishops in dialogue with the clergy and Christians need to engage in what Freire calls “naming the world”. He asserts that “to exist humanly, is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Human beings are not built in silence but in word, in work, in action-reflection” (1993, 69). This includes identifying problems that oppress and solutions to those problems. This will certainly change the church from the banking model to the problem posing model. It must also be realised that naming the world is a joint venture.

Some of these issues confirm what Ward (1995, 103) highlighted in his paper. He asserted that “Financial accountability, especially in the use of foreign funds, a clerical preponderance in church life, nepotism in the training of ordinands, Episcopal autocracy, these are some of the issues still requiring attention from Anglican leaders in Uganda.” The same issue of Episcopal autocracy was discussed by Gitari (2005, 7) in his effort to examine the whole idea of responsible leadership where it has become more evident that African church leaders are masters, not servants. He asserts that “some of the humble clergy when they are elevated to positions of bishop of the church, suddenly become masters not servants which leads them to look down upon those who supported them in getting into the office.” Gitari (2005, 9) critiques the power-related motive which has crept into the church, making church leaders

focus on gaining wealth and building status and popularity while also using their “position of pastoral responsibility as a means to the satisfaction of their instinctive lust for power.” As noted above “Human beings are not built in silence but in word, in work, in action-reflection” and as long as bishops keep others silent, there will be continued evidence of manipulation and autocracy in the church.

In an interview with Kamanyire (30/08/2010), he said that while they were in a meeting with their bishop he told them “(*bwemutanegendereza, nja kukola ekintu kyemutagenda kwerabira*)” “if you are not careful with me, I am going to do something you will never forget.” This bishop was getting close to his retirement and therefore it was appropriate for him to scare the people from asking him details of what went wrong. Most of the respondents also explained their frustration that the constitution and the canons give the bishop too much authority. For example, in the Provincial canons

The bishop is the chief pastor of both the laity and clergy, he is the father or mother in God, he upholds and teaches sound doctrine, banishes and drives away all erroneous and strange opinions, he is an example of godly living, he is to maintain quietness, love and peace among people...he orders, controls and authorises all services....he is the president of the synod (1997, 66-67),

This means that all powers are invested in the bishop and he can do as he wishes. In most cases the bishops have abused the good intentions of their authority. The provincial constitution further states that “the bishop shall exercise a general pastoral care, leadership and supervision over the whole diocese in accordance with this constitution and the constitution of the diocese” (1994, 22). Once one becomes consecrated as a bishop, the constitution becomes a point of reference for them to exert their authority. That is probably why the Christians of Busoga named it “mysterious canon law”. In a letter addressed to the National Political Commissar dated April 1994, they said in the absence of the essential church organs like the synod, Diocesan constitution, chancery, and commissary, “the bishop ruled by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. He was able to go on because he was under the shield of the mysterious canon law....” (Refer to Appendix 4 document 3).

Poor recruitment and training of clergy was cited by respondents as one of the causes of authoritarianism and a significant cause of conflict/wrangles in the church. Oundo (interview 06/07/2010), a senior warden, stated that

We have witnessed most people coming into church not by calling but by way of upgrading because of the availability of scholarships. Some of our clergy have been offered ordination as a gift from either

the bishop or archdeacons. Some have been ordained simply because they come from the Bishop's clan which has raised a big issue about nepotism in the choice of leaders.

Ward (1995, 94) argues that "the fierce competition for places, especially to do theological education degree at BTTC, has led some to complain that nepotism has become deeply ingrained in the selection procedures." This assumption affirms that some clergy did not come to church to accomplish the mission of the church but to serve and maintain the legacy of either the bishop or the archdeacon who recommended them. This has been made worse by the development of short term training centres for special ordination where bishops train people for a period between two weeks and one year and then ordain them. Hovil in his study interviewed clergy on the subject and I will highlight some of the responses. Some bishops decide to ordain people after a very short period of training.

When the church is in crisis, pastors dying or retiring - so the bishop finds that there are fifteen parishes that need clergy. Bring me names, he asks the archdeacons. They are not going to be there temporarily but for their whole lives; they will control the preaching, teaching of the gospel, constantly doing crisis management (Obetia in Hovil 2005, 214).

Another respondent asserted "before fees for theological courses were introduced it was then up to the bishop, if he could not afford the training he would not send people..." (Mbonigaba in Hovil 2005, 241). I personally attended an ordination service in Busoga diocese in 2008 where 59 untrained clergy were ordained after a two week retreat. They are deployed and serving in parishes. In 2004 a case happened in Madi West Nile diocese as reported by Obetia "they have just done the same thing; gathered school teachers and ordained sixteen of them and deployed them" (in Hovil 2005, 241). The combination of both poor recruitment and poor training has increased the church's authoritarianism. If clergy do not have academic authority then they resort to authoritarianism in order to control those who are educated and yet below them on the hierarchy. In such a situation dialogue cannot be possible. But this also enhances favouritism as an oppressive code because these people become priests because of either the Bishop's or Archdeacon's favour.

During the Provincial Assembly held at Mukono 18th -21st August 2010, it was resolved that resources be raised by the dioceses to support theological education and ministerial formation. The Provincial Assembly standing committee was further charged with the task of establishing strong measures to restrain the dioceses that have continued to produce "crash

programme” products.⁷⁷ This emphasises the resolution made earlier in the Provincial Assembly of 1996 where it was clearly stated that “crash ordination programmes be stopped as they are producing half baked pastors” (COU 1966, Minute 15 A(c)). It was further noted by the respondents that bishops find it easy to assert their authority on these least educated people. On the contrary, the less educated also assert authority on those below them because they are the bishop’s favourite and when it comes to promotion they are always given first priority. Freire raises a question, “how can I dialogue if I consider myself a member of the in-group of pure men, the owners of truth and knowledge...?” (1993, 71), Dialogue in this case is impossible if others belong to the bishop and all they do is to try and please him because their ordination was a favour. In other words, they are the oppressed who are housed by the elites. Freire (1993, 55) asserts that “the oppressors use the banking concept of education in conjunction with a paternalistic social action apparatus, within which the oppressed receive the euphemistic title of welfare recipients.” The same was condemned in the Acclaim report (1997, 22-25); referring to it as undesirable behaviour or crash programme recruitment process, in which Diocesan officials participate without consultation from the local church. It is urged that selection of candidates needs to be given emotional and prayerful support plus a time of observation to be sure that the candidate is suitable for ministry. This involves dialogue between the bishop and the clergy at the grassroots, in order to arrive at an informed decision of who should join ministry.

The issue of recruitment has been debated for quite some time. For example, in the report of the Provincial conference on recruitment to ordained ministry in 1964, it was agreed that “an essential factor in recruiting educated young men is that a young man show in his life that he has yielded himself to Jesus Christ. However urgent the need may be to find talented candidates, this factor needs to be kept to the fore front of all recruitment work” (1964, 7). The language here is gender exclusive because women were not counted among those to be ordained, although they had been allowed to do theology. The interest of the conference was to find young men who were well educated and able to meet all people in the secular world on an equal footing. This was intended to fill the gap of clergy who behaved like chiefs rather than servants. In the same conference it was noted that “the first clergymen were like chiefs, exercising great authority rather than like servants. Although there have been great social

⁷⁷ Section F, ii. Crash programmes are the same as special courses, and refer to the process used with those trained for a short period of time and then ordained. In some dioceses candidates who go through formal education are kept as ordinands for one year before being ordained as deacons. But for special course trainees everything is automatic including promotion. Some of them are working as Archdeacons as long as they are able to do what the Bishop wants without questioning.

changes in recent years, and although the position of clergymen in the community has changed very considerably, many clergymen still hold on to power...” (1964, 5).

Although this seems to be a Ugandan problem, scholars seem to agree that it is rather a worldwide problem. In his paper “The challenge of leadership training” Omulokoli (2002) comments that the lack of well-equipped leadership in Africa has led to the deterioration of the social status of the church. He also recognizes that the insufficiency of clergy in both numbers and calibre makes it difficult for the tasks of the church to be accomplished. He is concerned that if this issue is not given adequate attention both in Africa and in other parts of the world, “the church faces the prospect of suffering irreparable damage” (2002, 48). He suggests that sound theological education coupled with proper selection of candidates will help to reduce the inefficiency and increase the numbers of clergy who are well equipped for ministry. Simiyu (2002) attributes the problem of leadership to the lack of training strategies. In his paper “Christian leadership development strategy”, he argues that the lack of a strategy for developing leaders has resulted in a perpetual cry for effective leaders both in church and in government. It can be concluded that where there is no clear strategy, people resort to power so that they can be respected or rather feared and hence authoritarianism becomes the dominant way of leadership. It is true that if clergy hold on to being welfare recipients of ordination as a gift from bishops, then the issue of training will remain a challenge.

The procedure for recruitment of ordinands is stipulated in the Provincial Canons but it is rarely followed, and it is also true that some of the people involved are not aware of what the canons say. This is possibly what was anticipated in the previous Provincial Assembly resolutions when Uganda Christian University was charged with developing a new course on the canon law. The resolution stated “the training curriculum of clergy at UCU should include a course on the canon laws, to help strengthen the judicial arm of the church and to equip leadership” (resolution 27, g).⁷⁸ Canon 3 (1997, 54-64) explains the details of Ministers, their recruitment, preparation, ordination, office and practice. For example, canon 3.2.2 states that “the commission on ministry shall assist the bishop in matters relating the selection, examination, interviewing and screening of applicants for admission as candidates for the ordained ministry and for ordination to the order of deacon or priesthood.” Secondly, section 3.3.4 states that “a certificate from the parish priest and parish council of which the applicant is resident and communicant, indicating the suitability of the applicant to be

⁷⁸ Resolutions adopted by the 20th provincial assembly of the church of Uganda during the meeting of the assembly held at Uganda Christian University Mukono on 18th – 21st August 2010.

admitted as ordinand for holy orders, shall be signed by both the parish priest and secretary of the parish council.” Thirdly, section 3.4.1 states that “a candidate for holy orders shall be enrolled in a theological college or some other programme of preparation for the ordained ministry approved by the bishop and commission on ministry for at least 3 years, and receive the evaluation and recommendation of the college of his/her personal qualifications for the ordained ministry.” The procedures discussed above all defy what is documented in the canon law regarding selection and training. The whole problem arises from lack of dialogue. Freire notes that

dialogue cannot exist unless the dialoguers engage in critical thinking - thinking which discerns an indivisible solidarity between the world and the people and admits of no dichotomy between them, thinking which perceives reality as a process, as transformation, rather than as a static entity - thinking which does not separate itself from action, but constantly immerses itself in temporality without fear of the risks involved (1993, 73).

It takes dialogue for the leaders to agree and analyse the documents, but also for the bishop to let go of his pride to sit and think through the direction he wants the church to take together with his subordinates. Without this engagement the church will take a long time to be transformed.

Conscious of the nature of authoritarian leadership and Episcopal autocracy, the Archbishop (Primate) of the COUA, while addressing the 20th Provincial Assembly 18th – 20th August 2010, said that there is a growing problem in the church over Episcopal elections. “The crisis facing our church could easily be solved if every leader examined first his heart and resolved to walk with integrity, to work transparently, and in all things be honest....our leadership issues could easily be resolved if we were people of consistent integrity”(Archbishop’s charge 2010, 6). In the same address he warned the gathering against advancing their own empires and kingdoms but directed them to advance God’s kingdom where everyone seeks to serve the needs of others and not to be served. It was acknowledged during the assembly that in relation to the rampant succession wrangles and the manner in which contentious issues related to the election of the bishops are handled--arising from pride, lack of transparency, abuse of power and ignorance--the following resolutions must be adhered to:

- The incumbent bishop should retire before the process of election of his or her successor begins and that this resolution should be incorporated in the constitution amendments.

- That during the transition period, a team of senior clergy should be identified to act on behalf of the bishop during elections.
- That mentoring programmes between the Bishops be developed to help better transition for new bishops.
- That a committee of senior clergy and lay people be appointed to spell out the problem with the House of Bishops so that the house can honestly begin to address its weaknesses.
- That the Archbishop of the Province of Uganda write a pastoral letter to the dioceses underlying the obligation to respect the resolutions of the Provincial assembly in all matters and most especially with regard to the election of a bishop.⁷⁹

These resolutions confirm that there is a serious leadership problem and provide a way forward but they do not suggest the adoption of a dialogical model to help minimise the problem of power struggle, nor do they suggest equality for all. Although decisions were made in the provincial assembly, the tone is anti-dialogical because they are commands that need to be implemented by those who were not part of the assembly. Engaging in critical thinking entails physical contact not just a pastoral letter to be sent out to people. Freire notes that “if dialoguers expect nothing to come out of their efforts, their encounter will be empty and sterile, bureaucratic and tedious.” (1993, 73). This is likely to be true of the resolutions of the Assembly until they engage directly with the people on the ground.

4.4 Servanthood

In response to the question, “What do you understand by the word servant?” Bulega (interview on 04/08/2010) explained that the title “servant” (*omupakasi/ omuwereza*) denotes an individual who works for a minimal pay. In most cases when a person leaves home to go somewhere and work in any menial sense, they say he went (*okupakasa*) which is different from he went to make money (*yagenda okukola sente*). Wakabi noted that it is very hard to get a bishop or archdeacon down to the position of a servant (*omupakasi*). “A servant has nothing to hold on, does not make decisions except to respond to the demands of the boss and act accordingly without questioning. That is the routine in our church” (interview 04/08/2010). That is why the deacons/bishop’s chaplains are symbols of a servant in the COUA. In most cases the lay reader also acts as a servant to the parish priest. The office of a

⁷⁹ The new constitution is still in progress and therefore will not be reflected in this work. The above are resolutions for the last Provincial Assembly (Provincial Synod) 18th – 21st August 2010 at Uganda Christian University, Mukono.

deacon in the COUA is not an exciting office for most clergy. Each one has a story to tell about the priest who was in charge of them. The problem is that if one was ill-treated, they sometimes will look forward to inflicting it, as a sort of revenge, on someone else. A servant is intentionally used as an oppressive code in the COUA because the respondents know the correct meaning in relation to Jesus' model. Two issues arise in the analysis of a servant. Servants are oppressed because the clergy house the oppressors within them. As Freire (1993, 27) notes, for them to be men is to be oppressors because it is the model of their humanity. One respondent noted that

Deacons sometimes act like house helpers for the priests and their duties besides ministering in the church include slaughtering chicken for the priest, chopping firewood, polishing shoes, fetching water, and availing oneself to be sent by the priest's wife if she needs anything. Most Christians know that this is what entails the servant role of a deacon. Hence a Bishop or priest cannot be practically considered a servant because he is above the deacon (interview on 10/09/2010).

When I asked the question what Jesus' words "I came to serve and not to be served" mean to the respondents, I obtained several responses. The majority affirmed that it means Jesus' spirit of self-sacrifice. Interpretations referred to a call to serve others; to be humble and always consider what is expected of me rather than what I expect of others; that Jesus came to heal and died and washed the feet of the disciples; serving God not material gain, and; a heartbroken spirit of sacrifice. Jesus wanted to instil humility in his disciples an aspect that should be emulated by leaders today. One of the respondents stated that "I try very hard to serve both my family and my parishioners but I do not give them a chance to undermine me. Secondly this verse was not written for this culture and therefore it depends on the situation" (Wanyama 06/06/2010). Some other respondents understand the verse in terms of pastoral care, which involves visiting the sick, bereaved and those troubled with different sicknesses. Bulega noted that service includes "the practice of preaching, healing and teaching. Jesus put his entire life and purpose of his mission for the sake of others and not for personal gain, not as a boss to be served but to lay down his life for the service of the weak" (interview on 04/08/2010).

Besides the clear understanding of the verse, respondents also urged in the interviews that most of these roles are not adequately fulfilled. One respondent asserted "it is still a challenge because servant leadership is only said in words but practically we have very few servants" (Interview on 07/05/2010). Others added that a great deal is yet to be done in developing servant leaders because worldly commitments have drawn leaders away from their original

calling into politics and corruption. But it was also strongly emphasised by Muzale that “culturally a servant is supposed to serve his superiors, an issue which is very clear today. Church leaders generally, which includes bishops, Archdeacons and clergy, all want to be served” (Interview on 26/04/2010). This implies that culture still supersedes the Christian model of service. As much as the model is known in church circles, it is still far from being practical for some of the leaders. The clergy in the COUA have a clear view of what servant leadership means. However, they have no consciousness of themselves as members of an oppressed class; rather, they too want to become oppressors. This has limited them from fighting for liberation or engaging in critical analysis of their situation. Ward (1989, 5) cites an example in BTTC of some students who preferred to forego ordination rather than to clean and slash the compound. The student told the warden that the work he was telling them to do was for women and servants. They urged that “their status as clergy will be compromised if they were seen doing such demeaning work.” This implies a complete lack of understanding of the biblical role of a servant, yet their motto was “called to serve”. One respondent, when asked to comment on the motto “called to serve” said,

The idea of service has not been emphasised. The more you look at the bishop the less service you see, emphasis is on hierarchy. At the stage of a deacon one is a doormat - longing to graduate and climb the ladder. “The higher you go the less you serve” because many think they have arrived. The bishops demand to be called lords (My Lord bishop), it is more of called to be served and not called to serve. Almost all bishops are products of Bishop Tucker. They demand to be called “Lord Bishop” interview on 06/07/2010).

I can compare the formation of these observations to emergence from the culture of silence. In this case an individual gained consciousness to see what they have never seen before. Although conscientisation is meant to awaken individuals into liberation, on the contrary some people become oppressors. As I mentioned earlier, they seek to imitate men and women of the upper class (Freire 1993, 44). Those who have moved from inferior positions begin looking at their successors the way their previous bosses looked at them. Freire notes that emerging from the culture of silence can sometimes cause anxiety to both the elites who want to maintain the status quo and the masses who struggle for freedom. As a result, the elites end up allowing only “superficial transformations designed to prevent real change in their power of prescription” (1998b, 508). Hence the elites above still find a way or a tool to use and keep the emerging leaders silent.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have analysed how the models discussed in chapters two and three have impacted on the leadership development of clergy in COUA today. I have also noted that besides the impact of the models, the dictator regimes in the political arena have also had a great impact on the type of leaders we have today.

This chapter has discussed and analysed oppressive codes in response to the primary and secondary data collected from Uganda. I have discussed how hierarchy is one of the oppressive codes that has hindered the development of servant leaders in the COUA. Hierarchy reflects a pyramidal structure where the bishops are at the top while the rest are at the foot of the ladder. There is evidence of oppression in the structures, something that needs to be attended to if the COUA is to reflect an egalitarian community. I have also highlighted the causes of power struggles and why people aspire to be at the top. The reasons include status, economic privileges, and to some, a wider platform for ministry coupled with travelling overseas. However I also indicate that these struggles have been caused by poor recruitment procedures, poor mindset among those who join the ministry, poor procedures for electing bishops, tribalism and nepotism.

Patriarchy has been discussed as another oppressive code that has hindered the equal participation of women in church leadership. Responses indicate that there is a bias among the male clergy when it comes to assigning positions of leadership, and the majority object to the fact that a woman can be a bishop in the COUA. I have also briefly discussed the impact of the Ganda culture and the missionary influence upon women's leadership. Culture seems to be the strongest argument used against women participation in leadership.

Authoritarianism is another evident oppressive code among the leaders in the COUA. In this section I have highlighted examples of bishops and clergy who need to hold power in their hands and do ministry without being questioned. Authoritarian leadership has been ascribed to a direct emulation of the kingship model, while for some it comes as they abuse the authority entrusted to them during ordination.

I have also further observed that servanthood is an oppressive code in the COUA. Most of the church leaders need to be served but not to serve the congregations entrusted to them. The office of a deacon has been made to be a period of oppression and not ministry. Some of the responses indicate that the clergy in Uganda understand the role of biblical servanthood but

find it hard to practice. It is this gap of servant leaders that Jesus' model of leadership is meant to fill, as will be discussed in chapter six.

CHAPTER FIVE

Overview of discipleship in the Gospel of Mark

5.0 Introduction

It is important to note that this is a narrative study of the Gospel of Mark with no intentions of making claims about the Jesus of history. While I am aware of intricacy of the historical questions, all statements I make in relation to what Jesus said or did relates only to the Jesus of Mark's narrative.

In this chapter I briefly discuss the background to the authorship and the society of Mark. Mediterranean values of patronage honour and shame are briefly introduced because they contribute much in the formation of the socio-historical context of Mark. I further discuss the different oppressive codes that emerge from Jesus' teaching in Mark on discipleship, codes which contributed to the exploitation of the poor peasants and marginalised groups. These codes include the cross, children, servant/slaves and patriarchy. At the cross Jesus in Mark embraced shame in order to liberate and bring freedom to the peasants and servants who were treated with cruelty because of their social status. Women and children who happened to occupy marginal space in the first century Roman and Jewish cultures, were also included in Jesus' discipleship journey. The inclusive title *New Human Being*⁸⁰ is used instead of "Son of Man" to demonstrate Jesus' true nature of service for all humanity irrespective of gender and social status. In all the codes to be discussed below, Jesus acts in dialogue with the oppressed. He succeeded because his programme was people-centred. This was highlighted by Freire (1993, 75) when he stated, "many political and education plans have failed because their authors designed them according to their own personal views of reality, never once taking into account the people in a situation to whom their programme was ostensibly directed." Jesus took time to expose people to the reality of the oppression that they faced them and hence led them into liberation. Transformation or liberation can only be achieved if the liberator as the object of action transforms the reality together with the people (1993, 75). Jesus did not impose his self-centred ideas on the people, but through discipleship he dialogued with them about the veiled reality of their world that had been concealed by their autocratic rulers. Freire similarly notes that "it is not our role to speak to people about our own view of the world, nor attempt to impose the view on them, but rather to dialogue with

⁸⁰ This title has been used by Herman Waetjen's *Reordering of power* (1989) to demonstrate the nature of Jesus as the Son of Man. See below page 156 to 161 below.

the people about their view and not ours.” This set Jesus in Mark's narrative apart from other rulers of the time who wanted to dominate people by imposing their views and not listening to the led. A brief analysis of the authorship of the gospel of Mark helps us to understand the location of his hearers, the reasons that prompted him to write, plus the time frame in which he wrote the gospel.

5.1 Authorship of Mark

It has been noted by different scholars that there is no definite date that can be associated with the authorship of the gospel of Mark. In addition, there are no internal claims within the text of Mark that reflect the name of the author. However, different scholars have discussed theories that seem to be closely related to the social situation that is being addressed in the text. I will discuss some of these assumptions and try to connect them to internal claims within the text. One of the theories dates Mark to 40 C.E during the Caligula regime. During his reign as the Emperor, Caligula demanded to be worshiped as a deity and commanded that his statue be erected in the Jerusalem temple (Duling 2003, 20). Myers (1988, 57- 60) notes that this led to a protest which included an agricultural strike in Galilee where the farmers refused to sow the seed. His early death somehow resolved the conflict before they could petition the emperor to change his mind. For the Jews, erecting the statue in the Jerusalem temple was a desecration of their place of worship. Desecration of the temple was also desecration of the land. However, to them, the land was a guarantee of Yahweh's presence. Before the demands of the foreign rulers, the temple and priesthood had the first right over the produce of their land. In the situations of the ruling class, if the peasants laid down their tools, the economy would be affected (Freyne 2000, 123-124). This proved the dependence of the elite on the efforts of the poor peasants in order to sustain the economy, a situation that Mark highlights. Secondly, scholars such as France (2002), Crossley (2004), Witherington (2001), Hengel (1985) and Taylor (1952) have proposed, looking at Mark 8:34, and Mark 13, that the gospel was written after Peter's martyrdom between 64-67 C.E.

This period highlights a display of power and authority by the Roman lords over the minority groups such as the Christians. It is a time when the Christians had refused to worship the emperor and instead hailed Jesus as their king. It is a period when Nero set fire to the city of Rome and later implicated the Christians. Later when he realised that the public was aware of his trick and rebellion was beginning, he decided to take his life. From the time after his death there was a crisis of succession until Vespasian finally took over power as the Emperor. At this time, the Christians remained worried, wondering what the new emperor was going to

do with them (Witherington 2001, 27). The Christians were the target of persecution because of their courageous proclamation of the gospel against the oppressive systems and the liberation that comes through faith in Christ. Yet it was not unfamiliar for them to see their friends being torched to entertain the emperor, or imprisoned and persecuted. Tacitus describes briefly what happened to Christians during the reign of Nero: “and derision accompanied their end; they were covered with wild beasts’ skins and torn to death by dogs; or they were fastened to crosses and when daylight failed were burned to serve as lamps by night” (Adela 2007, 98). In Israel the Christians faced ridicule from Jews because they refused to join the war of liberation (66 -70 C.E). At the same time, they faced trials, arrests and persecution because their leader had been executed as an insurrectionist (Rhoads 2004, 61). In this troubled time the gospel of Mark encouraged the people who were living in fear for their lives. Amidst that situation they had to boldly proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The same school of thought attributes the authorship of the Gospel to Mark, who was believed to have been Peter’s interpreter. This is based on the testimony written on a preserved fragment of Papias that is quoted in Eusebius (History of the church 3.39.15): the elder also used to say

Mark who had been Peter’s interpreter, wrote down carefully, but not in order, all that he remembered of the Lord’s sayings and doing. For he had not heard the Lord or been one of his followers, but later, as I said, one of Peter’s. Peter used to adapt his teaching to the occasion, without making a systematic arrangement of the Lord’s sayings, so that Mark was quite justified in writing down some things just as he remembered them. For he had one purpose only to leave out nothing that he had heard and to make no misstatement about it (DeSilva 2004, 195).

This testimony of authorship was universally accepted among early church leaders such as Iranaeus (3.1.1). Therefore in his view the book is not a distant evaluation of a complete outsider who had no attachment to the life of Jesus. What Mark wrote was an experience of Peter’s daily testimonies of Jesus as he passed them on to different congregations. Hence the gospel is a true witness of the day to day confrontations and conflicts that Jesus was involved in with the demonic world and the authorities of Jerusalem as Peter and other disciples heard and also participated in them.

Another related view dates the gospel of Mark to the time after the destruction of the temple in C.E 70. Horsley (2001, 131-132) notes that there were revolts and sharp religious-economic conflicts that erupted at the beginning of the first century through the middle C.E 66-70. These were renewal and resistance movements that arose from the ordinary poor

because of their discontent with the popular Roman rule. This resulted in major Jerusalem-centred insurrection groups arising from the fluctuation of local economic conditions (Myers 1988, 42). Theissen (1991, 20-26) notes that there is a great deal of internal evidence about wars in the gospel although the author focuses on the community after Jesus' death. He views the questions such as, 'Is it lawful on the Sabbath to do good or to do harm, to save life or to kill?' (Mark 3:4), as a question likely to be discussed in 66-70 C.E. Theissen further reflects on dialogue about Beelzebub, "If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand" (Mark 3:24). For him, Mark's readers could have thought of the Roman Empire, disrupted by civil wars. Hence the divided Kingdom was a source of the saying about the wars in Mark 13.8 where kingdoms rose against kingdoms (Theissen 1991, 261). He further mentions the reference to legions in Mark 5:1ff, the reference to the temple which had turned into a den of robbers (Mark 11:17), the parable of the vine dresser (Mark 12:9) and finally the Barabbas pericope as revealing incidences of war and rebellion in Palestine between 66-70 C.E. Hence he suggests that the Gospel was written within the same period in Syria near Palestine shortly after the destruction of the temple (1991, 262). Mark's writing in response to this situation serves to alert the community of believers that any attempt at domination either by Rome or Israel was contrary to the values God requires from kingdom-minded people (Rhoads 2004, 61). God's rule inaugurated by Jesus Christ was meant to bring life and not death, service to others and not domination. This supports the hypothesis of a search for an alternative model that would give people peace and liberate them from oppression of the colonial rule that had monopolised the economy without caring about the poor peasants.

Language issues evident in the gospel, according to DeSilva (2004, 196), Waetjen (1989) and Adela (2007), also support the theory that Mark was written outside Palestine, to an audience unfamiliar with Aramaic and Jewish customs. This made it necessary for Mark to translate Aramaic words or proper names (Mark 3:17, 5:41, 7:11, 34, 10:46, 14:36, 15:22, 34) and also to explain Jewish customs (Mark 7:3-4). Waetjen (1989, 14-15) discusses issues of language, translations of Aramaic to Greek and suggests that the audience would have been composed of both Greeks and Jews. This mixture among the community of Mark also further suggests the influence of Hellenistic administrative bureaucracies and their rigid hierarchies upon the colonised regions. Hellenism also brought intensified economic exploitation of the land in order to develop their export trade. The victims of this Hellenisation were the peasants, as it furthered not only economic marginalisation but also cultural isolation especially in Galilee (Myers 1988, 50). Rome is implied because of the political imbalance that Jesus addresses in

the Gospel, which draws a class distinction between the elites and the rural peasant class. The allusion to both Rome and the area outside Palestine as the place of authorship is based on the internal evidence on the issues that Jesus addresses in the text as well as the language problem. Hence Mark presents Jesus' message as a story of "imperial submerged people" under the Roman rule, seeking a new leadership embodied with the values of servanthood that can liberate them and unite them in solidarity and communion with one another.

Another view of the authorship of the second gospel highlights Mark's dependence on Paul and dates Mark to 75 C.E. Various kinds of internal evidence have been suggested by Crossley (2004, 49-50) that make this apparent. First is the connection between Mark 4:35 and Romans 9-11 which relates to the hiding of the mystery and lack of understanding of the followers and the crowd. Secondly, the view of atonement in Mark 10:45 can be compared to passages in Paul's Epistles (Rom 3:23-25, 5:8-9, Gal 3:13, 1 Cor 7:23). Thirdly, in regard to food laws stated in Mark 7:1-23, they suggest that indeed Mark was a disciple of Paul. The Markan version of the last supper in Mark 14:22-25 has great similarity with 1 Cor 11:23-25. Paul wrote or preached as it was revealed to him or heard from some of the disciples, though the witness of Peter seems more appealing for the story of discipleship. Most of the views explored above in the world of Mark, reflect a situation of inequality and oppression. The gospel of Mark and especially the teaching of discipleship give hope for a new egalitarian community through decoding of the oppressive structures which dehumanised the poor.

5.2 Decoding society in Mark

It is agreed by Theissen (1991) and Horsley (2001) that Mark was written to address local village communities. Horsley (1991, 40-41) affirms his assumption by exploring the works of Jesus in the text of Mark as his internal evidence. First he notes that Jesus' healing and teaching programmes are directed to village communities, which are evidence of the social life in agrarian societies. Jesus entered directly into local assemblies on the Sabbath where people had gathered for community affairs as well as for prayers (1991, 40). Horsley (2001, 39) explains that Mark used the word synagogue to refer to an assembly of the people of a village. These gatherings were for the purpose of self-governance as well as community cohesion, where matters concerning the water supply as well as communal prayers were conducted. Secondly, Jesus' preaching of the kingdom of God was a way of building communities especially in times of crisis. In order to empower cooperation and social cohesion in the communities, Jesus is pictured as bringing special powers of healing, teaching about marriage, economic equality and democratic leadership, which are important village

values (2001, 40). Horsley further states that Jesus in all his teachings avoided the two capital cities--of Sepphoris which was located a few miles from Nazareth and Tiberias across the Sea of Galilee to the South of Capernaum (2001, 40). It is possible that Jesus avoided these two cities because of their history in relation to the Jewish faith. First the cities were built on the Jewish cemetery and secondly it was a centre for Hellenistic culture (Horsley 1985, 34).

Henderson (2009, 11) views Mark's society as consisting of "many smaller, temporarily and geographically distinct yet networked audiences." He adds that Mark addresses the issue of Christian leadership to a mixed but essentially Christian society. The issue highlighted in this audience is about power differentials projected among the Christians (2009, 13). He further notes "an element of division among the audience not because of competing parties but rather between elite and subaltern members of a single social grouping or among factions loyal to different leaders" (2009, 13). Although Mark seems to suggest abolition of hierarchy among the twelve, it is evident that his society further reflects a true Greco-Roman division in terms of levels of expertise, social function and status (2009, 18).

In relation to social stratification in Mark's society, Rohrbaugh (1993, 383-390) describes the different groups of people as they appear in the hierarchy, which actually had divided the population into particular socio-economic classes. These classes include the urban elite, retainers, urban non-elites, the degraded, unclean, and expendables--these include beggars, low status prostitutes, the poorest day labourers, tanners and some merchants. He also mentions rural peasants and other villagers whom he describes as free holding peasants, tenant farmers, day labourers, slaves, and landless groups such as fishermen, artisans and other crafts men (Rohrbaugh 1993, 388). All these groups of people suffered so much from the problem of unequal distribution of resources. The economic gap constructed a society where the non-elite suffered exploitation from above. The urban elite had little in common with the lower social groups and they maintained their own etiquette, vocabulary, speech patterns and dress for easy recognition (Rohrbaugh 1993, 383), creating a wide gap between the poor and the wealthy. Hence Rohrbaugh concludes that the Gospel of Mark implies readers who celebrated the victories of the weak and defeats of the strong. Similarly the gospel celebrates the many victories of faith on the part of the peasants, the degraded, unclean and expendables, for example in Mark 5:30, 6:2, 7:37: 12:34. This affirms that the weak were most likely the real audience that Mark addressed and it is because of them that the Gospel was termed the "Good News" (1993, 393-394). One of the most oppressive structures in the society of Mark was patronage and I will briefly discuss its impact on

society. It is because of such structures that Jesus as the *New Human Being* engaged in discipleship as a liberation movement for the poor and oppressed minorities.

5.2.1 Patronage

Patronage is one of those oppressive codes that undermined the position of the poor in the world of Mark. Elliot (1996, 144) defines patronage and clientage as a fundamental and pervasive Roman social institution of dependency relations involving the reciprocal exchange of goods and services between the socially superior patrons and their socially inferior clients. The institution “shaped both the public and private sectors of ancient life as well as the political and religious symbolisations of power and dependence” (1996, 144). Batten states that the institution was characterised by power, social inequality and exploitation where the patrons could provide goods and services not available to their clients and in return the clients provide loyalty and honour (2008, 47). Malina (1996, 144) discusses the different features of patron/client relations, amongst which is the base of inequality where “patrons monopolise certain positions of crucial importance to clients, especially access to means of production, major markets and centres of society.” This had to be maintained because “successful emperors were the ones who kept the imperial aristocrats content by allowing them to maintain their exalted social status which implied a willingness to permit the great houses to display their patronal influence in a traditional way” (Garnsey and Saller 1987, 150). However, irrespective of these shortcomings of the poor maintaining their social status while the rich advanced, scholars such as Malina (1993, 86; 1996, 144) and Hanson (1998, 71) argue that the client was meant to pay back the patron with public praise, menial duties, concern for his reputation, reporting any kind of plots and continually adding honour to his name. Sometimes the clients helped to form crowds around the patron’s door just to greet him, or accompany him on his public rounds of business during the day and applauding his speeches in court (Garnsey and Saller 1987, 151). This was not only dehumanising but also manipulating the poor. Freire (1993, 128) describes manipulation as a theory of anti-dialogical action where the “dominant elites try to conform the masses to their objectives.” In this case, the elites were using the poor to achieve their ends. Jesus, by describing the oppressive codes of the elites who *lord it over*, was empowering his disciples to be in a position of detecting manipulation and objecting to its demands. The oppressors make sure that they maintain the oppressed at a level of political immaturity in order to manipulate them because “the lesser they know them, the better for them to maintain their power” (1993, 128).

The patronage system continued to gain more strength, controlling the economic, political power and leadership in the first century as mentioned above, but the social life of the poor remained constant. The clients, especially the poor peasants, survived on one meal a day; they received petty favours such as small sums of money and food, and sometimes were humiliated. As the system advanced and spread to different provinces such as Syria, the competition for both clients and patrons increased (Malina and Rohrbaugh 1992, 75). For the poor it was the only way to gain economic and political advantage and yet for the elites it was one way to gain popularity and increase their wealth. Among the many clients attached to the emperor he had those who were his favourites, depending on their wealth status, but the poor and slaves were always discriminated against and dehumanised. And besides the ill treatment, the clients also had no assurance of constant access to resources because no superior was obliged to give such assurance and guarantee (Malina 1996, 145). Hanson (1998, 73) affirms that

Because of the hierarchical structure of power in the ancient world and the huge gap between power elites and the rest of the population, patronage functioned as the means by which elites could increase honour and status, acquire and hold office, achieve power and influence and increase wealth. Patronage facilitated the maintenance of power differentials and control by those with power (patrons), exchanging their support, honour, information and loyalty. In other words it kept the social hierarchy intact...

The simple gifts given to the poor were meant to manipulate. According to Freire (1993, 128) the oppressors give the oppressed pacts to symbolise dialogue yet in reality they are not intending any dialogue “because their true objectives are determined by the unequivocal interest of the dominant elites.” Jesus, aware of their evil plans, told his disciples not to emulate the gentile rulers by seeking power and status. This was another way of alerting them about the world of oppression that the elites had created, because their joy becomes complete when the oppressed fit into their world without questioning (1993, 57). Jesus had to make it clear that their kingdom is not one of power like the existing Roman structures, but the establishment of a community free from oppression and exploitation. Hence in discipleship there is the need to create a new world which is dialogical, where the inhabitants do not seek their own pleasure and success but seek to live with all the others in solidarity, irrespective of their social status.

Coinage was one other oppressive code that re-enforced patronage. It is noted by Lane (1974, 382) that Jesus’ direct mention of rulers lording it over was a direct attack on petty rulers of Palestine and Syria and the great Lords of Rome, demonstrated through the circulated coins.

The busts were used to propagate the image of the emperor and also to advertise his honorific titles. These “coins reflected the values and tastes of authority whether imperial officials, the staffs of client kings or civic elites” (Chancey 2005, 166). The anti-dialogical leaders in their relations with others aim to conquer the oppressed by every means possible “from the toughest to the most refined, from the most repressive to the most solicitous thus paternalism” (Freire 1993, 119). The whole system involves a conqueror and one to be conquered. This implies that the conquered adhere to the rules and objectives of the latter (1993, 119). Though the methods and systems of conquest might differ depending on the situation, the policies remain the same. In this case the coinage was the method of conquest and whoever touched the coin was incidentally a victim of the anti-dialogical theory of conquest.

Coins were symbols of power, authority and relative independence. Hence, displaying the bust on the coin of the emperor or his family members was a statement of Roman identity, an assurance of loyalty, a propagation of imperial ideology and a sign of respect for the numismatic norms (Chancey 2005, 178; Pilch 1999, 25). It is argued by scholars that “Roman power was exercised primarily through force, intimidation and a network of patronage that tried to ensure absolute loyalty to the emperor” (Donahue 2002, 316). According to Pilch (1999, 25), the coin propaganda designated the emperor as a father and it demanded filial devotion. He further notes that “it describes a virtue that characterises obedience, submission and respect that a child ought to show to a parent who provides it with security.” Hence the citizens had to consider the ruler as a father figure and patron to whom a client was indebted for all good things of life (1999, 25). It is the rulers who controlled the economy. There were different currencies and each paid in a particular category of taxes; for example “the Romans demanded their tribute in the official coin (Mark 12:15). The priests demanded that the temple tax be paid in an official medium; the Tyrian shekel served this purpose during the first century because of its high purity content of silver. Debt contracts were regularly written in Roman Palestine in terms of denarii; penalties were specified in denarii as well” (Hanson and Oakman 1998, 123). Hart (1984, 243-248) and Hanson and Oakman (1998, 176-179) give a detailed explanation of different currencies and their monetary value, and the banking system, especially in the Judean temple. Oakman states that the “Judean temple represented a huge economic enterprise as well as a bank and it stood as an important provincial node in the Roman battery” (1998, 179). In the temple there were places to keep sacrificial animals, prepare bread, store wine, oil and wood. The treasury had

vast sums of money, vast piles of raiment and other valuables, hence it served as the general repository of Judean wealth (1998, 179).

According to Hanson (1998, 73) and Chow (1992, 53), the kings and priests of Judea were appointed as client kings to Rome and under that shield were able to extract tax for their own benefit and the good of the empire. Therefore the poor peasants suffered from both the hands of the Romans and also their fellow Jews who had been appointed by the emperor. The elite, writes Freire, through oppression, deny the poor their human expression, their culture and make them objects to be used for their service (Freire 1993, 119). Augusto (2005, 17) states that “the high priest represented the aristocracy of worship; the elders represented the aristocracy of the rich, and the scribes the aristocracy of the educated and entrance into the groups depended on economic privileges.” He further adds that a combination of both the Judean aristocracy and Roman power created a leadership vacuum below the economic ladder (2005, 17). The high priest, among other duties, controlled the temple, high council of the Sanhedrin, supervised the sacrificial system, administered the treasury and collection of taxes and tithes and also controlled the Jewish tributary mode of production, a system that extracted economic surplus from the poor (1989, 7). However, the priestly role changed from protecting the people’s rights into oppressing them. Freyne asserts that the “wealth of the temple itself was unproductive because the priestly aristocratic families sought to protect their privileged status because of their religious role” (2002, 147). Although biblically the tribe of Levi is not meant to acquire land (Num 35:1-3; Lev 25:34), it is noted that the best land in the Judean countryside was owned by the priests and their wealthy supporters. The Judeans felt betrayed when they saw the priests who were meant to be their own “representatives and mediator with God collaborating closely with foreign, pagan empire” (Horsley 1985, 11).

Hanson and Oakman assert that “taxation in Roman Palestine was extractive, designed to assert control over agrarian production.” Redistribution prevailed in Roman Palestine because the elites controlled labour and commerce. The Roman agents and the high priests collected tax and offering and redistributed them, thus removing control and enjoyment from the local peasants who were the primary producers (Hanson and Oakman 1998, 116). The control of peasant labour by the elites resulted in heavy demands for taxes, rents and debt payments (1998, 119). In his analysis of social class in the first century, Moxnes comments that “in all societies there have been inequalities in the distribution of wealth, power and privilege.” In

antiquity the major question was about control of surplus economic production arising from the link between the political and economic systems. However, “the central concern of first century Greco-Roman world economy was to have power to control the economic system and expropriate the surplus” (Hanson and Oakman 1998, 26-27). He further asserts that the cities were seats of large landowners who lived on revenue from their land holdings, and of central powers such as kings and priests who extracted tribute from the production of the land in a way of exerting their control and power over the land and agricultural production (1998, 28). Similarly, Draper asserts that “peasants are rural cultivators whose surpluses are transferred to the dominant group of rulers who use the surplus to underwrite its own standard of living and distribute the remainder to groups in society that do not farm but must be fed for their specific goods and services in turn” (2003, 84). Given the above analysis of the peasant societies, it is not surprising that the Markan Jesus warned his disciples against emulating the systems that lord over others and exercise authority over subordinates, as shall be discussed in chapter six.

In his time Herod the Great was viewed by the Romans as “an ideal man to pacify the unruly Jewish people, settled at the empire’s periphery, and to subordinate them to the power of Rome” (Gnilka 1997, 27). He acted with hardness and brutality. For his own affairs he levied a head tax that exceeded the one used during the Hasmonean period, and he raised tribute to be passed on to the Emperor. He collected a census levy, income and property tax and further he controlled the powers of the Sanhedrin. As a way of controlling Jewish piety, he abolished the hereditary position of the priesthood which rendered the High Priest similar to any other cultic official dependent on the will of Herod (1997, 28-29). He built two cities in Galilee and named one after Emperor Tiberius (Horsley 2001, 34-35; Myers 1988, 423, Waetjen 1989, 7). During the construction of the city of Tiberias, a large number of gravestones were removed, making it hard for the pious Jews to stay there despite the enticing offers (Gnilka 1997, 31). The place was rendered unclean according to the Jewish Levitical laws. It is noted by Draper (1994, 36) and Horsley (2005, 35) that the taxes were increased in the interest of funding Herod’s massive building programmes of temples and cities. The construction of the temple was another way of suppressing the piety of the Jews because it was fashioned in Hellenistic style, far different from what the pious Jews would expect, and he further looked to the Hellenistic world for power, identity and political style. The location of the two cities and the Roman style of construction seemed alien to the Judeans and hence caused competing loyalties. The cities became heterogeneous with values very alien to the Jews living in the

villages, disturbing the fragile fabric of the social network of the region (Freyne 2002, 144; Horsley 2005, 35). However it is also evident that bringing the city closer to Galilee made it easier for the collection of taxes. It also brought the aristocrats closer to the peasants, increasing the level of economic exploitation and debt since the aristocrats depended on the peasants' surplus (Draper 1994, 37; Horsley 2005, 35). Commenting on the taxes levied upon the peasants, Draper noted,

Under the rule of Herod, Galilee was expected not only to pay the temple tithes and taxes, Roman taxes, but also to support a Herodian aristocratic administration...there were large royal estates owned by absentee Herodian nobility, many of whom would be living in Jerusalem. The economic pressure on the peasantry placed by aristocracy was in turn exploited by the aristocracy who loaned out money to desperate peasants and eventually obtained their land and their persons in debt slavery... (1994, 36; 2003, 88).

Due to the desire for conquest by the oppressors, "they destroy in the oppressed their quality as considerers of the world" (Freire 1993, 120). Sometimes it is done through deceit, which is designed to increase their alienation and passivity. The world is presented as a problem, a fixed entity or as something given to which people as mere spectators must adapt (Freire 1993, 120). This corresponds partly to what the peasants faced because they had no contribution to make; they were alienated and hence remained spectators at the mercy of the oppressors. Objection to the Roman authorities led to torture, imprisonment and death. Horsley notes that as Judeans ventured into their own independence, Roman troops attacked them--with slaughter and crucifixion of thousands as a means of terrorising them into submission (2005, 27).

Myers (1988, 50-51) advances the argument that the political economy under Imperial rule centred upon power and status, where commerce was dominated by the state and its bureaucratic system. The peasants had three obligations: growing enough food to feed themselves and their animals, having seed for planting in the next season and then having surplus because of the demands of reciprocity and redistribution systems (1988, 51). However the peasant remained in an unfortunate state of poverty because the surplus was taken by the non productive aristocracy, who did not grow but only waited for the poor to pay rent, land tax and interest on debts (Horsley 1995, 207). Malina (1983, 143) notes that the traditional peasant society depended on the wealthy landowners for provision of land, seeds and tools and the wealthy in return also expected a specified amount of the harvest. According to Freyne (1980, 199), "the Galilean Jewish peasant found himself in the rather strange position that those very people to whom he felt bound by ties of national and religious

loyalty, the priestly aristocracy, were in-fact their social oppressors.” The tithes also became unbearable because they included one for the priests, Levites, the poor, and all round the sabbatical cycle. In addition to these tithes, they also had to pay an amount of money when they took their produce to the market (Myers 1988, 52). It was hard for the peasants, to the extent that even when they retained traditional rights on their land they could still fall victim to exploitation by the rulers, especially when they experienced bad harvests. Then the high taxes would leave them in debt to the regional officer in charge of the royal storage (Horsley 1995, 209). It was in such a situation of oppression and dehumanisation of the poor that Jesus took on the role of the *New Human Being*, in order to liberate the poor peasant by decoding the images that held them captive, as we shall discuss below.

5.3 The *New Human Being* in Mark

Jesus in the gospels, and specifically in the gospel of Mark, refers to himself as the Son of Man (υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). In this thesis I adopt Waetjen’s (1989) interpretation of this title as the *New Human Being*. In his book *New Heaven and New Earth: a study of millenarian activities*, Burrige engages with the new millenarian movements and their endeavour to adopt “a new redemptive process, a new politico-economic framework, a new mode of measuring humanity, a new integrity, a new community and finally a new humanity” (Burrige 1969, 13). These movements, arising as a result of oppression from external political control, develop a desire for a hero who will restore their prosperity and prestige. He or she must bear in mind the questions that concern or cause anxiety to the community (1969, 3, 10). It is further noted that in the crisis of feeling oppressed by current assumptions about power, the millenarian participants immersed themselves in activities of reformulating their assumptions so as to create, or account for and explain, a new or changing material and moral environment within which a more satisfactory form of redemption will be obtained (1969, 10). An example is cited of the Maori people of New Zealand. On realising that the white settlers were not just temporary guests, but had come to stay and had started buying their hereditary land, one individual started a movement called ‘King movement’ to fight against the white settlers (1969, 15). The leaders of these movements are characterised by trances and spirit possession, visions and claims to have superhuman powers (1969, 16, 22, 23). Although these millenarian prophets did not fully succeed, Waetjen (1989, xii) adopts the same idea to speak about Jesus as the *New Human Being* who comes to redeem people from the socio-economic pyramid of Roman Palestine.

The Markan Jesus, who is identified as a carpenter (Mark 6:3), ranks low on the socioeconomic pyramid yet he serves as an avenue through which the dispossessed and oppressed people can enter into the reordering of power in order to recapture God's original plan for humanity (Waetjen 1989, 16). This model of the *New Human Being* also decodes the 'male' figure that identifies with the Son of Man in glory, to make the title more gender inclusive. Jesus as the *New Human Being* is seen in this thesis as one who accomplished the role of a servant king whose purpose was to deconstruct the existing social structures that divided people according to classes of both gender and social status. The *New Human Being* achieved his mission by taking the place of the less privileged slaves and servants, uplifted the status of children by embracing and listening to them, befriending and healing women and their daughters, and finally embracing the shame of the cross as a victim of torture on the cross. The *New Human Being* introduced a new chapter of an inclusive society irrespective of gender and social status. Women and men, slaves and servants, children and adults all were given access into the new Kingdom established by the *New Human Being*.

This section therefore surveys of the role of Jesus as the *New Human Being* in empowering his community for liberation and transformation in the midst of the oppressive rule. In the process, mention will be made of some of the Christological titles alongside *New Human Being* and how they complement each other. Unlike the *New Human Being* who succeeded in his movement, it is important to note that these prophets did not succeed most likely because they did not embody the rules of the movement as Jesus did.

Malbon (2009) has done extensive work in narrative Christology challenging the usual model of studying the Christology of Mark by looking at different titles separately. She prefers not to use the term Christology independently, instead she has identified it as "narrative Christology". She analyses Christology as a whole and characterises Jesus' ministry in five different ways: enacted Christology, projected Christology, deflected Christology, refracted Christology and reflected Christology. Malbon seeks to understand how narrative Christology works in Mark with the key question "how does the gospel of Mark suggest who Jesus is?" To achieve this goal she makes careful observations about "who says what, to whom, when, under what circumstances, as well as what the Markan Jesus says in response and instead" (2009, 14). Following Malbon's model, my concentration in this work is to look at Jesus' actions in relation to the poor and marginalised; this is an issue that Malbon does not venture to consider at length. I will dwell more on enacted Christology which is the "understanding of how Jesus is characterised by the way his actions are narrated in relation to other characters"

(2009, 22). Whatever action Jesus takes, he does it as a *New Human Being* who identifies with the needs of the communities around him. He only acknowledges the title Son of God during his passion when the centurion pronounces him as the Son of God while enthroned on the cross, the place where he achieves victory for humanity with himself as a ransom. Jesus' rejection of the title Son of God was one way of decoding the image that had been attached to the emperor as son of god. Hence Jesus' purpose was to serve the people by identifying with them in their daily suffering and not to be honoured as a god or the Roman lords.

Malbon (2009, 21) introduces her chapter on enacted Christology by characterising Jesus as one who preaches and teaches. He “practices service to those with the least status in society and thus suffers persecution and death by the authorities in society as an exemplification of the implications of the inbreaking of God’s rule in the present age.” It is important to note at the very beginning that Jesus was dealing with individuals who had been dehumanised by the ruling authorities, as well as by disease and demonic attack. Hence they were oppressed in all spheres of life. Freire, while reflecting on humanisation notes that it has been “thwarted by injustice, exploitation, oppression and violence of the oppressors; it is affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom, and justice and by their struggle to recover their lost humanity” (1993, 26). Focusing on the category above that Jesus identified with, Draper (1994, 41) criticises the purity systems of the Pharisees that regarded sickness and misfortune as sins. This further controlled the forgiveness of sins, to the economic advantage of the ruling class by their monopoly in the temple. He asserts that

Guilt lies not with the individual but with demonic forces battling against God and his people. Exorcism sets people free from the cycle of helplessness, symbolising that the power of the oppressor has been overthrown by God and will shortly be realised concretely the family structure, traditionally patriarchal and authoritarian, now in danger of disintegration, is affirmed, but in a new and egalitarian way. The role and rights of women are projected by rejecting the divorce law. The dignity and importance of children is affirmed.

As the *New Human Being*, Jesus in his ministry recaptures the lost humanity of those who had been marginalised by the aristocrats by giving them a new identity. He accepts them into the new egalitarian community where he gives life and forgives without any cost. Jesus, whose background identified him with those of low social status, was a neutral figure whose purpose was to give meaning to both the oppressors and the oppressed. Freire (1993, 26) gives a clear criterion suitable for any liberator. He asserts, “in order for this struggle to have meaning, the oppressed must not, in seeking to regain humanity...become in turn oppressors

of the oppressors, but rather restorers of the humanity of both.” Therefore all the references where the *New Human Being* is cited entail a teaching. This teaching is meant to help both the oppressor and the oppressed to recover their humanity and gain a new social identity. The first reference to the *New Human Being* is in Mark 2:10 “But that you may know that the Son of Man has authority to forgive sins” and 2:28 “So the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath.” In Mark 2:10, the Pharisees were puzzled when Jesus pronounced “Son, your sins are forgiven” to the paralytic because according to them no one has authority to forgive sins except God. When Jesus realised what they were thinking he asked them a question; what is easier to say to the paralytic your sins are forgiven or get up and walk? “But that you may know that the son of man has authority to forgive sins.” However, Mark’s interest was to portray “Jesus as one with authority over against all other people.” It echoes Mark’s opening account of Jesus’ ministry, which re-establishes him as one who has authority (Mark 1:27). The difference with Jesus’ kind of authority is that it restores human dignity rather than exploits it for personal gain. Waetjen (1988, 87) views Jesus as one who has already entered the reordering of power hence the action of forgiving one’s sins is in line with fulfilling the commission that was laid on him at baptism. Jesus addressed the man as a child, passionately asserting that what he needed was the cancellation of the past and the disempowerment of the cycle of sin leading, to complete restoration and renewal of the whole being. Yet to the custodians of the law, what Jesus has done is blasphemy and negation of the sacred tradition where only God forgives sins. Jesus’ role as the *New Human Being* intended to restore humanity regardless of their physical, emotional situation or even their social status. He disregarded the traditional rules and concentrated on his redemptive role even in the midst of opposition.

In the second incidence where Jesus pronounces himself as the Son of Man (Mark 2:23-28) he was going through the cornfields with his disciples and they began to pick some ears of corn. Then the Pharisees said, “*Look they are doing what is unlawful on the Sabbath....*” Then Jesus finally said to them, “*The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. So the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath*”. Lindars (1984, 104-105) notes that reference can be made to Israel as the chief beneficiaries of the institution of the Sabbath. However, he also urges that “Jesus as the *New Human Being*, is representative of God on behalf of the people, and that therefore he has authority to give guidance on such matters as the law of the Sabbath.” Alternatively, Mark could have wanted to indicate Jesus’ defence of the disciples as a way of opposing the Pharisees’ strict interpretation of the law.

Considering the authority of Jesus in the forgiveness of sins and being Lord of the Sabbath, Malbon (2009, 201-203) sees Jesus abrogating the law for the sake of human need. Jesus as the *New Human Being* is called not just to risk persecution from the ruling authorities but to avail himself to the service of the powerless in society. However, it has to be noted, the title lord (κύριός) is intentionally used by Jesus to indicate that as much as it is an oppressive term in Palestinian society, he engages with it in an act of giving the Sabbath a new meaning. He is decoding the former order where the priests had claimed the lordship of the temple and hence defiled its essence because of their authoritarian lifestyle (France 2002, 146). It is clear in the Jewish law that whoever profanes the Sabbath shall be put to death and that anyone who does any work on the Sabbath, his soul shall be cut off from among his people (Ex 31:14). Therefore Jesus as the *New Human Being* takes control of the Sabbath not to defy the law but to bring life and healing to humanity, an issue that made him embrace the servant role. The same act is repeated in Mark 3:1-7 when Jesus healed the man with a withered hand. Jesus in these two incidents acts as a liberating agent, where the Sabbath is decoded to represent a time of restoration of physical health where the needs of hunger and a deformed hand are met (Powery 2007, 126). Senior (1884, 24-25) further notes that the two Sabbath incidents are a disclosure of God's compassion through Jesus as the *New Human Being* and the cure of the man with a withered hand is a wordless rebuttal against the wrong priorities that the Pharisees held concerning the Sabbath. Malbon (2009, 205) appropriately makes it clear that this middle section of the gospel (Mark 8:22-10:52), which has more pronouncements of the *New Human Being*, is purely a teaching section with interludes of healing which demonstrate Jesus' concern for the marginalised and gives assurance to those who are marginalised.

The title lord (κύριός) is also applied by Jesus here because in antiquity it denotes power and domination. It is associated with master, father, and husband; the power invested in the three is what Schussler prefers to call kyriarchy instead of patriarchy. She asserts that kyriarchy is "a socio-political and cultural system of domination that has produced dualistic asymmetric justifications of systematic exclusions and forms of exploitation" (1997, 2). Jesus' agenda had less to do with titles than it did with the situations that oppressed humanity in his time. As Schussler further suggests, the discipleship of equals provides an alternative picture to kyriarchy by establishing the vision of a democratic church that is engaged in the continuous struggle to change systems of domination, exploitation and marginalisation (1997, 3). Therefore the *New Human Being* embodied the title "lord" in order to give it new meaning, decoding its kyriarchal power but also re-encoding it into it a liberating authority over the

Sabbath, so that the Sabbath is a place for people to find peace and joy and not exploitation and oppression by the Jewish law.

Verses 27-28, *the Sabbath was meant for man and not man for the Sabbath. So the New human being is lord even of the Sabbath*, are democratising in the sense that it is not only the *New Human Being* who has authority over the Sabbath but all people do (Powery 2007, 126). The extension of the Sabbath dialogue into Mark 3:1-6 helps to bring out the liberating effect of Jesus' teaching. Powery notes that being told to keep the Sabbath is not about following the burdensome laws but rather to combine God's worship with the most active vigilant acts of liberating people from degradation, hunger, violence and sin (2007, 126). Jesus decoded the Sabbath through saving life by restoring the man with a withered hand thus making the Sabbath represent the healing and wholeness of humanity (2007, 127). Schussler (1983, 126) asserts that verse 27 points to the deepest intention of the Sabbath law because it is created so that people can praise, in festive eating and drinking, the goodness of Israel's creator God. The disciples' intention in eating was to praise God because those who are hungry cannot have the strength to praise their creator. As already noted, the laws set by the Pharisees were to their own advantage and fulfilment of tradition and not the needs of the people. In that regard Freire notes that "politicians and educators speak and they are not understood because their language is not attuned to the concrete situation of the people they address" (1993, 77). Jesus challenged the human law that kept the poor in a disadvantaged position of fear and uncertainty because of the un-necessary demands.

5.4 The cross: embracing shame

In his battle against the dehumanisation of the oppressed, Jesus as the *New Human Being* challenged his followers to take on the most humiliating and dehumanising oppressive code, the cross. In Mark 8:34 it is written, "And calling to him his disciples, he said to them, if anyone would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." The teaching involves three challenges: deny yourself, take up your cross (σταυρός) and follow me. In his time, Jesus' death on the cross was shameful in various ways. First, he died the death of a criminal because crucifixion in Rome was a punishment for serious offenders such as crimes against the state, high treason among the Persians, Greece and Carthaginians (Hengel 1977, 46). Hengel further states that "crucifixion was a means of waging war and securing peace, of wearing down rebellious cities under siege, and breaking the will of the conquered people" (1977, 46). It was a public display of power intended to terrorise those who resisted Roman rule and reduce them to a powerless status (Horsley 2011, 179). It is

noted by Wengst⁸¹ that the circumstances that surrounded Jesus' crucifixion among two robbers (Mark 15:27) and the inscription Jesus: "King of the Jews" (Mark 15:26) all have political implications as rebel activities that were interrupting the peace of Rome. Hence his death was a way of dealing with a disturber of peace (*Pax Romana*) by the power responsible for peace (1986, 2). Jesus' love and struggle for the oppressed led him to die as a slave as crucifixion among the Romans was meant for slaves who were rebellious, and the notorious robbers or insurrectionists. Jesus embodied the image of a slave and died on their behalf so that slaves no longer remained in the category of the dehumanised, but were liberated to a place of equality with others. Wengst (1986, 3) asserts that "the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus understood as a single event accordingly form the basis of a universal reconciliation and all embracing peace", which also raises the question as to whether *Pax Romana* really deserves the label "peace". It is rather right to assert that *Pax Romana* was an oppressive code which discriminated among people, lifting the elite to higher levels while handing over the poor to suffering--something Jesus decoded through his death on the cross. He established a link between the Gentiles and Jews, slaves and free, male and female, Barbarians and Greeks. Privileges were done away with, the exalted were brought low and the lowly exalted, to allow all people to meet together in an egalitarian community as opposed to the subjugation model of the *Pax Romana* (Wengst 1986, 4).

Pilch (1995, 65-66), Neyrey (1994, 114-117), Hengel (1977, 54) and Dewey (2001, 32) explain in detail the act of crucifixion, where the crosses were lined up on public display on the hill of Golgotha to intimidate the victims;

First it involved a public trial, the condemned was flogged and tortured in public and sometimes the eyes blinded, shock and pain cause the sphincters to relax, loss of bowel and control added further shame when the victim befouled with excrement and urine. The victim because of nailing was mutilated and disempowered because the hands and feet were constrained. The clothes were confiscated and more shame was heaped on the victim by the onlookers. Gradual loss of control over body functions caused additional befoulment and gross enlargement of the male organ and made the victim a target of humiliating laughter. There was suffocation, loss of blood and long time mockery and lack of honourable burial all contributed to the shame of the victim.

⁸¹ Although *Pax Romana* seems to be a new model in this work, I am engaging with it on the basis that it is a political weapon of power that the Romans used against the poor to cause shame to the marginalised. Hence it complements the models of honour and shame which is being applied in this work. It was also used politically to keep the marginalised below the status ladder, terrorising them by death on the cross.

The acceptance of such kind of death willingly as DeSilva states was an act of despising shame, rejecting the customary cultural definition of honour and shame and relying rather on God for true honour (in Pilch 1995, 68).

Neyrey (1994, 116-117) expands more on what is stated above by making a comparison of what is expected of an elite person and a non-elite person. The head is meant to be honoured when crowned or anointed and the servants honour the king not by looking into his face but by bowing before him. Hence slapping one in the face, spitting on them or even striking their head dishonours them. Secondly, clothes are meant to cover some body's parts that do not need to be exposed, hence clothing symbolises honour; for example, the king's dress identifies him as a man of honour. Stripping one naked eliminates all marks of honour and status, and further indicates powerlessness to defend the body parts. Thirdly, if the right arm, which is a symbol of male power and strength, is bound, tied, or nailed, the resulting powerlessness denotes shame. Fourthly, shame also comes as a result of intentionally spilling one's blood. Fifth, it was shameful to be seized and accused publically for doing wrong because it brings down the person's name, worth and reputation. Watson (2010, 712) states that there could be no more shameful experience than the elevation of crucifixion, the enthronement upon the cross and hence the most "shocking manifestation of the violence that could be inflicted when the most powerful members of society felt threatened by their social subordinates."

Jesus' death on the cross is an example of what is called by anthropologists 'status degradation rituals'. Malina and Rohrbaugh (2003, 413) define status degradation rituals as "a process of publically recasting, labelling, humiliating, and re-categorising a person as a social deviant." These rituals include denouncing a person's former identity, mocking, trials, hearings, political rallies all intended for the destruction of one's identity and credibility (2003, 413). In the final scene of Jesus' crucifixion, Pilate wanted to release him but the crowd insisted on having Barabbas the criminal released instead. In addition to what is described by Neyrey above, Jesus as the Son of the Father⁸² and Barabbas the common criminal switched roles, bringing to an end the humiliation of the degradation ritual. Hence what happened to Jesus--stripping, mocking, and worse still hanging naked on the public cross--reduced him to utter contempt and brought to completion the ritual of status degradation (2003, 413). In response to crucifixion, Cicero wrote "the executioner, the

⁸² Bar-Abba is Barabbas in Aramaic meaning son of the father, taking the place of Jesus Son of the true Father.

veiling of the head, and the very words of the cross should be far removed not only from the person of a Roman citizen but from his thoughts, his eyes and his ears. For it is not only the actual occurrence of these things or endurance of them, but liability to them, the expectation, nay mere mention of them, that is unworthy of a Roman citizen and a free man” (Watson 2010a, 711, 2010b, 69). He further mentions that “for the upper classes, then, the cross was an obscenity of which one should avoid mention while for the lower class especially slaves it was a very real threat” (2010a, 711). This confirms the reality that crucifixion was meant for the low class and non-Jews but not the elites.

The Jews were left powerless when their victims had to be tied or nailed on a wooden cross, to maximise public humiliation; contrasting the shame of the victim with the might of imperial power. The display of the victim on the roadside...a sustained attack on human dignity; the shame for Jews was further heightened by the belief that “anyone hung on the tree is under a curse” (Deut 21:23, Gal 3:13). For the Romans, displaying the shame of the defeated victim was seen as an inverse of the triumphal displays in Rome which recognised honour and glory of the conquerors (Tombs 1999, 95). Conquest and manipulation are tools used by oppressors to reduce the oppressed into things. It is done in many ways, including inflicting pain or acts of violence on an individual to keep people from thinking. This is another way they avoid dialogue with the oppressed (Freire 1993, 130).

Despite the harsh nature of the cross, Jesus called his disciples to deny themselves and follow him. Many interpretations have been attributed to self denial but I will support the view of the feminist theologians who attribute self denial to mean those with powers relinquishing rights and privileges for the sake of the marginalised (Dewey 1994, 487). Malina (1996, 74-94; 1994, 106-119) further applies the field of social psychology to analyse the meaning of self and then apply it the synoptic gospels. This is viewed in two categories, the individual and collective groups, and each has several characteristics that govern them. For the purposes of this thesis, which is based on life in antiquity, I will briefly look at the collective group as opposed to the individual group, which is more American-oriented.

Collectivism is described as “the belief that groups in which a person is embedded are each and singly ends in themselves” (Malina 1996, 79). The social behaviour of such a group is determined by the goals set by the group for the well being of all group members. Hence they are mindful of family integrity, solidarity and keeping the group in good health. They consist of persons who share a common fate, are rooted in circumstances of birth and place of origin

and their behaviour is consistent with the group expectations (1996, 79). Their virtues include “generalised reciprocity, obligation, duty, security, traditionalism, harmony, obedience to authority, equilibrium, always doing what is proper, cooperation, fatalism, pessimism, family centeredness, high need for affiliation, succour, abasement, nurturance, acquiescence, dependency, high super-ordination and subordination in the hierarchy” (1996, 79). They also have “a sense of shame, filial piety, respect for social order, self discipline, concern for social recognition, humility, respect for parents and elders, acceptance of one’s position in life, and preserving one’s public image” (1996, 79).

Self-denial as a requirement for following Jesus then requires one to say “no” to the collectivist group and join a new in-group consisting of affiliation to a fictive kin group. The focus of this new group is the revitalisation of Israel around Jesus plus the faction supporters around the country, notably Galilee (Malina 1996, 87). It requires the adoption of new goals that might direct the pursuit of achievement which improve the position of the fictive kin group (1996, 87). A faction is personally recruited by one person for his own purpose and those who are recruited are bound to facilitate and implement the goals of the faction founder. Hence Jesus’ new faction is governed by his goal of simplicity and good relationship with the poor and marginalised, for example Mark 9:35-37 and 10:43-44, a goal that he promises to achieve even if it means laying down his own life as a ransom for all (Mark 10:45). Hence denying the self, taking the cross and following Jesus involves denouncing the old order of life and joining a new order with new goals based on Jesus’ teaching, with the core value of embracing the poor and marginalised. But it is also important to note that “the cross did not simply punish one person but shamed all people associated with that person” hence the infliction of pain on Jesus as the group leader was a form of punishment to the whole group (Watson 2010b, 71). Therefore the followers of Jesus denying and taking up the cross had implications of loyalty to the crucified Christ who endured the most shameful and demeaning death for the sake of the oppressed, exploited and marginalised groups (2010b, 71).

In Mark 8:38 the Markan Jesus states that “If anyone is ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the *New Human Being* will be ashamed of him when he comes in his Father’s glory with the holy angels.” Watson (2010b) makes a significant contribution to the aspect of decoding honour which he calls “a new vision of honour”. He states that “Jesus avoids the wide spread ascribed and acquired honour status that would accompany his being widely known as the messiah” (2010, 67b). Jesus preferred to identify himself with shame (suffering, rejection and execution) before his resurrection, which placed

him in a position very different from the common standards of honour and shame. He indicated clearly that one who is worthy of honour will go to the cross to suffer the slave punishment and utter degradation associated with crucifixion (2010b, 68-69). The same argument is raised by France (2002, 341-342) when he relates the adulterous and sinful generation to the Old Testament prophesy of Israel committing adultery against God. Yet he also agrees that the contrast is drawn between honour and shame in relation to the life here on earth and the new life in Christ. He asserts that “the honour in human society which might be preserved by concealing one’s allegiance to Jesus and his teaching is to be set against the shame which will result in the eternal sphere” (France 2002, 342). And therefore shame is a small price to pay as compared to the honour to be acquired later. For Jesus it was not his agenda to achieve his own purposes but a reminder to all who wish to join him in the way of liberation to be aware of the consequences which might include being shamed by the rulers of the time. It is also true that Jesus was decoding honour in the sense in which it was understood in the Imperial world. For the sake of liberating the oppressed, it was better for him to take on the way of shame and then achieve the true honour after accomplishing his goal. Waetjen (1989, 145) notes that much as the *New Human Being* is co-enthroned with the creator and at the same time co-bearer of his sovereignty, he is vulnerable to all the realities of humanity hence he has to experience pain, good and evil as any other person. The difference is that death has no power over him. Through death Jesus fulfils his destiny as God’s vice regent that no power of his opponents can overtake.

Freire notes that “if what characterises the oppressed is their subordination to the consciousness of the master, true solidarity with the oppressed means fighting at their side to transform the objective reality which has made them these *beings of another*” (1993, 31). Jesus’ task to liberate the oppressed was not through the physical fight but the struggle to detach the oppressed from obeying the consciousness of their oppressor and recover their true identity. Freire further explains that the liberator has to view the oppressed as people who have been “unjustly dealt with, deprived of their voice, cheated in the sale of their labour...risks an act of love. True solidarity is found only in the plenitude of this act of love, in its existentiality, in its praxis...” (1993, 31-32). To use Freire’s word, Jesus “risked” his love because he was in solidarity with the oppressed whose voice had been deprived, humanity stolen and who were unjustly treated. Jesus confronted the pain of the oppressed by taking over the very instrument of their pain, rejecting honour and embracing shame.

5.5 A child

Jesus' ministry of identifying codes that oppressed the marginalised became essential when his own disciples rejected a group of people because of their social status – children. It is noted by Freire (1993, 98) that during decodification, the educator must not only “listen to the individuals but must challenge them, posing as problems both the codified existential situation and their own answers.” In this case Jesus challenged the tradition that viewed children as dependent and hence had no voice, rendering their mothers powerless even when they wanted to advocate for their children. Freire mentions that “the dependent society is by definition a silent society. Its voice is not an authentic voice, but merely an echo of the voice of the metropolis...” (1998b, 504). The combination of women and children was completely outside the cultural norms of a society where patriarchy was highly esteemed. Hence Jesus' response was a way of giving a voice to the voiceless which included women and their children.

Most commentators interpret Mark 10:13-16 in light of Mark 9:35-37. In both texts Jesus overturns the power and status expectations of his disciples by bringing up the image of a child (παιδία) as the true example of greatness. The word (παιδίον) means a very young child or infant, little child or growing child. It is noted that the “child's littleness, immaturity and need of assistance though commonly disparaged, keep the way open for the fatherly love of God whereas grown-ups so often block it” (Oepke 1967, 649). Therefore Jesus, with his discipleship teachings, challenges the hierarchical Roman society, where those of low status were always located at the margins. In this case it was his very disciples who rebuked those that brought the children. Scholars such as Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992, 117, 238), Spitaler (2009, 424), Myers (1988, 266-271), Bailey (1995, 59, 65) and Dewey (2001, 30) note that childhood in antiquity was a time of terror, hence a child could be taken as an oppressive code. Children were the most vulnerable members of society in the face of disease, famine, war, poverty due to high taxation, and death. Since the infant mortality rate was high, there were many orphans who lacked care. They were the most vulnerable. Therefore the parents always prepared their children to endure suffering because it was a present reality (Dewey 2001, 30). Children had no status in both the community and family until they reached an age where they could inherit their parent's estate if they were boys. It was different for girls who were always guarded by the patriarchal structures for the rest of their lives. A girl's life passed from the hands of the father into the hands of her husband. The oppressed had been socialised to understand that suffering is the way to live and one cannot get out of it. It is

noted by Freire that “the dominant elites utilise the banking concept to encourage passivity in the oppressed, corresponding with the latter’s submerged consciousness and take advantage of that passivity to fill the consciousness with slogans which create even more fear for freedom.” (Freire 1993, 76)

Girls were given away in marriage at a very early age in order to extend the honour and financial security of the family. On the contrary, peasant families also needed sons and daughters to make an immediate contribution to the family workforce. Children among the Jews were looked at as an extension of their parents. According to Rawson (1991, 11) some children, especially among the Romans, were beaten to death by their fathers in the name of corporal punishments. Most parents did not make a clear distinction between their children and slaves and so the same kind of punishment given to a slave was also given to a child if they did not submit to the father’s or master’s authority. It is further noted that because of harsh conditions, divorce and poverty, some parents were forced to abandon their children or even sell them into slavery (Saller 1991, 145; Eyben 1991, 121-122).

It is important to note that some of the atrocities that happened to children in the Roman family were not the same as what was experienced in the Jewish family. In the Jewish families children were also seen as a blessing and a source of protection and security to their parents, especially when they came into old age. Gundry notes that Jesus hugging and blessing children also has Jewish intimations in that children were treated as objects of blessing on some occasions, especially when they were brought to elders on the Day of Atonement (2008, 154). Being a patriarchal community, a wife’s place in the home was dependent on bearing male children. Children also supported their mothers emotionally together with her siblings from the father’s side. It is also clear that the Jewish law protected children including those not yet born (Exod. 21:22-25); “*when men strive together and hit a pregnant woman, so that her children come out, but there is no harm, the one who hit her shall surely be fined, as the woman’s husband shall impose on him, and he shall pay as the judges determine. But if there is harm, then you shall pay life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.*” It is also evident that the midwives in Egypt feared God and did not expose or kill the Israelite children (Exod. 1:17, 21). Even with some positive implications, it did not change their status on the social hierarchy in either Roman Palestine or Jewish societies. Children among the Jews by law were supposed to honour their parents (Exod. 20:12, Lev 19:3) which put them

in a subordinate position and also exposed them to the danger of harsh punishment in the form of discipline.

In Mark 10:13-16, the disciples rebuked those who were bringing children to Jesus for a blessing, but Jesus, knowing the status of children, allowed them to come to him. The word used to describe Jesus' mood when the disciples stopped the children to come to him is the same that is used to describe the disciples' mood when James and John asked for places of honour. Both Jesus and the disciples were indignant (*ἀγανακτέω*). This means that Jesus expressed displeasure, he was angry. Further, as France (2002, 39) notes, Jesus not only became irritated with the disciples' failure to learn but also was angry with their attitude towards children. Jesus' embrace of the children is a clear decoding of the status of children and granted them access into the kingdom of God. Jesus challenged the hierarchical structures that located children among the poor, weak, needy and powerless. Hence Jesus wanted the disciples to understand that the children were part of the target group that he came to liberate. The disciples rebuked those who were bringing the children to Jesus for the blessing because their minds were dominated by "Jewish debates about rank in the kingdom, and wide spread views on seniority in antiquity" (Gundry 2008, 165). On the same note, the disciples rebuked those who brought the children the same way the crowd rebuked Bartimaeus, stopping him from seeing Jesus. In both instances, Jesus stops and grants the wish of the weak, discriminated and marginalised in society. This is an indication of Jesus' successful journey of discipleship where he puts the young before the old, disabled before the able, and the poor before the rich and he overturns seniority by blessing the younger over the objections of the elder. He replaces a conventional hierarchy with one based on need, giving the marginalised the first priority on his agenda (Gundry 2008, 168). The disciples are seen as obstructing Jesus' good intentions for the marginalised. This is a clear indication that even when the disciples had moved with Jesus for some time, they still had the hierarchical mindset that their society had inculcated in them, where the one at the top speaks while the person below remains silent. Freire further notes that "the silence of the object society in relation to the director society is repeated in relationships within the object society itself. Its power elites, silent in the face of the metropolis, who silence their own people in turn" (1998b, 504). The disciples partly duplicated what the oppressive elites did to them.

Jesus in the gospel of Mark understood the child as a victim who must be rescued and given a place in the kingdom of God. Jesus' demeaning servant role in the gospel of Mark draws him to attend to the little children; for example Jesus raised Jairus' daughter (Mark 5:41ff), healed

the daughter of the Syrophenician woman (Mark 7:24ff), and the boy with an unclean spirit (Mark 9:14ff) whom his disciples had failed to heal. Mark 10:13-16, given the vulnerability of children, has implications for peasant women whose babies were likely to die before they finish a year. They bring them to Jesus to be blessed in order to prevent death from taking them. They had faith that by Jesus' touch, the children will be protected from death and more so from evil spirits and the evil eye which was considered to be the greatest killer of children (Malina and Rohrbaugh 1992, 243). Rawson, in his discussion about the protection of a newborn child in the Roman culture, notes that children were also protected against death by putting amulets around the child's neck. Various birds were also used for divine protection, and certain rituals were done to protect the child immediately after birth. For example the Romans considered both child and mother to be unclean and dangerous hence a ritual of purification was done in the house to protect the child. Three men armed with axe, pestle and broom approached the house, two struck the threshold and the other swept the floor (Rawson 1991, 14). The vulnerability of children in the Gospel of Mark is taken care of by the parents who play a liberating role by presenting them before Jesus (Gundry 2008, 173).

In her final analysis on children in Mark, Gundry asserts that "Mark's gospel illustrates how in light of the dawning of God's Kingdom in Jesus, children's traditional social and religious inferiority can no longer justify their marginalisation..." (Gundry 2008 176). For Schussler Jesus' teaching in Mark 10:13-16 is a challenge to relinquish all claims of power and domination over others, and for those powerful in Palestine society to be in solidarity with the slaves and powerless in society. She further comments on the first being last and the last first-that it has nothing to do with eschatological role reversal but about the solidarity from below required by the basileia of God. In a society in which masters and slaves exist, it challenges those in positions of dominance in feudal society to become equal with those who are powerless (Schussler 1983, 148). Horsley (2009, 118-119), focusing on the renewal of the covenant, agrees with Schussler about the presence of the Kingdom of God for the poor villagers as opposed to the powerful. The same argument is advanced by Witherington (2001, 15) that Jesus' receiving a child was one way of identifying himself with the helpless so that they may be helped by those who wish to serve Jesus and if they serve children then they are serving him. Jesus' love for children was another way of re-encoding the Israelite law codes and the message of the prophets about the welfare of the children and widows, thus reclaiming their economic rights. Among the Jews, "the King's protection and provision for widows, orphans, and the poor were central to royal ideology" (Horsley 2009, 119).

Irrespective of the status of children in antiquity, Jesus used them as a tool to demonstrate the presence of the Good News for the poor villagers as opposed to the wealthy and powerful (2009, 119).

Jesus in his teaching disregarded seniority and taught that the kingdom of God belonged to those considered by societal measures to be ignorant, immature, morally deficient and socially inferior like the little children. Jesus further reminds his disciples that unless they become childlike they will never enter the kingdom of God. Jesus uses the children as a symbol of social transformation by effecting a reversal of the conventional value scale; he accords importance to the unimportant by treating them equally instead of suppressing them. Jesus reverses the socio-cultural norms about status and brings the last to be first and the first last. He draws the children from the margins to the centre of his new community (Myers 1988, 267). Therefore the children in Mark's community are a representation of all the marginalised who share the child status, namely the women, the sick, lame, blind and the demon possessed. Jesus embracing the little children is a way of decoding and disempowering all forms of marginalisation, domination, hierarchy and patriarchy which form the core values of the Roman Palestine society. His followers are urged to be in solidarity with the vulnerable, represented in this case by the children.

5.6 Patriarchy

Gender inequality was a common phenomenon during the time of Jesus. This was one of the oppressive codes that Jesus encountered in his teaching. In Biblical literature it is not uncommon for women and children to be categorised together, as mentioned above. Hence it is appropriate to briefly discuss the status of women in the ministry of Jesus just after a discussion of children. It appears rather unusual to begin the section on women with the text that comes at the end of the gospel. However, it is important to notice that although women followed Jesus along the way, it is only in Mark 15:40-41 that they are acknowledged as followers. Dialogue is a process and as Freire (1993, 76) mentions

Revolutionary leaders do not go to the people in order to bring them a message of salvation, but in order to come to know through dialogue with them both their objective situation and their awareness of that situation, the various levels of the perception of themselves and the world in which and with which they exist.

Discussing the story of discipleship, it is true that Jesus played rather a revolutionary role with the women. It is his compassion and love that made them decide to follow him to the point of his death. Any new reader who comes across this text (Mark 15:40-41) will refer to

the beginning of the gospel to find out the roles women have played in the gospel and how they came to be attached to Jesus. My point of departure in this thesis highlights women's discipleship and explains how the oppressive code of patriarchy empowered discrimination against women. Jesus decoded the system and gave women a place in his ministry, not as subjects but as agents in the new order of servanthood. It contrasted with the order of servanthood in which they had been subjected and dehumanised. *"There were also women looking on from a distance, among whom were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of Jesus the younger and of Joseph and Salome. When he was in Galilee, they followed him (ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ) and ministered to him (διηκόνουν αὐτῷ) and there were also many other women who came up with him to Jerusalem"* (Mark 15:40-41). It was not proper for women to travel publicly with Jesus given the strict Jewish regulations. Jesus being a Jew had already known about patriarchy and its influence upon women and children in the Jewish culture. Women were limited from public activity; they were supposed to keep their heads covered and fulfil their domestic roles as stipulated by society (Keener 1993, 1670). As I mentioned above, they were shrouded in a culture of silence, kept away from the public scene by their masters (husbands, fathers). In the above text women had followed Jesus and ministered to him from Galilee to Jerusalem. Jesus embodied the women's servant role by becoming a servant so that their servitude roles in the domestic arena could be transformed into discipleship in the public space. Although women in the Gospel of Mark are mentioned in relation to a male figure, or not named at all, towards the end of the Gospel three women have been acknowledged independently by name. The naming of women and allowing them to appear in the public space renders powerless the cultural bias of the andocentric society that influenced Mark (Kinukawa 1994, 91). Jesus interacted with a number of women. I will briefly mention them in this section in light of the new model that decodes patriarchy, an oppressive code where women had been left in the margins of society.

The words "follow" ἀκολουθέω and "minister" διακονέω exemplify the true discipleship of the women who followed and ministered to Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem, women who were able to stand, though at a distance, to witness the crucifixion, death and burial of Jesus and finally became the first witnesses of the resurrected Lord. Fiorenza (1983, 323) notes that "those who are furthest from the centre of religious and political power, the slaves, the gentiles, the women become the paradigms of true discipleship." The naming of the women comes just after the confession of the Roman centurion that indeed Jesus is the Son of God, a title that comes only after Jesus' death and then later the tearing of the veil. This is indicative

that “crucifixion is a time of revelation which signifies the in breaking of the kingdom of God that Jesus did not want to identify himself with during his earthly ministry (Miller 2004, 171). This kingdom which originally was closed to women is now open under the leadership of the *New Human Being*. Miller further notes that because the women kept the faith and their relationship with Jesus irrespective of the danger, they are associated with perseverance and courage in the face of persecution and death. They are witnesses of the eschatological hope that looked beyond the cross and the present suffering into the future kingdom that Jesus was bound to initiate (2004, 172-173). For the women, the kingdom of God was a symbol of anti-Imperial rule, with liberating power that appealed to all those that had been victimised by the Roman system, because it envisioned an alternative world free from hunger, poverty and domination (Schussler 1997, 7). The discipleship of equals stands in opposition to kyriarchal structures, bringing renewal to the people of Israel and securing identity for all the people of God irrespective of their social status. All the women silenced and marginalised by kyriarchal hierarchical structures of domination now have space in this ekklesia process of radical democratisation that is inspired by basileia vision of society and a world free from domination (1997, 9). According to Kinukawa (1994, 91, 100), though Jesus embraced women and gave them recognition he could not radically change the values of his society.

Kinukawa adds that although women played a fundamental role in the ministry of Jesus, careful interpretation has to be considered so that women are not understood to have been connected only to meals, domestic service and lower class or the gender role ideology where women are limited to domestic work alone (Kinukawa 2001, 186). The word “servant” is attributed to a person in a position which lacks power and honour, who is responsible for serving meals and who has with the lowest social status in the group; this word affirms that women have taken positions of low status in discipleship and not positions of power (Miller 2004, 163). The story of Peter’s mother-in-law in Mark 1:29-31, marks the very first encounter of a woman with Jesus. Here the word “service” is used to indicate her immediate role after the healing. Krause (2001, 42) notes that the text is a representation of a positivistic exaggeration of women’s discipleship in the gospel tradition at the expense of critically examining the context and object of Simon’s mother-in-law’s service. One has to be sure that the writer is not exalting the patriarchal value for traditional gender roles of feminine domestic servitude. On the contrary, the word serve *διακονέω* is only used for the woman (Mark 1:31, 15:41) and Jesus (Mark 10:45) and in this case Peter’s mother in-law is carrying out the same mandate that Jesus requires of his followers (Selvidge in Krause 2001, 45).

Selvidges's argument does not rule out what Krause states that the text puts emphasis on domesticity of women as servants. Malbon (in Miller 2004, 170) argues that the probable reason why women are named at the end of the gospel is that "the service of women can only be understood in relation to the service of Jesus which is illustrated by the giving of his life." The text further illustrates the "androcentric nature of the Bible and its potential to serve patriarchal functions specifically functions of women's domestic servitude" (Krause 2001, 39). However the healing of Peter's mother-in-law raises two issues for reflection, namely, the patriarchal ideology of Mark and Jesus' attending to a woman's need for healing. Hence some feminist theologians argue that the service that was rendered to Jesus and his disciples is part of the "comprehensive narrative message of Mark about the importance of women as models of faith or as a part of a historical tradition that bears witness to the centrality of women disciples within the service movement and the early church" (Krause 2001, 41).

Miller (2004, 170) further notes that as much as the disciples are characterised by power and status, the new age of women is associated with self-giving love and the self-giving power of Jesus' life for others, which is more powerful than worldly concepts of power. However, Stalcup (1995, 124) asserts, "Servanthood and encouragement to be slaves of Christ have been used by whites to keep Africans in their place, putting people whose heritage is real slavery, house hold service, field labour and yard work in their place." Her question remains unanswered; where is the redeeming, liberating message of love in servanthood? Stalcup is mindful of the patriarchy which has empowered domination and subordination of women cutting across lines of culture, economic classes, races and nationalities. She asserts that "Jesus' ability to liberate is not seen in his maleness, but in the renunciation of the system of domination and his seeking to embody in himself the new humanity of service and mutual empowerment (Stalcup 1995, 128). On the contrary, Moltmann (1987, 111) notes that "service in Mark is not humiliating but a mutual giving and taking, a self surrender and mutual acceptance, an exchange of love, tenderness, help and comfort." Hence Jesus' embodiment of the servanthood model, by becoming a servant himself to the point of death, is one way of stripping patriarchal powers and creating an egalitarian community free from marginalisation, domination and exploitation. Since decoding "stimulates the new perception and development of knowledge" (Freire 1993, 96), the consciousness of women is meant to be transformed from the old mentality of servitude at the domestic level, to the discipleship of equals in the public sphere. Freire (1993, 65), in problem posing education, suggests that there is always a point of departure where people look ahead and use their past situations only

as a means of understanding who they are so as to build the future. Jesus met the women where they were in their historical setting and intervened in their sickness, sin, and helplessness. When the women realised that Jesus could love them the way they were, they set to depart and follow him. Freire (1998b, 504) notes that

Only when the people of a dependent society break out of the culture of silence and win their right to speak, then radical structural changes transform the dependent society and such a society as a whole cease to be silent towards the dominant society.

Jesus' openness and willingness to listen to the women was so instrumental in breaking the culture of silence and allowing them to confront him with their terminal situations. In Mark 5:21-43, two healing stories are recorded. One is about the woman with the flow of blood and the young girl whom Jesus brought back to life. It is reported that "The woman, knowing what had happened to her, came and fell at his feet and trembling with fear, told him the whole story" (Mark 5:33). It is noted by Dewey (2006, 23) that the compassionate act of Jesus to these women was not right in light of the Jewish culture. In the first-century cultural context, women were considered less clean than men and constituted a perennial threat of pollution to men. Despite the fact that these two are women, each of them also has a different source of impurity. It was considered unclean if anyone touched a dead person and it is true the young girl was a corpse given the report that was brought to Jesus. It was also an abomination for a woman with a haemorrhage or any kind of discharge to physically appear in public or to touch someone or something. Any physical contact with these women was meant to render Jesus unclean. Instead, Jesus makes them pure and restores them to society.

According to the Gospel of Mark, Jesus created a new community that understood the realm of God as whole, inclusive, and without boundaries, not as the kind of exclusive realm advocated by some Jewish groups, such as the Pharisees. Despite the fact that this bleeding woman violated the purity code and risked public contact, Jesus in the gospel of Mark said, "daughter, (θυγάτηρ) your faith has healed you. Go in peace and be freed from your suffering" (Mark 5:34). As noted above Jesus did not approach women to give them an automatic message of salvation but first to establish and objectively understand their situation. Jesus gave the woman a chance to speak. It is also noted that in tradition, if a woman with a haemorrhage kind of situation touched a jar of water, even if it is sealed, or counted coins, a man would not touch the jar or even the coin (Massey 1989, 23). But the woman dared to touch Jesus, a male Jew. The disciples in the crowd did not take Jesus

seriously when he said someone had touched him “You see the people crowding against you and you can ask who touched me?” (Mark 5:31). Jesus insisted, until the woman came trembling with fear and fell at his feet and told him the whole truth. She had to dare to explain her condition in public and Jesus gave her audience. Cotter, in her analysis of the story of the woman with the flow of blood, notes that Jesus granted the woman honour because of the decision and faith that she had to touch him. Jesus himself is free from the need of public honour and also from the need to dominate women. Jesus’ touch did not only liberate her from the flow of blood but also from the dominant structures that caused fear (Cotter 2001, 59-60). According to France (2002, 238) the use of the term daughter was to offer assurance in relation to the touching of his garments in Mark 5:30, and the consequent fear and trembling of the woman on realising that she had been discovered. Jesus took away her shame and restored her respect by calling her daughter, after she had culturally violated the modesty of a woman by touching a strange man on the street. The dismissal that Jesus gave to this woman was a standard biblical dismissal “go in peace” which combines both the blessing and the prayer that wholeness and health may accompany a person (Donahue 2002, 176). The healing of this unclean and bleeding woman was an interruption in the journey while Jesus was on his way to heal Jairus’ daughter. It is noticed that Jairus too came and knelt before Jesus pleading with him to heal the daughter, and the woman came and fell before Jesus after realising that Jesus had noticed her action. Jesus dared to break the purity laws by first allowing the bleeding woman to touch him, and second, touching a dead girl (corpse) to give her life.

The Syrophoenician woman is reported falling at Jesus’ feet begging Jesus to drive away the evil spirit out of her daughter in Mark 7:24. Jesus told her “first let the children eat all they want, for it is not right to take the children’s bread and toss it to their dogs (κυνάριον)” and the woman answered in faith, “*but even the dogs under the table eat the children’s crumbs*”. Because of her reply to Jesus her daughter was healed. For the first time in Mark, Jesus engaged in a revolutionary dialogue with the woman. This woman is not a Jew who could not be allowed to speak to any respectable teacher. She is alone--whether widowed or not it is not clear. As Horsley (2001, 212-213) asserts, women could always be identified with a male figure like Peter’s mother in-law and Jairus’ daughter but the case of this woman and the one with haemorrhage, they come to Jesus as women alone. To make matters worse for the Syrophoenician woman, even the demon possessed person is a daughter not a son. Further, demon possession also has implications for ritual impurity.

Irrespective of what the situation or the status of the woman was, her argument and faith challenges Jesus' response, proving to him that the alternative model that he is developing includes the gentile too. The act of Jesus calling the woman *dog* has raised different reactions from scholars--that the act was morally offensive, unacceptable, theologically difficult, insulting in the extreme and has caused embarrassment, disappointment and anger (Sun 2010, 381-382). *Dogs* among Jews were unclean animals and hostile, and hence to be called a *dog* as in 2 Sam 19:9, Ps. 22:16, Phil 3:2 was an insult, deliberately dismissive and offensive (France 2002, 298). Ringe (2001, 89) notes that the Hebrew Bible portrays *dogs* as scavengers who lick human blood and that the term is a metaphor of Israel's enemies (1 Sam. 17:43, Ps 22:11, Isa. 56:10-11). She further asserts that *dog* did not refer to gentiles in general but to groups that were hostile to the Jewish law, namely wealthy city dwellers of Tyre, because of their exploitative behaviour which was incompatible with divine mandates of justice that Jesus' ministry and Jewish law affirmed (Ringe 2001, 89-90). It is probable that the woman was being categorised among the economic exploiters who were grabbing the resources from the poor. Hence Jesus' power to heal is taken as a limited resource where priority has to be given to the Jews, who normally wait at the end of the line (2001, 90). Therefore, given the reality of the Jew-gentile relationships, France (2002, 296) asserts that "the woman's victory in the debate is a decisive watershed as a result of which the whole future course of the Christian movement is set not on the basis of Jewish exclusivism but of sharing the children's bread." The woman, in her desperate situation, and Jesus, allowing her audience and engaging in dialogue, both decoded the image of *a dog* and created a way forward for the gentiles to enjoy the privileges of the children of God using the image of sharing bread. Although Mark presents women with a sense of urgency, they are desperate, tired of their situation of exploitation, they are victims of marginalisation and need for immediate liberation from the patriarchal system that had robbed their freedom and joy (Sun 2010, 386), Jesus' alternative model of discipleship--offering engagement in dialogue with them and response to their needs--is in line with empowering them into freedom.

Jesus further encountered a widow in Mark 12.41-44. He said "Truly, I say to you, this poor widow has put in more than all those who are contributing to the offering box. For they all contributed out of their abundance, but she out of her poverty has put everything she had, all she had to live on." Widows were very vulnerable. Because they had lost their husbands, who were a source of their identity and protection, they were a target of exploitation. It is noted of

some widows in the early church that they were rich, but in this case she was poor. Widows were defenceless and Jesus had condemned the scribes “who devour widows’ (χήρῶν) houses and for pretence make long prayers. They will receive the greater condemnation” (Mark 12:40). France (2002, 491) mentions circumstances that prevailed around the exploitation of widows: sometimes the elites took their houses as pledges for unpayable debts; the temple cult and its promotion ate up the resources of the pious poor; or their hospitality and trust were exploited.

In Mark 14:3-5, a woman came and anointed Jesus and he commended her for having prepared his body for burial. She said nothing at all, we are not told even when she left or anything that Jesus said to her. However, the comment that Jesus made was an indication of his appreciation to the woman for what she did; an act of service that no one else had thought about, including the twelve disciples. Myers (1988, 359) asserts that “The action of this woman is taken as exemplary. This is yet another example of the politically least assuming the position of the greatest.” For Myers this was prophetic anointing which was supposed to be done by a man; but in this case it is a woman who named Jesus. Dewey (2009, 27) notes that “to tend someone's feet as in Luke's and John's stories is the act of a social inferior, a slave or a woman” (Luke 7:36-50, John 12:1-8). But a host might anoint a guest's head as a sign of rejoicing. In addition, anointing on the head calls that person to God's service, consecrating him or her for a special task. Prophets and priests were anointed for ministry and more so those chosen to be kings. So this woman's action was a fulfilment of the prophetic function of choosing and empowering Jesus for his messianic role. Mark states that her deed will be remembered throughout the whole world wherever the good news is preached (14:9). Although the voices of women were silenced by culture and religion, Jesus tenderly commends them, comforts them, and appreciates them. Dialogue, as Freire says, “is born out of profound love for the people” (1993, 70). It is out of love for women that Jesus was able to create dialogue which generated value among women in a culture that was oppressive to them. Russell notes that “persons on the margin are not to be excluded because they are poor, sick, or deficient in any way. In this sense Jesus' inclusion of women as disciples, followers, and witnesses stands as a constant correction of the patriarchal biases of religious leaders in his time and ours” (1993, 23).

It is also important to note that in a society where honour and shame were pivotal values, Hanson and Oakman (1998, 24-25) assert that the social roles ascribed to men and women in

Palestine during Jesus' time were stipulated in the law while others were part of the assumptions operating deep in the society's structures, arrangements and habits on the assumption that gender configurations were obvious and simply natural. He notes that the worldview of first century Palestine, and specifically the Markan community, was constructed on patriarchy in both its structures and assumptions. In the ancient patriarchal societies, the privileged status of the male stemmed from the assumption that it was his seed that created a child (Wisdom 7:1-2); this means that the role of a mother was only to provide a womb for the baby to grow. There was also a strong belief that in creation God created the man first and therefore gave him a superior position (Gen 2:7-23, I Cor. 11: 7-9). According to Philo, male and female have two different souls. Ancient Israelites viewed women as potentially dangerous and a daughter's chastity as the weak link in the family's shame. Women were therefore looked at as "potential sources of shame" if they lost their chastity (Hanson and Oakman 1998, 25).

Similarly in the power structures of the ancient Mediterranean society, men held the dominant public position while women occupied the private or domestic sphere. Hence it is not easy to describe the place of women in the discourse of honour and shame. It is said that the "men competed among themselves to defend their masculinity" and in the same way had to protect the chastity of women under their custody in order to maintain honour as men (Osiek 1992, 21; Moxnes 1996:21). Shame in the Mediterranean culture was understood as "modesty, shyness or deference" and it was these "virtues often construed as feminine that enabled a woman to preserve her chastity as well as her obedience to the male head of the family in which she was embedded" (1992:21). Women were expected to display shyness, not concern for prestige, deference, not concern for precedence, submission, not aggressiveness, timidity, not daring, and restraint, not boldness (Malina and Neyrey 1991, 42; Neyrey 1998, 32). This sums up the broad social expectations concerning females in antiquity. When females have this kind of shame, then they have honour and are positively judged in the court of reputation for living according to the social expectations encoded in the gender stereotype.

5.7 Slaves and servants

These are the two titles that Jesus identifies for those who want to be great. The best way that a teacher can change the situation of the oppressed is to introduce a humanising pedagogy. In a humanising pedagogy, revolutionary leadership establishes a permanent relationship of dialogue with the oppressed without any hint of manipulation (Freire 1993, 50-51). Jesus

acted out the servant role to show his willingness to identify with the oppressed, in opposition to the treatment received from their masters. Glancy (2002), Kinukawa (1993) and Santos (2004) give some detail of the duties of slaves and servants in early first century Christianity. They note that a slave was treated as property, without human dignity, authority or privilege, who was expected to serve his master with no recognition or commendation. Scholars (Kinukawa 1993, 100; Santos 2004, 206; Glancy 2002, 9-17) assert that slaves in the Roman Empire were vulnerable to physical control, coercion, and abuse both in public and private spaces. Slavery was conditioned by gender and sexuality. A male slave had no legal connections to his own offspring, thus excluding him from the cultural status of fatherhood. Patterson (1982, 5) defines a slave as a

socially dead person, alienated from all rights or claims of birth, he ceased to belong in his own right to any legitimate order, all slaves experienced at the very least a secular excommunication...culturally isolated from the social heritage of his ancestors...they were not allowed freely to integrate the experience of their ancestors in their lives, to inform their understanding of social reality with inherited meanings of their natural forebears, or to anchor the living present in any conscious community or memory...⁸³

The slave masters sexually abused their slaves any time they wanted. Female slaves were valued more because of their biological capacities of reproduction and lactation. Their value diminished at the age of forty-five when they stopped bearing children because their value, based on increasing the generation of slaves, also stopped (Glancy 2002, 9). In the case of a slave owner who failed to pay his dues, he would hand over the slave to be punished and imprisoned while he went free. The slaves were referred to as bodies and these bodies were vulnerable to abuse and penetration. The Roman law of dominium or absolute ownership put emphasis on a slave as a “thing” that could always be used either as a direct object of domination or as indirect means of dominating others. They were used as capitalistic workforce, concubines or retainers. They reproduced and accumulated wealth both in persons (women were exploited in farms and reproduction of other slaves) and in goods (Glancy 2002, 11; Patterson 1982, 33). Garnsey and Saller (1987, 116) refer to slaves as chattel, not persons, but objects or property that can be moved anywhere to any place; for example they could be bought and sold or punished at the will of the masters. They washed the master’s feet and did the entire house menial work. The law permitted free persons to abuse slaves

⁸³ Although there seems to be a generalised view of slavery and slaves, the Jewish law protected the slaves (Exod 21:2ff) and the slavery discussed in the covenant code ranges from poverty or failure to pay debt. This was temporary servitude where a slave serves for six years and then goes free. The covenant code also regulated physical punishment or injury of slaves (Exod. 21:20-21). See Klein, Ralph W. 1982. A Liberated Life Style: Slaves and Servants in Biblical Perspective. *Currents in Theology and Mission* 4:212-221.

who crossed their paths. Slaves did all the disreputable actions as instructed by their owners, while protecting their reputations, livelihood and physical integrity. Slaves were relied on as surrogate bodies to do all the dirty work for their master when they wanted to keep their hands clean to the extent of enduring torture for the sake of their masters (2002, 16-17). According to Patterson (1982, 22-26) slaves did not deserve any sense of politeness, they had no legal or moral personality, they were capable of being bought and sold and the master had power over all aspects of his slave's life. This qualifies the slave to be in a position of the owner's property. In socio-economic terms, power was mediated through wealth especially land and slaves (Patterson 1982, 28). Therefore slaves were a major asset in the Roman economy in addition to land.

Slaves lived all their time with the psychological oppression associated with lack of freedom, the threat of the whip, the breakup of families, and sexual abuse (Garnsey and Saller 1987, 116). A condition is cited about slaves who worked in the mines: "their skins were seamed all over with marks of old floggings, one could see through the holes in their ragged shirts that shaded rather than covered their scarred backs; but some wore only loin cloths. They had letters marked on their fore heads, and half shaved heads and irons on their legs" (1987, 119). Patterson (1982, 192-193) further noted that Rome exercised the cruellest treatment of a slave. Slaves were killed by their masters by sending them to fight wild beasts, which could tear them and instantly kill them. Slaves were not allowed to be witnesses or to swear oaths except under the circumstance when the master was on trial for treason. Dehumanisation which is caused by injustice, exploitation, oppression and violence can only be transformed if the oppressed yearn for justice and freedom to recover their lost humanity. As much as the slaves struggled for the recovery of their humanity, the results became worse, leading to extreme torture and crucifixion. Into this, Jesus took upon himself the punishment and torture and the cross for the freedom of the oppressed.

Kaminouchi (2003, 134) notes that the difference between the two words *διάκονος* and *δοῦλος* depends very much on the context; for example the *diakonia* in Mark 10:43 is strongly determined by its parallelism with the service attributed to a slave.⁸⁴ Although Patterson notes some positive treatment of slaves, they were still under the mercy of their master. He mentions that the degradation of the slave nurtured the master's sense of honour – it began in

⁸⁴ More on *διάκονος* will be discussed in the next chapter.

his childhood training by slave nannies, making him a ready object for the exercise of power -because all free persons, including the poorest took pride in the fact that they were not slaves (Patterson 1982, 99). However it is important to note that although the Jews had slaves, their treatment was rooted in Israel's formative deliverance from Egypt, which was their basis for a distinctive identity. Covenantal laws protected chattel slavery among the Jews (Lev 25:39-46). It is also true that their selling and buying of slaves was condemned by Prophet Amos: that the righteous were sold for silver and the needy for a pair of sandals (Amos 2:6). Some of the Jews still sold themselves into slavery because of debt (Exod. 21:5, Deut 15:7). The title servant in Israel was used concurrently to mean servant of the King or lord and also the servant of God. However, even in this context, the relationship of subordination remained evident in that the master ranked higher than the servant.

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the authorship, date and audience of the gospel of Mark. In the audience I have identified marginalised groups that are evident in the gospel such as the poor, the degraded, the elites and the artisans. I have also discussed the different oppressive codes that Jesus identified in his discipleship journey. These codes represent particular categories of people described in the audience above that suffered the pain of poverty, exploitation, as well as all cases of injustices that dehumanised them. In the same context I have further noted that the role of the *New Human Being* was to advocate for the rights of the poor and bring them freedom and liberation, which included healing, exorcism, and liberty from the Sabbath and purity laws that bound them as victims before the ruling authorities. I have also analysed the horror of the cross and how the poor were subject to pain and punishment. The *New Human Being* embodied the pain of the cross as a subject in order to decode its horror of punishment and turn it into a throne of glory.

CHAPTER SIX

EXEGETICAL ANALYSIS OF MARK 10:35-52

6.0 Introduction

The pericope of Mark 10:35-52 is at the climax of the passion predictions and the teaching on the theme of discipleship. It is a critique of the political domination that existed in first century Palestine (Myers 1988, 278). The passage concludes with the healing of blind Bartimaeus, who demonstrates true discipleship by following Jesus as soon as he recovered his sight. Bartimaeus models the extent to which Jesus demonstrated his love to the marginalised, those who were at the bottom of the socioeconomic pyramid of Roman Palestine. The miracle further signalled liberation and direct confrontation of the old oppressive order and as Waetjen suggests “salvation involves seeing not only physical sight but also genuine perception” (1989, 179). Therefore Bartimaeus’ right perception of who Jesus was led him to follow on the way to Jerusalem. Jesus demonstrated his new model of servanthood by identifying the oppressive codes that the elites used to exploit the poor. The analysis of the oppressive codes is explored using the social scientific models of patron and client and honour and shame to reveal the tools that the imperial rulers used to oppress the peasant class and how Jesus decoded the system by embracing shame as an excellent way of identifying with the oppressed.

6.1 Verses 35-37

In verses 35-37 Mark writes that “Then James and John the sons of Zebedee, came to him. Teacher, they said, we want you to do for us whatever we ask.” What do you want me to do for you? he asked. They replied, Let one of us sit at your right hand and the other at your left in glory.” The two disciples, James and John, made a request indicating great ambition because they were convinced that their leader would prevail. They were already considering the administration of the new regime. They were lobbying for the first and second cabinet positions (Myers 1988, 278). It is important to note that in the time of Jesus, the Jews lived under Roman rule. According to Horsley (2005, 24) the Roman army had conquered the area six years before the birth of Christ, rendering the Jews powerless in choosing their own leadership. The Imperial rulers dictated who should be their King and priest. It is true that in the period before the Roman conquest, the Judeans had first been ruled by the Persian Imperial regime. The subsequent Greek Imperial regimes had retained the political religious

arrangements of the control of the area and collection of revenues. When the Romans took over, the allegiance of the elites shifted to a new Imperial rule (Horsley 2005, 24). It is noted that there was honour, glory and prestige for the nation, the Roman people and the empire, which was acquired by war and by making other states subject to Roman rule (Moxnes 1996, 36). This made the Jews live with a longing to have their own King one day and be free from the Imperial rule. Jesus' teaching was surrounded by two opposing forces: the conquered Jews and the Roman conquerors. Freire (1993, 71) asks questions about factors that pose a great barrier to dialogue, factors which to some extent, existed among the parties in this text. He asks

How can I dialogue if I always project arrogance onto others and never perceive my own? How can I dialogue if I regard myself as a case apart from others - mere "its" in whom I cannot recognise other "I"s? How can I dialogue if I consider myself a member of the in-group of pure men, the owners of truth and knowledge, for whom all the non members are "these people"...? How can I dialogue if I start from the premise that naming the world is the task of the elite...? How can I dialogue if I am closed to and offended by the contribution of others...? How can I dialogue if I am afraid of being displaced...? Self sufficiency is incompatible with dialogue.

James and John were influenced by a world where the rulers had no place for dialogue. Power was in the hands of the elites and the poor were treated as mere things for the sake of retaining honour and positions. Therefore having been influenced by the honour culture of the Roman world, James and John were thinking of having better positions on the social ladder in glory (δόξα) which would give them value and status among their social group. The word δόξα was used in the Old Testament secular sense to mean honour or something weighty that gives a human being importance. It was also used for wealth or for the position of honour conferred by material substance, or something which is impressive and demands recognition (Kittel 1964, 238). Yet in the Septuagint, glory (δόξα) was used in reference to God, God's honour or power and divine manifestation or revelation to humanity (1964, 244). The excitement of the disciples alludes to the secular definition of glory. France (2002, 415) asserts that James and John's excitement could have emerged as a result of their coming closer to Jerusalem, the royal city where they assumed that Jesus was going to become the King and therefore would give them positions of honour as a gift. France further notes that "to speak of sitting rather than reclining, as at a banquet on the right or left hand of someone implies a royal throne with the places of highest honour on either side" (2002, 415). Kaminouchi (2003, 102) notes that they are "asking for positions of privilege in the hierarchy of power and they picture the glory

of the Son of Man in the image and likeness of the glory of the powerful who rule their world.”⁸⁵ But this is not the *New Human Being* that Jesus was aiming for.

The other possibility that Kaminouchi explores is the disciples’ consideration of Jesus as the *New Human Being* pictured in the book of Daniel who will come in glory to be served by peoples, nations and languages (Dan. 7:13-14). This also put Jesus before them as the one in the image of the glory of the politically powerful (Kaminouchi 2003, 103). This reflects Horsley’s work in which he asserts that in the world of Jesus the only way to be wealthy and powerful in the political structure of ancient Palestine was to occupy a particular position in the system (Horsley 1995, 213). Yet it was not the way of the *New Human Being* to encourage his disciples to occupy positions of power but to serve the marginalised in their society. The disciples did not understand that Jesus was introducing a new alternative model which redefined the Danielic Son of Man into the *New Human Being* whose new focus was no longer dominion and power but service to the less privileged. It was a world of competition where everybody had to struggle to achieve honour, a situation which is contrary to dialogue. In dialogue both the leader and the oppressed move together as co-liberators and not competitors, a situation which was not possible in the world of Jesus. Moxnes (1996, 20) and Neyrey (1998, 15) define honour as the value of a person in his own eyes which involved recognition from significant others in society. It is an estimation of a person’s worth, his claim to pride, but it is also the acknowledgement of that claim by the group in order to confirm one’s new social status. For the elites, “the right and title to worth is the right to status, which one’s set of rights and obligations derives from one’s social identity” (Malina 1983, 28). Therefore the person with that mindset of honour finds it difficult to dialogue in relation to the questions posed by Freire above. It is impossible for dialogue to happen in a situation where people consider themselves to be more important than others. This made it difficult to develop dialogue and also for Jesus to transform the mindset of his followers into understanding his liberating pedagogy

Osiek (1992, 20-21) notes that social interaction/challenge in Mediterranean societies was always between people of equal status and everyone worked hard to protect and defend individual or family honour. This defence includes gestures, verbal and physical force. Hence accepting the challenge of an inferior was considered shameful. This challenge was competitive in such a way that the one who failed to defend their status would be ashamed

⁸⁵ Kaminouchi uses the title Son of man not *New Human Being* as indicated in the quote.

and eventually his standing in the community would be damaged. But when the claim of honour had been acknowledged in public, then it would result in fame/worth, reputation and respect. This was not in dialogue with the kind of teaching that Jesus was trying to put across; instead he was building a team that would decode the old order that categorised people according to status and form a new society of equality for all. Moxnes (1996, 21) affirms that honour and shame can be understood in the context of male dominance of the public scene as opposed to female occupation of the private and domestic scene. Therefore men maintained their honour by defending the chastity of women under their dominance and protection because if women lost their chastity it implied shame to the whole family. This means women were looked at as potential sources of shame (Malina 1996, 21). Neyrey gives a definition of shame as a reverse of honour, which includes loss of respect, regard, worth and value in eyes of others (Neyrey 1998, 30). But it was clear in the Mediterranean world that interaction was characterised by competition with others for recognition and therefore everyone struggled to defend his individual or family honour (Moxnes 1996, 20). In light of the context above Jesus objected to the request of his two disciples who wanted to become agents of oppression not liberation. Based on the society that is motivated by honour and shame, DeSilva (2004, 159) asserts that Jesus' response calls for an attitude which should yield to kinship values of cooperation, and seek how to be of the most service to the brothers and sisters, rather than seeking how to achieve the greatest position among them. In this way all people will live in harmony without any sense of competition.

Jesus was interested in a model of leadership that is dialogical, that has faith in the people of all status, a leadership that allows people to create and re-create their world where all people can enjoy their true humanity (Freire 1993, 71). Yet the environment dictated that whoever had achieved the honour rating felt privileged. Those outside longed for the opportunity to establish themselves as important in order to raise their honour rating, at the expense of the majority peasants who suffered under exploitation of the elites. Therefore the request of the disciples, to some extent, expressed ignorance of the oppressive codes in their community of oppression. Instead of looking out for a solution to these problems, they too wanted to assume the place of the oppressor. Freire (1993, 59) notes that "education as the exercise of domination stimulates credulity of students, with the ideological intent of indoctrinating them to adopt the world of oppression." It is also possible that in the struggle to identify with the oppressors, the oppressed fail to see the new way of liberation except to engage with the oppressed and become oppressors. Freire (1993, 28) comments;

Their vision of the new woman or man is individualistic; because of their identification with the oppressor, they have no consciousness of themselves as persons or as members of the oppressed class. It is not to become free that they want agrarian reform, but in order to acquire land and thus become landowners or more precisely bosses over other workers. It is a rare peasant who once promoted to overseer, does not become more of a tyrant towards his or her former comrades than the owner himself.

James and John could be likened to the Brazilian community who struggled not for the good of all the oppressed peasants but for their individual benefits. James' and John's request for places of honour was incompatible with the dialogical model that was interested in transforming those who had been impaired by the anti-dialogical model manifested in the leadership of the elites. James and John wanted to reproduce what they had learnt from the oppressors because the elites had trained their minds to live in a world of competition. In the Mediterranean world interaction was characterised by competition with others for recognition and therefore everyone struggled to defend his individual or family honour (Moxnes 1996, 20). The disciples had also been blind to incidences where Jesus rejected honour, as in Mark 9:35. As already noted in the previous chapter, Jesus decoded honour and gave it a new point of reference; where a great person is the one who takes on the status of a child, accepts to be shamed, and further takes on the role of a slave and servant to the less privileged instead of exploiting them

Although the struggle for honour might appear to be a general issue for the Mediterranean world, it is also true that multiple conflicts persisted among the Judean priestly aristocracy and sects such as the Pharisees, Essenes and Sadducees who competed for imperial favour (Horsley 2005, 25). Jesus categorised them as people who wanted places of honour at feasts and best seats in the synagogue. (Matt 23:2ff, Mark 12:38). This affirms that the virtue of honour was engraved into the mindset of the Jewish leadership but their power was suppressed by the Imperial ruling class.

In the Roman culture, lack of honour denied the poor privileges of interaction. For example, Malina (1983, 47) notes that honour positions individuals in a social status where they interact in specific ways to their superiors, equals and subordinates according to the prescribed cultural cues of society. A good life was only enjoyed by the elites, leading the disciples to admire the imperial leaders of the time who had the right to economic and social subsistence. Hence they too wanted to improve their social status by blindly adhering to the same oppressive code which sets them above their exploited community.

James and John were brothers from a family of low status so they could have approached Jesus on the basis of family ties, maybe to improve their family status. Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992, 198; 1996, 87) also look at Jesus' group as a faction. In the Mediterranean world, a faction is "a type of coalition formed around a central person who recruits followers and maintains the loyalty of a core group." Although factions share a common goal, some of the members can divide their loyalty and threaten the survival of the group. Rivalry and hostile competition for honour, truth and resources were very common. James and John probably expected Jesus to acknowledge them publicly in front of the group and hence get special treatment as members of the elite class (Malina 1983, 28). If Jesus agreed to their request, they were going to have "the right and title to worth, the right to status and status derives from the recognition of one's social identity" (1983, 28). The only way that the two brothers could reach the top of the social ladder depended on whether Jesus would grant it or not because "a person's claim to honour requires a grant of reputation by others before it becomes honour" (1983, 28). Individuals who had a good honour rating in society had privileges such as good treatment, status, wealth, and possessions for luxury, which all lead to a good standing on the social ladder and also enabled one to associate with others in covenantal relationships (Malina 1983, 34).

The world of Mark also viewed honour and reputation as limited goods. Therefore individuals took advantage of all social contexts as contests for honour in which players were faced with wins, ties and losses (Malina 1983, 33). James and John had to be part of the contest to try their luck, to see whether they could be part of the elites of their faction. However, in a faction they were also meant to adhere to the goals of the founder because loyalty and solidarity were important for the success of the group (source 1996, 87). James' and John's struggle to be part of the elites did not represent a liberating awareness as oppressed people. Otherwise, they would have wanted to engage in a revolutionary process as a team. The oppressed make an impact when they participate in the revolutionary process with a sense of critical awareness of their role as subjects of transformation (Freire 1993, 108). Freire goes further to state that for the oppressed to be liberated they must free themselves from the traits of the oppressor, or else, instead of becoming liberators, they will end up becoming worse oppressors (1993, 108). Jesus' task was not to lead disciples who were zealous for power to expand or construct their family status, but to lead those who would pattern with him in the construction of an egalitarian community. Hence his struggle

was to unveil honour as an oppressive code to make his disciples understand that their leadership is not about honour but about simplicity in service.

Hence Jesus' pronouncement of the servant vocation of the *New Human Being*, who seals his service with the sacrifice of his life for many, seems not to appeal to the disciples because it leaves them in the same lower social status. It also brings the question of rank, precedence and service into a profound pastoral and theological perspective (Lane 1974, 378). Looking at the motives of the disciples in relation to the cultural norms of society, Jesus did not grant the request because discipleship is about decoding the old social order of society and constructing an egalitarian community as opposed to a faction or patronage group. This is what constitutes the kingdom of God for Jesus. Granting places of honour to the two disciples would not help to build an egalitarian community that embraces the poor and honours them in God's kingdom. Jesus as a pedagogue wanted to initiate a new model of discipleship, with his disciples as the very first agents of selfless service to those who are discriminated against. Jesus' intention in his teaching was to unveil the oppressive codes and make both oppression and its causes the objects of reflection by the oppressed community of peasants, his disciples inclusive. And after they understand the problem then they can develop a departure point to engage together with him in the struggle for liberation (Freire 1993, 30).

6.2 Verses 38-40

The response that Jesus gave to James and John was a reminder of their ignorance. Jesus said to them in verses 38-40, "You don't know what you are asking," Jesus said. "Can you drink the cup I drink and be baptized with the baptism I am baptized with"? "We can," they answered. Jesus said to them, "you will drink the cup I drink and be baptized with the baptism I am baptized with, but to sit at my right or left is not for me to grant." James and John could have probably misunderstood Jesus' reference to the cup (ποτήριον) and baptism (βάπτισμα) when they agreed to share it with him. The two images have been widely understood in relation to the passion that Jesus was going to go through but also to the sacraments of baptism as dying and rising with Christ and Holy Communion when Jesus gave the disciples the cup at the last supper. Drinking the cup of suffering in reference to the Old Testament has also been highlighted by some scholars such as France (2002), Lane (1974) and Healy (2008). Revolutionary leaders are meant to be critical thinkers but it was not so with James and John. They did not engage in dialogue with Jesus to find out what the implications of the cup and the baptism would mean but simply agreed because of the desire to meet their agenda of increasing their honour.

Other scholars have argued that baptism (βαπτίζω) had implications of changing one's social status. McVann (1994, 191-193) associates baptism with cultural initiation where a young man is taken into seclusion for days under instruction and then comes out changed with new social status and is incorporated again into the community. McVann understands Jesus' baptism in the same way that he went into the water as a pious Jew and then came out as the Son of God. He is later acknowledged and ministered to by angels in the wilderness and he comes out to preach the kingdom of God with power and authority, healing and exorcising demons. Malina and Rohrbaugh (1992, 38) share closely the same view that John's baptism was a call to repentance which required immediate change of heart and interpersonal behaviour. The call to change indicated dissatisfaction in the way things were done in the Roman Empire. This dissatisfaction led to shame yet "forgiveness by God meant being divinely restored to one's position and therefore being freed from fear of loss at the hands of God" (1992, 304). Therefore those who came to John for baptism were meant to effect a radical social transformation in the social level as well as the social structures. Waetjen views Jesus' baptism as a symbolic embrace of the reality of his death before his physical expiration, thus through his drowning he died eschatologically (1989, 68).

DeMaris (2000, 21-22) notes further that the rite of baptism was one way of building and maintaining the hierarchy because the one who baptised was definitely superior to the one being baptised. This status reversal is what finds its fulfilment in Mark 9:33-37 and Mark 10:41-45, where role reversal counteracts hierarchy while constructing an egalitarian community. Hence baptism in Mark "may have been just such an attempt of undoing the social consequences of baptismal rite through the element of reversal" (2000, 22). Just as John presided over the rite instead of Jesus whom he had said is mightier (Mark 1: 7), in the same way the greatest becomes the least and the servant leads, leaving no space for hierarchy. For Waetjen (1989, 68-69)

Jesus' baptism marked an end to his participation in the moral structures of his society which included his submission to the moral order into which he was born... Jewish institutions through which power was ordered like the temple and its priesthood, Sanhedrin, scribes and Pharisees, the Roman administration and its military forces of occupation, its political oppression and economic exploitation....

According to Waetjen (1989, 68), those who came to be baptised by John performed a verbal act of confession without complete submission to the full depth of his baptism. Yet Jesus without any form of confession immersed himself in the water as a sign of surrender to

John's baptism. "Jesus alone expressed repentance that God's forerunner demanded." Jesus' baptism puts an end to the oppressive structures because his status had been defined by the *New Human Being*. It was a representation of new nature of the God of Israel, covenant, Old Testament and the Torah.

It is also evident that baptism was related to the ritual baths that were practiced by the Jews. Graham (2001, 113-115) notes that *miqva'ot* were ritual baths used by the Jews for purification rites which had enough water for complete immersion of the whole body.⁸⁶ Purification was required for those who had been defiled through nocturnal emissions, sexual intercourse, and contact with blood or a corpse (Lev. 14-16). It was also required for women after childbirth and menstruation, initiating proselytes and purifying cooking utensils and glassware manufactured by non Jews. These acts of purification restored them for temple worship, offering of sacrifices and participation in the activities and religious feasts. He further adds that even worshippers that had not defiled themselves still had to undergo an immersion as an act of consecration before entering the temple (Graham 2001, 115). But it is not clear whether the disciples had this kind of ritual bath in mind rather than the prestigious Roman baths.

Another view relating to baptism (βαπτίζω) or immersion that Jesus could have been decoding is likely to be the Roman baths, where the patrons enjoyed the privileges of dipping themselves in water, either hot or cold depending on one's preference. Baths were very valuable places in the Roman Empire both for leisure and medicinal purposes. My interest is not to discuss the baths at length but to highlight their relationships to the status of those in power. Fagan (1999) gives an overview of Roman baths, their relevance and value to the people of Rome. Bathing was done for three major reasons: cultural, social, where people met for different social activities like having dinner together and business meetings with patrons and their clients, and also social interactions with friends. Baths are some of the luxurious buildings that were set up by the Roman emperors, senators and other wealthy families as business investments. An example is given of Agrippa, who built a bath house as a commercial enterprise because a fee had to be paid before using the bath. Some other

⁸⁶ Grasham explains that these ritual baths were used for Jewish purification and should not be confused with small hygiene baths for washing hands and feet or the body for actual cleansing purposes prior to immersion in the *miqva'ot*. At a number of sites in Israel, especially in Jerusalem, small bath tubs can be seen in another part of the room or in adjacent rooms to those containing the *miqva'ot*. This required a minimum of forty sears or approximately sixty gallons (2001, 114).

emperors who built splendid bath houses include Titus, Nero, Tiberius, and Claudius (1999, 104-127).

Besides all other benefits of the baths, they promoted patronage. For an emperor to provide baths for his clients was a natural endeavour as the empire's preeminent patron. Secondly, there was also an element of self importance since the building would be named in an individual name, thus their power would remain evident even when they were dead. Thirdly, there was a competitive element to outdo their predecessors. Every emperor who came into power constructed a bath house that was more luxurious than his predecessor. Finally, the baths symbolised the "benevolence of the emperor's rule, the permanence and power of the state as embodied in the Emperor and the ruler's concern for the welfare of his subjects regardless of whether or not it was genuinely felt" (Fagan 1999, 120-121). Being associated with baths was one way of raising one's status. As already noted, that baths were communal places where people of different categories especially the elites met to socialise. Although some elites went to local bath houses, there was a separate reception for the rich (1999, 194). Fagan illustrates what happened when the elite were going to bathe,

A procession makes its way into the establishment led by the servant carrying a box of bathing gear, the Roman equivalent of toilet bag, with another servant holding up the rear and carrying a chest of towels and clothes. From the frigidarium come representations of particularly self satisfied bathers, their needs attended to by slaves. In one case, a slave moves to dry a seated female figure with a towel, while another presents her with fresh clothes. In another vignette, one slave offers a dressing bather a fresh cloak while another attends to his foot wear (Fagan 1999, 195).

Royal baths were representative of patronage and power. All other people were free to bathe but of course not in the same places with the imperial powers as the emperors, senators and the wealthy. It was rather a great honour for one to be part of the royal procession to the bath. Hence James and John asking for the places of honour could also have imagined being part of the royal procession as patrons.

The cup (ποτήριον. that Jesus asked James and John if they could share could also have been misunderstood by the disciples to mean requesting them to become "cup bearers" for the king since they had high expectations that Jesus was going to become king. Yamauchi (1980, 295-296) describes a cup bearer as literally "one who gives someone something to drink" or "one who attends to the bottle". The cup bearer was responsible for tasting any drink before giving it to the king to ensure that there is no poison. He further kept the king's signet and ensured good administration of the accounts. Nehemiah is one of the Old Testament trusted cup

bearers in the Bible and his work, as stated by Yamauchi, included selecting the best wines for the king, tasting and setting it before him. In addition, he was a good companion of the king, ready to listen to him all the time; thus when he served the wine he also sat down to listen to the king. He was a man of influence since he was always with the king, but also determined who should see the king. So if a cup bearer won the trust of the king then he would live a better life. A similar story of a cup bearer is noted in Genesis 40:9-13 where Joseph interpreted the dream of the cup bearer and was later reinstated to his place of honour. The cup bearer, using his influential position, two years later mentioned Joseph's name to the king as one who interpreted his dream while in prison. This led to Joseph's release out of prison and his rising to another place of influence. Therefore the two images that Jesus presented before his disciples were misunderstood to be images of honour and hence they readily agreed to take them up. However, their acceptance did not win for them favour from Jesus because both the cup and wine could just as well be codes of oppression which the kings used to oppress and exploit their subordinates. Thus the request of James and John was a hindrance to the way of service and their conception of glory was misguided (France 2000, 417). In baptism Jesus decoded the hierarchy by allowing John to baptise him and at the same time instead of allowing the disciples to serve him the cup at the last supper, he took the cup of wine, gave thanks and served his disciples. He decoded the whole idea of a cup bearer, who had to taste on behalf of the king; Jesus became the servant and demonstrated this to his disciples by tasting the cup before giving it to his disciples during the last supper (Mark 14:22-25). Drawing conclusions about the meaning of verses 38-39, Waetjen (1989, 175) notes that

Being baptised with the same baptism is a distinguishing feature for true discipleship because without it there can be no participation in God's rule. Yet also drinking in the same cup involves the disciples in his life, the life he will offer up for them and their liberation; it will draw them into the reality of the *New Human Being* and its concrete fulfilment in their own lives.

6.3 Verse 41

These verses are a continuation of Jesus' response and the disciples' reaction to their colleagues. In his response, Jesus does not deny the existence of the places of honour but only states that "it is not for him to grant". In other words he was not willing to grant the request of the ambitious James and John what they asked because it was a direct borrowing of the image of the imperial rule that exploited and oppressed the poor with their hierarchical structures, elevating themselves to positions of luxury and power. Jesus' call to the disciples and the political leaders was to create an egalitarian society under the influence of the new

discipleship model of humility which despises honour while embracing shame, which he embodied in himself as the *New Human Being*. In Verse 41 it is written “*When the ten heard about this, they became indignant with James and John*”, indicating that the other disciples were in the same struggle for power, making it clear they all had destructive motives. However, it was not a new discussion because Jesus had already known about it in Mark 9:33 when the disciples had a discussion about who would be the greatest. Following the value of limited goods, where all goods available to an individual are limited, “an individual alone or with his family, can improve his social position only at the expense of others.” Hence any improvement in someone’s “position with respect to any good in life is considered as a threat to the entire community” (Malina 1983, 77; Oakman 1996, 132). James and John were threatening the entire group because if these two got the positions of honour, then the others were going to lose out. The other worry could have been that if they acquired the status they were striving for, they would also have endeavoured to maintain it. It is noted that besides other obligations, the elite “works to feed and clothe his family, fulfils his ceremonial obligations, minds his own business and no one infringes upon him, looks out for possible advantages for himself and finally works hard to protect his status” (Malina 1983, 77). As already noted, the elites looked out for contracts with those of higher status so that in the end they could provide services that are not common to ordinary people either in the village or even in the urban neighbourhood (Malina 1983, 85). The struggle to maintain oneself at the top of the hierarchy was very dangerous for the poor, and therefore Jesus had to let his disciples understand exactly the implications of their request to those below the hierarchy. Healy (2008, 213) notes that the disciples were meant to display a radical and countercultural attitude towards leadership, allowing no place for self promotion, rivalry or domineering conduct among them. Hence Jesus reveals that the only way to greatness is by imitating his humility demonstrated through servanthood. Jesus inaugurated a new world order in which economic equality and democratic leadership coupled with humility in service are the core values. Although James and John appeared to be in dialogue, their competitive spirit was not healthy and hence implied they would dominate others once they got into positions of power. They engaged with what Freire called “crafty instrument for domination” where only a section of the oppressed dominate the other with their own agenda (Freire 1993, 70). Jesus as the *New Human Being* had a role to stop any crafty behavior that was going to hinder him from accomplishing his intended purposes of establishing new communities, where all people irrespective of who they are enjoy dialogue with one another.

6.4 Verses 42-45

In verse 42-45, Jesus responded to the disciples that, “you know that those who are considered rulers of the gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it shall not be so among you. But whoever would be great must be your servant. And whoever would be first among you must be a slave of all. For even the *New Human Being* came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.” In these verses Jesus engages with the reality that is affecting the oppressed. He moves from the surface structure to the deep structure of the codes. Freire (1998a, 487) notes that “*codifications* mediate between concrete and theoretical contexts of reality from the *surface* to the *deep structure*.” He explains that the *surface structure* is the descriptive stage which is the first stage of *decodification*. The second stage is reached after the learners have understood the first stage and they are ready to comprehend the “deep” structure. The *deep structure* helps the learner to understand the dialectic that exists between the categories presented in the surface” structure, as well as the unity between the *surface* and *deep structures*. Honour is one of the surface codes that Jesus made clear to his disciples. It was a code they did not understand, evident in their desire to be where other elites are. Jesus goes further into the *deep structure* of what happens between those in power (elites) and the poor. The theme of “lording it over” (κατακυριεύω) is from the root word (κύριος) meaning lord, and “exercising authority” (κατεξουσιάζω) is from the root word (ἐξουσία) which means authority. The term μεγάλοι connotes people in high social positions and prominence. All the terms provide evidence of the rule of power over the powerless. For example κύριος in the Hellenistic world designated the owner of a slave but also a husband, or father with legal guardianship over a woman or girl (Kaminouchi 2003, 124-125). Besides incidents where *lord* has been used for God, it has implications of abusive power, domination, ruler-ship and mastering others. Therefore Jesus was presenting to his disciples the whole picture of the oppressive models of leadership where the powerful Gentile leaders asserted power over the powerless. This was in contradiction to his in-group where all are servants and those who do not seek precedence over others are the great ones (Watson 2010, 81). Jesus’ address was presenting a way of resistance against the abusive imperial system where the exercise of authority benefited the elites while oppressing the poor. Freire (in Gadotti 1994, 76; Mayo 1999, 67) recognises that every teacher or leader has a certain kind of authority, but he objects to a teacher who transforms authority into authoritarianism. This kind of authoritarianism suffocates the freedom of the learners. Hutchison (2009, 55-56) makes it clear that Jesus challenged the disciples to a radical and paradoxical form of leadership,

showing that he himself would provide an example through his suffering. His leadership was unlike the Gentile rulers who lord it over them. He further notes the paradox of the three passion predictions (Mark 8:35, 9:35, and 10:31). These alerted the disciples that a new order was coming in which leadership and greatness would be viewed in a way much different from their normal expectations. Hence Jesus decodes the concept of traditional honour by teaching his disciples to become servants but he also exemplifies a concept of honour that values suffering and rewards service (Watson 2010, 83). Although Hutchison (2009) and Watson (2010) make suffering an object in Jesus' ministry, his major aim was to bring tranquillity among the marginalised, an issue he was determined to pursue even to the point of death. Death and suffering in the case of Jesus was a measure used by the oppressors to deal with anyone who tried to bring freedom and liberation to the oppressed. Such a person was regarded as undermining their power and destabilising the Roman peace – *Pax Romana*.

This text reminds the readers how much the people longed for a deliverer who would rescue them from a rule of domination to freedom. Jesus presents the pictures of the Roman autocrats and how their presence disentangled the whole life of the peasant community. Several scholars who have analysed the state of the emperors at that time for example (Keener 1993, 1630; Horsley and Silberman 1997, 10) have noted that Jewish people already had an awareness of the Gentile model of authority because the Near Eastern kings had long claimed to be gods and ruled tyrannically. The Greeks had also adopted the same. Julius Caesar, as the Roman Emperor, became more oppressive, and assumed a divine status with the inscription “unvanquished God”, declaring himself a dictator for life. Sacrifices were made for them in the temple because of the divine honour and authority. This led to a conflict with Christians and their eventual persecution for failure to worship the emperor (Horsley and Silberman 1997, 10-11). And since the same titles were applied to Jesus by the Christians, the emperor somehow looked at Jesus as a competitor. It is also clear that the Roman Emperor and his provincial agents often showed little concern for Jews, often treating them brutally. These divine titles of the Emperor were incompatible with the Jewish faith whose origin and formation as a nation was focused on their deliverance from Egypt. Their belief in one covenant God who shaped their identity drove them to reject the oppressive human rulers (Horsley 2005, 26).

In verses 43-44, the Markan Jesus again presents two oppressive codes--servant and slave,⁸⁷ which are titles given to those who are despised in the community, yet he tells his disciples to embody them if they want to be great. In other words, Jesus reminded his disciples that one cannot be a disciple without being a servant because the two are intertwined. And being a disciple calls for departure from seeking status and honour to seeing other people as equals. He exposed them to the violence that was happening amongst them, manifested clearly in the treatment given to the servants and slaves. Freire (1998a, 488) explains that “the codification of an existential situation and decodification involves the learners in a constant reconstruction of their former admiration of reality.” Freire understands “admire” as a way of being objective. He asserts that it is a dialectical operation that characterises humanity as humanity, differentiating humans from an animal. The more the object is admired by the poor, the more the former mistakes are corrected, leading to a better perception of reality (Freire 1988a, 488). Jesus’ new interpretation of servant/slave called for a change of attitude by the disciples, moving from the world of status that originally shaped them into the formation of an egalitarian community of service. This service was an issue which they were called to admire and re-admire so as to make an objective change in their world. Freire (1993, 66) urges that “to alienate human beings from their own decision making is to change them into objects.” Therefore the statement “the *New Human Being* came” places Jesus in the context of his messianic mission (Mark 2:17), a state of humility coming to serve others and to present himself as a ransom for many (Lane 1974, 383). Jesus embodied the codes that identified with the poor who had no status in order to make impact on the lives of his disciples as their leader and yet a servant. He lifted the slaves from the region of silence to a place where they could raise their voices because their human dignity had been restored through Jesus. This is why in this thesis servants and slaves are framed as oppressive codes that the *New Human Being* decoded, as discussed in chapter five.

In verse 45, the word “ransom” (λύτρον) is a term that sums up the purpose for which Jesus came and gave his life. It also expresses and defines his complete expression of service (Lane 1974, 383). Ransom has connotations of deliverance by purchase or the price required to redeem captives, whether a prisoner of war, a slave or the covenantal mechanism by which those who had fallen into debt slavery could be ransomed, and their land, which had come into another’s control, could be redeemed (Lane 1974, 383; Myers 1988, 279; Horsley 2009,

⁸⁷ These two oppressive codes have been discussed in the previous chapter, among the different oppressive codes.

123). According to Horsley, the ransom image invokes the imperial rulers and the great ones who rule with political economic power, reminding them that in the new movement the leaders will be servants who will alleviate economic exploitation through the creation of an egalitarian rule (Horsley 2009, 123). Jesus in the Old Testament was identified with a messianic servant who offers himself as a guilt offering and compensation for the sins of the people (Lev 5:14-6:7, 7:1-7, Num 5:5-8). However, different scholars have taken a liberating dimension of interpretation. Jesus makes a promise to his disciples that the “way of servanthood has been transformed by the human one into the way of liberation” (Myers 1998, 279). Kinukawa notes that “Jesus’ life is spent in bringing back to life those who are cast out of society by subjugation, enslavement, marginalization, humiliation and breaking down all artificial barriers essential for the dominant power to keep its exclusive dignity” (Kinukawa 1993, 101). Since the word servant is widely used in the New Testament for the roles done by women in the community, Jesus becoming a ransom undermines the kyriarchal structures that disregard the dignity of women, raising them to a level of equality with men. The struggle for liberation can only be accomplished in unity between the liberator and the oppressed. Freire (1993, 157) asserts that liberation is a common task which requires constant, humble and courageous witness, emerging from cooperation in a shared effort of women and men. Thus it avoids the danger of anti-dialogical control. He further notes that “without leadership, discipline, determination and objectives, without tasks to fulfil and accounts to be rendered, an organisation cannot survive, and revolutionary action is thereby diluted” (1993, 158). From the very first verse in the gospel of Mark, Jesus’ main objective was the good news of the Kingdom as defined by the *New Human Being*. The good news was seen to be steadily proclaimed and the disciples were witnesses of the healing, feeding, exorcism.

In the social systems of the early first century, “the reversal of status would happen if only the person being accepted as a ransom was of higher honour or status than those being left free” and this would make the captors receive great recognition and prestige by holding and executing a higher ranking personage (Malina and Rohrbaugh 1992, 246). Malbon and Dowd (2006, 284) have a similar argument that in reference to the social contexts of redemption in both the Greek and Roman cultures

prisoners of war, or corpses of important military heroes were always ransomed from the enemy not from a neutral party...similarly those taken captive by pirates have to be ransomed from the criminals who are holding them against their will. Thus the many for whom the Markan Jesus gives his life are captives of the enemies of God.

However, it has to be noted that the ordinary soldiers were probably buried in mass graves and never ransomed like the elites. Jesus as *New Human Being* in this context decodes and recodes it for the poor and oppressed by ransoming them from the tyranny of the Gentile rulers who lorded over them through economic injustices and exploitation.

Jesus' submission to the servant vocation is proposed as an example and model to the twelve, who are summoned to pattern their lives after his humility. The word "serve" is used here to mean the paradoxically subordinate status of the one who should have enjoyed the service of others and also gives the example of the self sacrificing attitude which he in turn enjoins on his followers (France 2002, 419). Jesus undermined the patriarchal / hierarchical model that attached a servant to lower status by reversing the existing value system and embodying it himself, so that his disciples do not just emulate a system but Jesus himself, the one who invites them into discipleship.

Verse 45 is further viewed by scholars as a key verse in the gospel of Mark for understanding of the theology of the cross. It gives a profound conclusion of Jesus' teaching on discipleship. In the previous passion predictions (8:34-38, 9:30-32), Jesus has reminded his disciples that the *New Human Being* was going to be killed and rise on the third day. Those who want to follow him are meant to deny themselves and take up the cross. Jesus takes on the cross as a very humiliating reality in the culture of honour and shame, and therefore "to follow Jesus is to choose between being shamed of Jesus and his words for the honour of the world or to being shamed of the power of this world in order to follow Jesus" (Kinukawa 2001, 181). In summary of verse 45, Malbon and Dowd (2006, 278) deny the view that this verse advocates for Jesus' death or his followers'. For them it is about the "strength to serve others especially those lowest in the evaluation of conventional society even if such service may result in suffering or death at the hands of the powerful in society." Similarly, Waetjen (1989, 146-147) understands death as the beginning of God's rule embodied in Jesus himself. Death for him terminates the social, economic, political and cultural realities of power together with the promotion of the elite values. In reference to Mark 8:34, "life prevails beyond the death experience of taking up the cross and following Jesus, indeed life eternal because it is attained through recreation by God's breath and incorporation into the never ending life of God's ultimate offspring, the *New Human Being*" (Waetjen 1989, 147). Hence death is an oppressive code that Jesus as the *New Human Being* decoded because "his transcendence in and by his resurrection from the dead will constitute God's rule in power forever" (1989,

148). Jesus, as the *New Human Being*, recoded death from being a threat to the poor, by embodying it, and through resurrection all his followers became participants of his new rule, united with him in eternal life. It is also true that his death is a means of allowing others to enter into a reordering of power in order to recover their autonomy and freedom. Through death Jesus negated the old order of oppression and dispossession that had dominated God's people and by his rising as the *New Human Being* he established a new humanity that cannot be abolished by the power of the old order (1989, 174). Therefore Mark's community, by embodying Jesus' values of service, emerge as the new Israel with the responsibility to transmit the values of the Kingdom of God to others.

6.5 verses 46-52

Verses 46-47 read, "and they came to Jericho. And as he was leaving Jericho with his disciples and a great crowd, Bartimaeus, a blind beggar, the son of Timaeus, was sitting by the roadside. And when he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he began to cry out and say, Jesus son of David, have mercy on me." The healing of Bartimaeus the blind beggar bridges the gap between Jesus' prophetic discipleship teachings about Jesus' passion and his entry into Jerusalem for his glorification. Secondly, the passage comes immediately after Jesus' teaching about offering himself as a ransom for all, which he demonstrates through the healing of the blind beggar. The beggar's action of following Jesus immediately is a model of true discipleship. The healing of the blind beggar further opens the way for the disadvantaged and marginalised to have access to Jesus and to recover their full humanity without any hindrance either by the crowd or the imperial rulers. Freire asserts that in dialogue a leader requires authority and freedom, unlike the anti-dialogical who practice authoritarianism and licentiousness. He believes that organisation as a theory of dialogue is "highly an educational process in which leaders and people together experience true authority and freedom which they then seek to establish in society by transforming the reality which mediates them" (1993, 159-60).

Verses 46-47 introduce the reader to a blind man who struggles for his own liberation by asking Jesus to have mercy on him. The man has two problems, blindness and begging, which make him an outcast and marginalised person who seems to have lost value in society. It is possible that he had heard about Jesus but since he could not move from his usual place, there was no chance to meet Jesus. He called Jesus using a Christological title which no other character had used before in the gospel of Mark. Unlike in Mark 8:27:30 where Jesus silences

Peter and commands the disciples to be silent after pronouncing his messianic title, in this case he makes no comment about the title but instead goes ahead to find out what Bartimaeus the blind beggar wants. Both biblical and cultural traditions of Greeks, Jews and Romans have negative connotations about the blind. Although it is not mentioned in the story, blindness is always connected with parental sin or a punishment inflicted from birth (Malina and Rohrbaugh 1998, 170). Myers (1988, 281-282) connects the story of Bartimaeus with that of the haemorrhaging woman in Mark 5:21-34 because the name Bartimaeus in Hebrew means “son of the unclean”.

Bartimaeus falls under the category of the discriminated outcasts, degraded, unclean and expendables that are below the social status ladder according to the Imperial world hierarchy. This is a group of people who were forced to live outside the city because of their body odour but they came into the city during the day to beg (Rohrbaugh 1993, 387; Malina and Rohrbaugh 1998, 171). Although these people were supposed to live in isolation, they form the majority of the group that Jesus interacts with in the gospel of Mark. Jesus in Mark disregards the purity laws and welcomes the unclean, the marginalised, unholy and the gentiles and it is because of them that the gospel becomes good news to the poor (Rohrbaugh 1993, 392-394). Hence the gospel of Mark celebrates the victories of faith of the peasant, the degraded, the unclean and the expendables that actually surround Jesus and listen to him. This is the only way that Jesus’ humble leadership style differed from the imperial rulers of his time who only related with those at the top of the status ladder. Jesus immersed himself in the pain and suffering of the poor in order to discover the reality behind their situation and then effect liberation through healing.

Verses 48-50 read, “and many rebuked him, telling him to be silent. But he cried out all the more, “son of David have mercy on me!” And Jesus stopped and said, “Call him.” And they called the blind man, saying to him, “Take heart. Get up, he is calling you.” And throwing off his cloak, he sprang up and came to Jesus.” These two verses form the climax and also a decisive moment in Bartimaeus’ journey of liberation, where he has to struggle with the crowd that is trying to silence him from projecting his voice to be heard by Jesus. Probably the crowd tried to stop him from seeing Jesus because they thought he wanted to beg. His loud cry made Jesus stop and give him the chance to speak for himself. When he got up to run to Jesus, he dropped off the cloak that identified him with beggars because his major

interest was to recover his vision. Bartimaeus should have been aware that the culture around him associated blindness with the evil eye.

The eye as the window to and of the heart and the physical channel of one's inmost attitudes, desires and intentions, an evil eye was linked with the negative moral attitudes of envy, greed, stinginess and covetousness, and was considered directed against objects of the possessor's displeasure or envy (Elliot 1990, 264).

It is further noted that it is the heart that facilitates the process of seeing because the eyes were made of fire that cause light. Therefore to be blind was to have eyes from which darkness emanated, which means that the blind people do not have light--instead their hearts are full of darkness. Since the heart is the organ of thought, preference and emotion, through the eye were expressed the innermost dispositions, feelings and desires of the heart (Malina and Rohrbaugh 1998, 170; Elliot 1994, 54). Hence seeing a blind person is seeing darkness both in the heart and eyes and therefore he is capable of doing anything evil.

The people with the evil eye were labelled as those who can injure or destroy the life and damage the health/fertility of others. Also in danger were their means of sustenance and livelihood, family honour and the personal wellbeing of the unfortunate victims (Elliot 1990, 264; 1994, 53; 2007, 95; 2007, 95; also Wazan 2007, 685). The suspects of the evil eye, among others, included the strangers, social deviants or physically deformed disabled or blind, and socially displaced like the widows. The blind are also considered to have transgressed moral boundaries and are therefore a source of pollution (Elliot 1990, 265; 1994, 56). Evil eye accusations are employed in issues concerning the marking of social boundaries, the maintenance of social well being, and the control of social deviance (Elliot 1990, 266). This indicates that it was a way of oppressing those who were disadvantaged in favour of promoting the welfare of the elite in society. The target group of the evil eye include, among others, persons enjoying sudden success in business or glory in the battle field or promotion up the social ladder (Elliot 2007, 95). Hence labelling an opponent "a fascinator or evil eye possessor serves as an informal but effective social mechanism for marshalling public opinion against the person, discrediting his honour and credibility, censuring his behaviour and ostracising him as a social deviant" (Elliot 1990, 266). In other words, it is putting the have-nots down so that the haves retain their honour and power. The evil eye person was feared in the community and people tried several ways to ward off the spell. But above all they avoided glancing at the suspected person because of the power to

destroy using the eyes. Other means of guarding against the evil eye included “concealing prized possessions, covering one’s women and children, denying any improvement in one’s economic situation and wearing a variety of protective charms and herbs” (Elliot 1994, 57). The evil eye is an anti-social disposition capable of being detected and reprehended in any individual within his society. Its cure, if any, lies in religious conversion or rebirth (Derrett 1995, 69).

Some scholars assert that silencing Bartimaeus was a way of allowing Jesus to hasten and set up the messianic kingdom, hence stopping to heal was not necessary (Gundry 1993, 601). This view seems to be unsympathetic with the world of oppression that Jesus had come to confront but partly supports the mindset of James and John who looked forward to good seats in the Kingdom. Bartimaeus in his cry requested Jesus to have mercy on him. To request for mercy means that the one requesting believes the other person owes him or her debt. And in this case Jesus, who is a well known healer, is asked to pay his debts of interpersonal obligations since he is the Son of David (Malina and Rohrbaugh 1992, 247). The blind man recognised Jesus as the Messiah capable of doing everything, yet the act of healing that was done by Jesus was through his humble identification with the marginalised as opposed to the elites who particularly stayed with those of their social status. As mentioned above, Jesus was a liberator whose interest was to transform society by bringing freedom to the poor like Bartimaeus.

Verses 51-52 read, *and Jesus said to him, “what do you want me to do for you?” and the blind man said to him, “Rabbi, let me recover my sight.” and Jesus said to him, Go your way; your faith has made you well,” and immediately he recovered his sight and followed him on the way.* A contrast is noted by commentators about the discipleship of the rich man in 10:17-31 and the discipleship of Bartimaeus, where the rich man fails to follow but the blind man follows Jesus. Hence the first on the hierarchy became last while those at the bottom of the hierarchy became first (Myers 1988, 283). In addition, the question that Jesus asks the blind man is almost the same question that he asked James and John “what do you want me to do for you?” The disciples were interested in status, honour and privilege while the blind Bartimaeus answered affirmatively “Rabbi, let me recover my sight.” As much as Jesus could not grant the status that the two disciples asked for, he granted sight to the blind man. Myers (1988, 282) notes that it is only when people renounce their hunger for power, recognise their blindness and seek vision that they are able to follow Jesus in discipleship. Jesus asking the

blind Bartimaeus a question is consistent with the theory of codification. In the decoding process the oppressed are challenged to share more about their existential situations and suggest what they think is appropriate for their liberation (Freire 1993, 99). As soon as Bartimaeus received his sight he got up and followed Jesus on the way, contrary to the state he had been in before, sitting by the side of the road. The healing of the blind man was a purely dialogical process of putting value and giving opportunity to the oppressed to express their feelings instead of silencing them. This is an indication that Jesus' mission to liberate the oppressed and marginalised does not leave them in the same place but shifts them to another level of life. Bartimaeus left his cloak, his usual sitting place on the road side and followed Jesus. The incorporation of Bartimaeus into the community not as a beggar but as a disciple, suggests a pedagogy of the oppressed that is inaugurated by the *New Human Being*. All who are struggling for their own liberation, especially those who have been labelled and marginalised by culture like women and children, become equal participants in the Kingdom of God.

The healing of Bartimaeus and his immediate following of Jesus on the way is in contrast with the first healing of the blind man in Mark 8:22-26. The story of the healing comes immediately after Jesus had just rebuked his disciples over their blindness, hardened hearts and lack of understanding of the events in Mark 8:14-21. Although the disciples had been exposed to the miracles and are insiders to whom the mystery of the Kingdom of God had been revealed (Mark 4:10), there seemed to be no difference between them and the Pharisees. Waetjen (1989, 141) describes the disciples as enslaved in their thoughts of control and self sufficiency. They unconsciously submit to the Pharisees and Herod who take advantage of them. Hence they had become prisoners of dependence, which prevented them from realising their divine-human potentiality.⁸⁸ Thus the healing of the blind man in Mark 8:14-21 in stages was symbolic of the blindness of the disciples. This alludes to the blindness of James and John as they seek for positions of honour, while poor Bartimaeus receives his sight and follows Jesus on the way. Hence James and John were symbolically blind to the values of the Kingdom of God ushered in by the *New Human Being* whose aim was to decode the Imperial Kingdom by confronting its structures for the sake of liberating the oppressed. The disciples needed to open their eyes in relation to Jesus' identity as the *New Human Being* and also their own self-understanding as partakers in the Kingdom of God (Waetjen 1989, 143). In Mark,

⁸⁸ Waetjen contrasts the disciples and the Pharisees following Jesus' caution to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees. For him, both the disciples, who are insiders, and the Pharisees seem not to understand the place of Jesus as the *New Human Being*.

Jesus as the *New Human Being* restores health to the sick, hungry, and blind, and insists on service to those with least status in society. He teaches whoever wishes to follow him to do the same (Malbon 2009, 43). Jesus' opening of Bartimaeus' eyes, and Bartimaeus' consequent following of Jesus implies a genuine perception of Jesus' identity and the salvation which went beyond just the physical sight. Hence "to follow Jesus on the way into Jerusalem requires open eyes, that is, eyes of penetrating perception into the events that will unfold..." (Waetjen 1989, 179). Genuine perception of the reality demonstrated through the opening of the eyes of Bartimaeus would then cause the disciples to embody Jesus as the *New Human Being* in order to continue with the work of liberation.

6.6 Conclusion

By employing the Freirian model of codification and the model of honour and shame / patron and client, the Markan Jesus posed the problem in the leadership system which he identified as "lording it over" and "exercising of authority" over the subjects by the gentile rulers. Through the search into the cultural context of the text, codes including hierarchy, honour, power, prestige, status, patronage, and autocracy have been identified. In addition to the above, titles that are ascribed to those of low status, such as slaves and servants, have been investigated and shown to be oppressive. But Jesus has decoded the titles and stripped them of their oppressive power, transforming them into viable tools of discipleship. Jesus, taking on the lowest status of a servant, decodes kyriarchy, hierarchy, honour, patronage and autocracy, and invites all people, male and female, slave and free, into a "discipleship of equals". Jesus, moreover, takes on the cross, embracing shame as a subject and agent, not an object of oppression, voluntarily achieving liberation as a ransom for all.

The healing of the blind beggar Bartimaeus further justifies the cause of the poor and marginalised, their right to have direct access to Jesus and to freely struggle for their liberation. . Jesus' stopping to listen and attend to the needs of the poor blind beggar provides assurance to the poor and marginalised and is evidence of the Good News that he proclaims. This act of humility is what sets Jesus and his new model of discipleship apart from the imperial rulers whose interest was to maintain and improve their honour ratings at the expense of exploiting the poor peasants.

Chapter seven

Dialogue between the discipleship in Mark and the leadership in the COUA

7.0 Introduction

This chapter is the third pole of the tripolar model (Appropriation), which brings into dialogue the context and the text of Mark 10:35-52. In chapter two I engaged with the traditional models that have shaped the leadership development of clergy in the COUA. I stated that the Ganda model was characterised by manipulation, with the King as the supreme authority. I also highlighted the second model which was the CMS and their use of the theory of cultural invasion. The missionaries wanted to replace the Ganda culture with the English culture as a way of planting the Christian faith. Thirdly, I discussed the EAR which emerged as a form of resistance against the banking model that had been cultivated by the Ganda and CMS. To a large extent, the EAR tried to cultivate an egalitarian model that brought equality between the poor and the elites. In chapter three I explored theological education as a strategy used by the missionaries to train church leaders. Manifestations of the banking model in theological education, as pointed out, became a hindrance for developing servant leaders. A survey of the impact of the contemporary models indicates that there is a great deal to be desired if the COUA is to develop servant leaders. The text of Mark presents an alternative model that Jesus initiated in order to create an egalitarian community. As Horsley (2001) points out, Jesus' teaching in Mark was intended to bring renewal to the covenant community. I suggest the Jesus model in dialogue with the cultural values upheld by the EAR can create a contextual biblical model appropriate for the renewal of leadership in the COUA. Points of connection will be highlighted but also the differences will be noted. This chapter is going to be discussed in the light of oppressive codes already highlighted in the previous chapters.

The gospel text Mark 10:35-52 challenges the leadership of the COUA to adopt a model of servanthood which embraces all categories of people irrespective of their social status. It is very evident that the situation of leadership in the COUA has been dominated by fights over issues of status, power and privilege. Most of the clergy, once elevated to positions of authority, use their newly acquired power to exploit, hurt and oppress those below them. Cases have been cited in chapter four of two bishops, namely Bamwoze of Busoga and Subuhinja of Muhabura who preferred to insist on exploiting power, creating damage to both

church property and the lives of the Christians. Their own status and power were given higher priority than the congregations that God had entrusted to them. Therefore this chapter endeavours to create a conversation with the intention of creating an egalitarian model which can allow the leaders to engage with both culture and the gospel of Mark without oppressing their subordinates. Bediako (2000, 24) in his discussion of scriptures with the Akan traditional piety, realised the need to understand Christ that deals with the “perceived reality of the Ancestors.” He asserts that

We need also to make the biblical assumption that Jesus Christ is not a stranger to our heritage, starting from the universality of Jesus Christ rather than from his particularity as a Jew, and affirming that the incarnation was the incarnation of a saviour of all people, of all nations and of all times.

The advocacy of engaging Christianity with culture has continued to be a great issue of concern for example Niebuhr (1975, 106) in his book *Christ and Culture* notes that while radical Christians consider the world without Christ as darkness,

“Cultural Christians note that there are great differences among the various movements in society; and by observing these they not only find points of contact for the mission of the church, but are also enabled to work for the reformation of the culture.”

He further notes that the Christ of culture position makes evident the “universal meaning of the gospel and the truth that Jesus is the saviour, not of a selected little band of saints, but of the world” (Niebuhr 1975, 105). These views make this chapter to be very fundamental in the effort to achieve a model of leadership which is both contextual and biblical as stated above. Bediako and Niebuhr also highlight the virtue of equality as Jesus’ primary goal for the salvation of humanity as opposed to hierarchy where everyone struggles to be at the top and rule others.

7.1 Symbols of honour and glory

James and John went to Jesus in Mark 10:35 to request places of honour when Jesus finally is glorified. The search for honour was normal in the Roman Empire as well as among the Jews. Moxnes notes that “honour is fundamentally the public recognition of one’s social standing” (1996, 20). The disciples joined the contest for better positions in Jesus’ Kingdom in order to raise their social standing. Once one’s honour has been recognised in a group, it is confirmed and the result is a new social status (1996, 20). Bearing in mind that all Jesus’ disciples were from a low peasant class, it was no doubt that they had adapted to a culture of honour in order to acquire a new social status. Their new social standing had implications for better life,

better friends and probably joining the elite group. As noted by Rohrbaugh, “the elite lived in heavily fortified central areas of the cities, usually enclosed in separate walls, and were socially and physically separated from the rest of society” (Rohrbaugh 2008, 145). The elite maintained control of writing, coinage, taxation, military and judicial systems. Their control was powerfully legitimated by the religious and educational bureaucracy and hence the literacy rate among them was higher as compared to the peasants (2008, 147). This was the system that seduced James and John so that they could also be counted among the high ranking aristocratic families. The system, as Freire notes, considered “the oppressed as objects, things who have no purpose except that which is prescribed by their oppressors” (1993, 42). The oppressors had power in their hands; they used their positions to suppress the peasants who constituted the low class with no powers except to remain as the productive system of the elites. It was out of that kind of oppression that James and John wanted to emerge and become like the elites. It is also possible that they had in mind the Maccabean revolt where the Judean peasants struggled for their own social and economic survival. Though it started as a Judean revolt against the Seleucid armies which lasted for almost a century, it ended up as an establishment of a new dynasty of high priests (Horsley 1985, 21-22). It adopted the Greek culture, empowered Hellenisation and became as murderous and oppressive as the regime of Antiochus Epiphanes which it replaced (1985, 22). This would still be contrary to the objectives of the *New Human Being* whose intention was to establish an everlasting Kingdom where all the adherents embody his own life.

The Imperial system provides clear parallels to the Ganda where the poor were also subjected to oppression. As already noted in chapter two above, Buganda was the very first host of Christianity before spreading to other parts of the country. The Baganda were the first recipients of the gospel, which also gave them the opportunity to pioneer evangelism. The first Christians were called (*abasomi*) learners which actually carries the same implications of disciples. Some of these learners committed themselves to the gospel to the extent that they obeyed Christ unto death as martyrs rather than please their *Kabaka*. The boys who died were of low status, expected to say “yes” to all the demands of the *Kabaka* as his servants, yet they persisted in giving their allegiance to Jesus as their newfound *Kabaka* and saviour. It is evident that their death was as a result of the king’s failure to receive the honour and glory due to him by his own servants. In Buganda the king is everything to everybody and therefore has to be honoured, feared and be given the glory due to him. As stated in chapter two, failure to honour the *Kabaka* led to death or torture. This cultural background empowered the Ganda

leaders to promote personal power and glory at the expense of demonstrating service to the people. They made other people feel inferior before them. As Freire acknowledges, “the peasant feels inferior to the boss because the boss seems to be the only one who knows things and is able to run things” (1993, 45). It was not only the peasants in Buganda who felt inferior but also the neighbouring communities to whom the Ganda appeared like their colonisers. In other words the Ganda acted as brokers to the missionaries.

The same has been transmitted to the church leaders in the subsequent generations. Today the church is dominated by leaders who seek honour, power and status at the expense of their congregations. It is true that most oppressive codes have their origin in the Ganda culture. These were then confirmed by the oppressive elitist codes brought by the missionaries. Other oppressive codes arise from the selfishness and greed of some current leaders in the church and also the lack of good selection and training of leaders. It is also evident that the pyramidal structures in the church contribute a great deal to the struggle for honour. It has been noted in chapter four that those who struggle to reach the top of the church hierarchy have intentions of staying in good houses, driving good cars, exposure such as travelling overseas and psychological satisfaction, especially for those who were previously mistreated by top leadership. As already noted by Irenna, pyramidal structures emphasise position rather than responsibility. Those at the top of the pyramid also possess more authority, demand obedience without questioning and cause tension due to fear of being replaced. Hence those below, as Freire states, are denied the power to become human. The oppressors use the banking model to retain their status even if it is sometimes unconsciously done. They view the oppressed as “adaptable manageable beings” (Freire 1993, 54). Therefore for the purpose of gaining some authority, the oppressed also adapt to the values of the oppressor and join the competition to find a position at the top. In cases where the dominated find no space for freedom, there arises the conflict whether to adapt to the values of the oppressor or take the way of liberation (1993, 54). This kind of conflict does not allow the oppressed to seek liberation sometimes for fear of losing what they already have, little as it may be. Hence some of them decide to engage in competition to get to the top of the pyramid and end up as oppressors in their turn.

Theological education over the years has not been able to overcome the problem of power and status among the church leaders, partly because the pioneers of theological education in Uganda were missionaries who were themselves agents of power and hence passed on their legacy to the African priests. On the other hand, the first priests were Baganda who had

embodied the Kingship values--values that they tried to pass on. As noted by some respondents, most of the students who apply to go for theological studies already have a mindset of competition in terms of vying for the juicy positions. Competition and battles to maintain or attain the status at the top of the hierarchy are evident in the COUA. Fights are held over trivial issues such as who should consecrate the elements in communion – something which can be agreed upon and done jointly. Everyone wants to take the honour of being the celebrant. The type of dressing, especially for the Bishops which includes the mitre and the ring, are representative of the royal honour that is given to cultural kings during their coronation. The same, as noted in chapter two, is given to lords and kings in England. These do not only enhance the honour and status of the leader but also distance him from the congregation.

The church leaders today are no different from James and John during the time of Jesus. These competitions are elevated by the great economic gap that exists between the top leadership and those below. The economic challenges differ from the grabbing of land from the peasants in the first century reflected in Mark's gospel, and instead consist in modern Uganda of failure to pay hospital bills and failure to make provision for clergy children to go to good schools. While the bishop's family has the privilege of accessing medical facilities even overseas, the ordinary priest cannot afford to pay the bills in a local public hospital. Yet the money that is being used by the bishop is raised by the local priest collecting from the local Christians. These inequalities are avenues for a competitive lifestyle in the church. Therefore to decode the system of honour Jesus had to engage in dialogue with his disciples in order to unveil the dangers of competition and the emulation of oppressive leadership. This is in conformity with Freire's words that "the pedagogy of the oppressed must be forged with not for the oppressed in the incessant struggle to gain their humanity" (1993, 30). According to Mark, Jesus' discipleship was a dialogical movement with the disciples for the purposes of establishing a renewed egalitarian community. For the disciples, it was about unveiling the deeper structures in order to establish the oppressive codes that had dehumanised the peasant.

7.2 Patronage

Patronage as an oppressive code employs the banking model to manipulate clients. Jesus warned his disciples against the gentile rulers who lord it over and exercise authority over the poor (Mark 10:42). In chapter five and six these rulers have been categorised as patrons, high priests, Herodian kings and generally the Roman Emperors and those who belong to the elite class. In manipulation, the elites compel the masses to conform their objectives (Freire 1993,

128). The elites named above caused the suffering of the poor due to the economic injustices imposed on them by taxes, tithes, confiscation of land by the elites and building projects by the Herodian kings. The peasants were seen as the main producers while the elites were the major consumers. The surplus was taken to the aristocrats for their consumption but also to supply to “different groups in society that do not farm but must be fed for their specific services and goods in turn” (Horsley 1985, 52). Because of the economic injustices, the peasants found themselves in debt, leading to loss of land and social banditry. Although the bandits were labelled as “dishonourable, violent and surrounded by rabble” their actions were in resistance to the oppression imposed on them by the ruling elite, oppression to the extent that they were left with no choice except to steal in order to survive (Hanson and Oakman 1998, 87-88).

Patronage was the greatest source of inequality in the world of Mark. These relationships empowered inequality because they existed between unequal parties. It was one of the tools the Mediterranean world used to exploit the poor who included servants and slaves. Patrons manipulated their clients with small gifts to please them and in return demanded public praise for themselves. In Buganda, the king was a father, a ruthless conqueror as well as a patron in whom all the powers of the kingdom rested. The king had authority over everything including the power over life and death in the kingdom. He commanded persecution and mutilation for anyone who seemed to go against his will. He chose who to see and those he never wanted to see. All women were his wives irrespective of whether they were married or not. All the children who were brought to stay in the kingdom as pages (*bagalagala*) were at his disposal and he did whatever he wanted with them including killing if they disobeyed him. This was evident when the *Kabaka* Mwanga ordered the killing of the *bagalagala* who disobeyed him and went for Bible lessons. Titre (2010) is clear that their death was not really about stopping Christianity. Rather the *Kabaka* was proving the point of his power over the invaders who wanted to take over his kingdom. The *Kabaka* through his actions made it clear that without him Buganda ceases to be. I also noted earlier in chapter two that in Buganda if the *Kabaka* died, the kingdom ceased until they enthroned the new one. In manipulation, the elites use all means including physical violence to keep people from thinking (Freire 1993, 130). Hence in Buganda people never thought independently except within the limits of the *Kabaka*.

The missionaries slotted very well into the hierarchical Ganda structures. Partly this was because in England the Church was directly under the state and its leaders were part of the ruling social elite, embedded in the system of patronage prevalent in the Church. Upon their

arrival in Uganda their interest in controlling both the affairs of the church and the state was apparent. For example the missionaries wanted to declare Buganda a Christian state. They were in charge of coronation ceremonies in the kingdoms not only in Buganda but also in Toro and Bunyoro. They wanted all kings to be Protestants in order to act as their emissaries. They also wanted to use their powers to remove chiefs off their thrones on the supposed basis of moral integrity, which amounted to conforming kings to their culture and control. Besides manipulation, the missionaries also engaged with another anti-dialogical theory called cultural invasion. This is where the “invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, in disrespect of the latter’s potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression” (Freire 1993, 133). The power exerted by the missionaries was noted as “protestant hegemony at the centre of power represented by the *Kabaka*” (Hansen 1984, 320-323). This relates to what Bediako calls “European civilisation.” He understood European Christianity as uncritical because it was “bound to uproot the African from his heathen past with its barbarities, savagery and ignorance in order to give him a new identity, constructed on the basis of the new, total package of Christianity and European civilisation” (1992, 251). This European civilisation affected the entire church leadership for example; the bishop was the third on the hierarchy below the Governor and the *Kabaka*. The bishop further became the chairman of all advisory boards and the CMS staff were all included as ex-officio members in forming the majority of the church committees. This definitely denied the Africans full powers of decision-making and active participation in the life of the church (1984, 350-354). This was also evident when the missionaries rejected the constitution that had been revised by Bishop Tucker to bring equality between the missionaries and Africans. The missionaries objected with a view that Africans were mere children who could not be entrusted with church leadership (Byaruhanga 2008, 163-164). This supported by what Freire notes about cultural invasion. “The invaders choose, those they invade follow their choice, the invaders act, those they invade have only the illusion of acting, through the action of the invader” (1993, 133). This objection was a proof of the existence of racism in the midst of a white Western Christian community where they wanted only their agenda to be followed. It is also clear that the house of clergy was dominated by the chiefs who controlled church affairs the same way they handled chieftainship. It is worth remembering that the chiefs who were the first clergy worked very well with the missionaries, most likely due to the aristocratic attachments that the two parties shared. It is also true that with time the “invaded begin to respond to the values, the standards, and the goals of the invaders.” Due to this emulation of the invaders’

goals, the congregation saw no difference between the between the chief and the priest. The chiefs were in position to impose the Christian faith onto their clients. Patronage denied the poor independence because they depended on the patrons for everything including decision-making. In cultural invasion “the more the invaded mimic the invaders, the more stable the position of the latter becomes” (1993, 134). Some of the Ganda chiefs received priesthood together with the English culture and became their brokers.

In reference to the statement of lording it over and exercising authority (Mark 10:42) the COUA is no exception. A case of Bishop Bamwoze has been cited where as a diocesan bishop he made it difficult for both the Christians and clergy (refer to chapter 4 above). He ruled the diocese through manipulation, leading the congregations into a leadership crisis that was termed by the anti-Bamwoze group as a revolution in the COUA. Mention is also made in the same chapter of Bishop Sebuhinja who resisted getting out of office until the candidate of his choice was consecrated bishop. This is a clear indication that the bishops have patronal powers that seem impossible to alter. It has also been noted that the bishops can be a law unto themselves, with or without a constitution. Even the constitution gives them too much authority, which leads them into exerting power over their congregations. For example, Bishop Bamwoze is noted as one who led the diocese under the guise of the “mysterious canon law” without a constitution for all his time in office (1972-1999). As Freire notes, manipulation can become “a fundamental instrument for preservation of domination” (1993, 129). This kind of patronage was intimidating to the Christians. It was noted in a letter to Eriya Kategaya the National Political Commissar that

Bishop Bamwoze has taken diocesan property to his home including exotic heads of cattle (96). He has diverted Aid for personal use and to UPC (political party –Uganda People’s Congress). In these critical days he has drained to red all diocesan accounts, he bought a building at Sh. 85, 000, 000 using aid without authority either from the donors or diocesan council but it is being forced onto Christians to repay. Together with that sum he has a total over draft of 200, 000, 000/= in various banks in Jinja all accumulated in the last twelve months period.⁸⁹

In the same letter, it is also noted that “there are many incredible stories about the bishop which depict defiance of morality in the church and social circles, ranging from sexual exploitation, avarice, graft to upright murder connivance...” (Appendix IV document III). Bishop Bamwoze also advanced the anti-dialogical model of conquest. In conquest, a leader

⁸⁹ Letter to Mr. Eriya Kategaya, Ref. DOC/017/094 entitled; Secrete, dated April 1994, page 7. Refer to Appendix IV, Document III.

aims at “conquering the oppressed increasingly and by every means, from the toughest to the most refined, from the most repressive to the most solicitous which leads to paternalism” (Freire 1993, 119). This kind of economic exploitation is also evident in other church structures such as the quota system noted in chapter four. The diocesan quota has to be submitted regardless of whether the parish is poor or not. It does not matter whether the parish priest has something left over for salary or not, the demand is that money has to be sent to the diocese. It is noted in the Acclaim report that “the diocesan or provincial quota has to be sent to those at the top who sit in office but benefit from those below who labour to raise the money (1997, 37). This hinders development at the parish level leading to frustration and demotivation of those below the hierarchy. The end result is low offertory in the church and poor payment for the clergy. In the pyramidal structure, information flows from the top hence the budget is decided by the diocesan council for the Christians in the rural areas without consideration of their sources of income. And as I noted in chapter four, the church has a chain of oppressive structures because the provincial office puts pressure on the diocese, the diocese puts pressure on the parishes and the parishes put pressure on the sub-parishes. At the end of it all, it is the sub-parish that suffers most because it has nobody to cry to except to submit to the superior. In conquest “the vanquished are dispossessed of their word, their expressiveness, and their culture” (1993, 119). In the church, those of the top leadership whether bishops or archdeacons, despise those below them and deny them their power of expression.

Besides economic exploitation, the church also practices professional exploitation where those below the hierarchy are not given a chance to explore their talents and gifts. It was noted by Mbabazi (2004, 180) that people train for different fields but when it comes to deployment, they are assigned duties for which they are not qualified. But it is also true that some of the clergy who want to advance their studies in order to be of better value are sometimes denied opportunity. To some extent this is due to the bishop’s fear of being replaced but it is also an assertion of power because if the bishop says something it is final. Freire notes that “the convert who approaches the people but feels alarm at each step they take, each doubt they express, each suggestion they offer, attempts to impose his status, remains nostalgic towards his origins” (1993, 43). Although Freire uses the word “convert”, I take it to mean any anti-dialogical leader who is rather reserved about the progress of the subordinates. Therefore patronage may not take the same structure and nature as in the world of Mark but its consequences are closely related.

Patronage in the church is also enhanced through the titles like, “my lord bishop”, venerable archdeacon, canon, and so on, making those who do not have the title seem inferior. Hence they are subjected to oppression by the custodians of the titles. The bishop assumes all the powers of the diocese by addressing himself in the third person, and as if he embodies the diocese in himself, e.g. as +Cyprian Busoga (Busoga is the name of the diocese). These titles coupled with the fatherhood of the diocese sets him far above the congregations that he leads but they are also symbols of patriarchy. Freire asserts that “The man or woman who proclaims devotion to the cause of liberation yet is unable to enter into communion with the people, whom he or she continues to regard as totally ignorant is grievously self deceived” (1993, 43). I have noted that this kind of leadership emerges into what Freire (1993, 131) calls “populist” leaders. These are leaders who claim to be on the side of the oppressed and yet they are the real oppressors. Freire further calls them “amphibians”. These include leaders who claim to be caring fathers, yet they do not protect the rights of the poor but instead promote an oppressive paternalism. The oppressor is housed within them. This was true of missionaries in Buganda and even the current church leadership. Therefore lording it over and exercising authority is still evident in the COUA.

7.3 The socially marginalised groups

In the gospel of Mark the marginalised groups comprise of the women, the sick, demon possessed, children, the blind, servants and slaves. The categorisation of all these groups symbolises oppressive codes in this thesis. These groups were the recipients of the Good News in the gospel of Mark. Schussler asserts that

Jesus’ proclamation does not address critically the structures of oppression. It implicitly subverts them by envisioning a different future and different human relationships on the grounds that all persons in Israel are created and elected by the gracious goodness of Jesus’ Sofia God. Jesus and his movement set free those who are dehumanised and in bondage of evil powers, thus implicitly subverting economic patriarchal-androcentric structures, even though the people involved in the process might not have thought in terms of social structures (1994, 142).

Although Schussler (1994, 142) objects to the generic language that categorises women among the poor, the lonely, the priests etc, in this thesis I consider women among the marginalised groups in the gospel to whom Jesus declares the Good News of liberation from patriarchal and hierarchal structures. Hence patriarchy is discussed as an oppressive code.

7.3.1 Patriarchy

Patriarchy is one of the oppressive codes that Jesus decoded during his ministry. Schussler asserts that “in God’s world women and men no longer relate to each other in terms of patriarchal dominance and dependence, but as persons who live in the presence of God” (1994, 145). However, this has not been so in both the COUA and the Ganda culture. Apart from the few women who had managerial positions in the Kingdom due to their attachment with the *Kabaka*, the rest of the women in Buganda had no voice in the kingdom and, as I have noted, their place was in the kitchen and the garden. In Buganda a woman cannot become a king. Women were under the patronage of the father, brother and husband. They were also vulnerable because they counted among the gifts such as cows that the *Kabaka* gave away as rewards to the chiefs or to redeem debts. Women called the *Kabaka (bba ffe)* meaning “our husband”. Therefore, besides giving them away as rewards he also abused them sexually because culturally they belonged to him. Manipulation attempts to “anesthetize the people so they will not think” (Freire 1993, 130). Women in Buganda accepted their position and were convinced that it was the way to live.

The coming of the missionaries did not liberate the position of a woman but affirmed the status that culture had given her. The missionaries trained women to be good wives and never gave them opportunity to appear as leaders in public space. Women, especially wives of clergy, were manipulated to think that doing domestic work and staying at home to wait for their husbands was the best training from missionaries. They were trained how to cook well, knit and keep the home clean as a way of making their husbands happy. In manipulation, Freire (1993, 129) talks about deceits and promises offered to the oppressed due to their lack of revolutionary consciousness. The voices cited in chapter four of the pioneer women who joined theological education affirm the position of missionaries about women. Freire notes that “it is only when the oppressed find the oppressor out and become involved in the organised struggle for their liberation that they begin to believe in themselves” (1993, 47). The first woman Florence Njangali as mentioned in chapter four above attended her classes at the veranda having been denied the right to sit in class with men. Nassaka, in her article *From the Veranda to the Foreline asserts*, “Florence had to die to the flesh, shame and scorn. For as she was advised to quit, she took to the veranda outside the lecture room, she managed to catch a glimpse of the lecture, the male students and to hear the voice of whoever was speaking. That was a better place for her, her polluting nature could not contaminate the pure and holy in the lecture room” (Nassaka 1998, 22). Even when she completed her theological

studies, she was denied ordination as her male counterparts became ordained. Although the status of women has slowly changed in the COUA with over two hundred women ordained, the church is still hesitant to give women high positions of leadership. The majority of women are chaplains in schools and assistant vicars. Only two women hold the position of archdeacon, while a few are canons and one works as the Dean of BTSDT. According to some respondents, women are weak leaders and hence they cannot be entrusted with the position of a bishop. The cause of this state of women has been attributed to the cultural gender bias. Nassaka further calls all people to engage in liberating attitudes among all classes of people. “This can be smoothly done when we are in solidarity with all women and men whose vision and mission is to save all humankind and the whole created order” (1998, 23). And as Schussler suggests, “the discipleship of equals provides an alternative picture of kyriarchy by establishing the vision of a democratic church that is engaged in the continuous struggle to change systems of domination, exploitation and marginalisation” (1997, 3). For the women “the kingdom of God proclaimed by Jesus was a symbol of anti Imperial rule with liberating power that appealed to all those that had been victimised by the Roman system because it envisioned an alternative world free from hunger, poverty and domination” (Schussler 1997, 7). Jesus healed women, healed their children, and gave women the opportunity to be among his followers (Mark 15:41). The women became the first witnesses of the resurrection (Mark 16:1-7). Although some women have agreed to the positive application of the word “servant”, some are still sceptical, seeing it to take them back into the usual menial duties instead of liberating love (Stalcup 1995, 128). Yet she also notes that although patriarchy has empowered domination and subordination of women cutting across lines of culture, economic classes, races and nationalities, “Jesus’ ability to liberate is not seen in his maleness, but in the renunciation of the system of domination and seeks to embody himself the new humanity of service and mutual empowerment (1995, 128). Similarly, Moltmann (1987, 111) notes that service in Mark is not humiliating but a mutual giving and taking, a self surrender and mutual acceptance, an exchange of love, tenderness, help and comfort.”

Therefore Jesus’ teaching challenges the patriarchal systems in the COUA where culture and colonial influence still holds the church back from giving women full leadership responsibilities. Jesus’ liberating pedagogy cuts across lines of culture, race, economic classes and nationalities. Since women have been given the chance for ordination, they should be given equal opportunities of leadership in the church, contributing to what

Schussler calls “discipleship of equals”. Jesus managed to intervene in the situation of women through dialogue, breaking the cultural cues of men speaking to women. Freire notes that “the pedagogy of the oppressed, which is the pedagogy of the people engaged in the fight for their own liberation, has its roots in dialogue. Those who begin to recognise themselves as oppressed must be among the developers of this pedagogy” (1993, 35-36). As Jesus engaged in developing a pedagogy that transformed the oppressive structures of the Roman Empire, women celebrated the freedom of coming out in order to be part of the developing pedagogy. In Jesus they found a pedagogue to whom they could freely address their problems.

7.3.2 Servants and slaves

Jesus, knowing the place of slaves and servants, made it a condition for those who wanted to be involved in leadership to engage with status reversal. The one who wanted to be great must become a child and those who wanted to rule were to become slaves and servants. He noted that the “*New Human Being* came to serve and not to be served” (Mark 10:45) indicating that he took on the place of a servant. I have noted that servants and slaves had no place in the community except the duty to serve their masters. Jesus’ mission to renew the covenant community (Horsley 2001) had implications of giving his life to liberate the imperially submerged peasant community. As the *New Human Being*, he assumed the embodiment of those very oppressive codes that denied the peasants full humanity. The oppressed are tortured by statements like “they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything, they are sick, lazy, unproductive and in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness” (Freire 1993, 45). Jesus reminded his disciples that those who want to be great must become servants, challenging his disciples about values of status as opposed to service of the oppressed. For Jesus, the oppressed did not ascribe to the descriptions above but they deserved to enjoy full humanity and it is for their sake that he embodied the servant role by stating that the *New Human Being* “came to serve and not to be served” (Mark 10:45).

Among the Ganda in Uganda, the servants were meant to serve the King and his chiefs. They held a subordinate position in the kingdom. The servants and slaves were categorised among the *bakopi*, *bagalagala*, who played an inferior role in the community. The *bakopi* were peasants who worked hard to produce food for the elites who did not grow food. The garden work was mainly done by the women while the men engaged in road maintenance, construction of residences for the king and his chiefs and sometimes joining in war to defend the kingdom. They were used as instruments to advance the kingdom and the status of the

chiefs and the *Kabaka*. If they wanted to develop financially they had to enter into a patronage relationship with the chiefs. Both the systems in Mark and the Ganda culture maintained the subordinate position of servants and slaves.

The church as mentioned above has maintained the person titled deacon in a subordinate status similar to that of a servant in the cultural setting. It was emphasised in the responses in chapter four that the church leaders above the hierarchy want those below to serve them. The whole idea of status reversal has not worked efficiently in church leadership. Russell (1993, 54) notes that this “dialect of empowered service/ slavery and service/ slave empowerment is always lost in a dualistic patriarchal paradigm, so that in the church certain persons are assigned the roles of servant and others who may call themselves servant or minister take up the power and status of lord.” It is this kind of duality that has caused the church, specifically the Church of Uganda, to lose the real essence of service. Hence to some extent, “for the women who have been victims of the theology of service the title re-enforces their personal and social role of inferiority, it does not seem that the patriarchal metaphor of lord and servant slave conveys a new order of freedom and empowerment to share their gifts” (1993, 55). It is to this extent that both slave and servant have been categorised as oppressive codes that can only be decoded if leaders embody them and take an egalitarian stance of leadership which embraces role reversal like Jesus did. Jesus’ discipleship model discourages lordship in leadership but embraces a leadership of equality. It requires those who follow him as the *New Human Being* to reconstruct and restore the image of God, and also embody in themselves the *New Human Being* which Jesus modeled. This is the good news which creates the Kingdom of God.

7.4 Ransom

Jesus in Mark applies the term “ransom” to his own life as the climax of his long struggle to liberate the oppressed. Jesus decoded the original sense of ransom where it was intended to redeem slaves or prisoners of war, extending it to the redemption of all the oppressed groups. Malbon and Dowd (2006, 278) have noted that “ransom is about serving others even if that service was to result into death.” I also noted in chapter six that ransom was a way of liberating the oppressed from ideologies of power. Jesus’ death as a liberating act was one way of taking up what was the most shaming tool of oppression, to indicate his solidarity with the oppressed. Freire asserts that “freedom is acquired by conquest not by gift. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly. Freedom is not an ideal located outside of a man; nor is it an idea which becomes myth. It is rather the indispensable condition for the quest for

human completion” (1993, 29). Jesus’ struggle to liberate humanity was done constantly and responsibly through teaching and unveiling the oppressive codes. But secondly, freedom was part of his life struggle, embodied in him not as an idea to think about but as a means to achieve a complete liberation for humanity. It is nothing less than the embodiment of the *New Human Being* in himself. The restoration of full humanity and the embodiment of the *New Human Being* is also the call to his disciples.

Immediately after Jesus had declared himself a servant and ransom for all, he encountered the blind man on the way. The healing of Bartimaeus in Mark 10:46-52 was Jesus’ final demonstration of concern for the oppressed categories of people. Jesus, while on his journey to Jerusalem, allowed Bartimaeus to interrupt him. Although the crowd was resistant, Jesus stopped and called Bartimaeus to him. To Bartimaeus, though blind and labelled as one with an evil eye, though his place was located at the road side and his profession was begging, though rejected as an outcast in the community, Jesus brought the Good News of healing. Freire notes that “to overcome the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognise its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity” (1993, 29). It is true that blind Bartimaeus was aware of his belonging to the category of the discriminated outcasts, degraded, unclean and expendables that are below the social status ladder according to the Imperial world hierarchy. Bartimaeus was among the many marginalised groups that formed the majority of those that Jesus interacted with in the gospel of Mark. Jesus in Mark disregards the purity laws and welcomes the unclean, the marginalised, unholy and the gentiles and it is because of them that the gospel becomes Good News to the poor (Rohrbaugh 1993, 392-394). Out of his situation, Bartimaeus emerged as a disciple, accompanying the crowd that followed Jesus to Jerusalem.

The EAR responded in dialogue to the needs of the outcasts and marginalised that missionary Christianity had left at the margins. As noted earlier, their movement was a response to the banking models reflected in the Ganda culture and missionary Christianity. Christianity was suffering from “narration sickness” where “a teacher talks about reality as if it were motionless, static, compartmentalised and predictable” (Freire 1993, 52). The missionary had become the narrator while the Africans were recipients and actors of something which to some extent did not make sense to them. The work of the EAR therefore corresponds to the work that Jesus accomplished among the marginalised, represented in this thesis by Bartimaeus. The anti-dialogical Jews and Roman rulers had their cultural and power-related

rules about the blind which could not be revisited. The blind had no place for dialogue with elites. I have highlighted in chapter two some of the values that made the EAR an egalitarian movement. I will briefly discuss them for purposes of dialogue with the work of Jesus as one who “came to serve and not to be served and offer his life as a ransom for many” (Mark 10:45). The members of the revival believed that all who accept Jesus are cleansed by the blood of Jesus and become brothers and sisters irrespective of their background, race or social status. The blood of Jesus, as earlier noted, functioned for them as *omukago* for the *Baganda* (Ward 1991, 130-131). The ritual was literally called creating a blood brother (*okutta omukago*). The ritual was intended to resolve conflict and create deeper relationships between individuals. It was symbolised by sharing a coffee bean, smeared with blood from both parties. This ritual created deeper friendship and obligations to help one another and, above all, to avoid any circumstance that would harm the other or even going to war against each other.⁹⁰ The members of the EAR revived community values through fellowships which Taylor (1958, 102) associated with recovery of clan life where the young people sat and listened from the elders around the fire. People gathered in the homes of the elders for advice, Bible study, fellowship and prayer. Freire notes that “the oppressed are not “marginals” are not people living “outside” society. They have always been “inside,” inside the structures which made them “being for others.” The solution is not to “integrate them into the structure of oppression, but to transform that structure so that they can become beings for themselves” (1993, 55). The EAR, by opening their homes to everybody, created new relationships beyond culture, race, ethnic origin and social status. They provided new families for those who had nowhere to go and reached those families where the missionaries could not reach. The EAR did not attempt to transform the Church of Uganda structures although they maintained their membership and identity. As Taylor notes, the emergence of the EAR created a vibrant laity involvement in the life of the church which had originally been underestimated (Taylor 1958, 102).

The move for Jesus to liberate the oppressed from ideologies of power is the message that the EAR embraced and practiced. They practiced liberating Christianity and condemned clericalism among the clergy. They also physically approached the missionaries and talked to them about racism and the gap they had created between them and the other Christians. The

⁹⁰More details about *omukago* can be found at <http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC> accessed on 23/03/2012. It is an article written by Livingstone Sewanyana entitled *The Use of Traditional Communications in Conflict Management: The Case of Uganda*. Sewanyana discusses the different tribes in Uganda and how they resolve conflict and maintain brotherhood in their clans.

EAR members were open to one another, Christ-centred and egalitarian in organisation. Their leadership was democratic, based specifically on the clan system of the elders mentoring the young Christians. As already noted above they did not integrate people but they transformed the structures that dehumanised people, giving them a new sense of belonging in the fellowship of the believers.

It is also true according to the respondents that for them the cross was a call to service. Meaning that Jesus' death as a ransom instils more zeal in the *balokole* to serve Jesus, and their service is reflected in the way they care about one another. They used evangelism as a tool for reaching out to communities. It was a joint responsibility to have their children educated, to look after their bodies well and to offer help to those who were not able to live to the expectations of the group. Unlike the patronage system that encouraged dependence, the EAR empowered the members to be independent by giving them small scale business to enable them to look after their families. There was no competition but members belonged to one another. Unlike the world of Mark where the outcasts were cut out of public eye because of their social status, the EAR admitted them to the fellowship and empowered them to become clean just like Jesus did to Bartimaeus. An example is cited by Ward (1991, 125) where they met with the cattle keepers in their kraals, sat with them and gave them a sense of belonging and dignity. These cattle keepers were commonly called *Balalo* and were not allowed to share a meal or even be present in gatherings with other people. All these barriers were overcome by the EAR and the *Balalo* joined the team as evangelists. Therefore Jesus stopping to give audience to a blind man like Bartimaeus contributes much to the values of the EAR. Just as Bartimaeus received his sight and followed Jesus so the *Balalo* received the gospel of salvation and became evangelists. The *New Human Being* effects salvation by opening not just the physical eyes but new perspectives in life that undermine the old order of marginalisation and usher in a new order of freedom and liberation. Just as Bartimaeus was admitted into the Kingdom of God through discipleship so are the *balalo*. The EAR and the Jesus movement of the *New Human Being* were revolutionary because of their identification with the people. Freire asserts that "to simply talk about the people, as dominators do, without any self-giving in that thought, to fail to think with the people, is a sure way to cease being a revolutionary leader" (1993, 113). The EAR used their values to decode the banking model which had empowered clericalism, racism, ethnic and tribal differences. They created a new egalitarian community that shaped a leadership that served the church even through exile and persecution. I mentioned in chapter two that Bishop Luwum who was murdered for

his faith, and Kivengere, exiled during the same time, were fruits of the EAR. Therefore selfless love which Jesus extended to the marginalised has much in common with the values of the EAR.

7.5 Conclusion

As noted above, appropriation is a conversation between the text and the context. This chapter concludes that there is a great deal in common between the world of Mark and the contemporary COUA. The struggle to reach the top positions on the hierarchy is evident in both. James and John wished to live a lifestyle of the elite which is far distanced from the local peasants. In the same way priests in Uganda wish to climb to the office of bishop because of the privileges attached.

The autocracy of the Gentile leaders that Jesus warned his disciples against in Mark who lord it over and exercise authority are also evident in the COUA. Some clergy and Bishops have assumed the positions of Kings and patrons, requiring to be served by the subordinates, just as the Imperial rulers treated the peasants and slaves.

Economic exploitation that resulted in debt and complete loss of land appears in a different way in the COUA. The quota system that is demanded from the poor local churches in order to pay the top officials who sit in offices is a replica of the redistributive system in the time of Mark. The poor in the world of Mark formed the productive system feeding the elites, paying tithes, taxes and yet becoming poorer and resorting to economic suicide and banditry. The bandits in Mark differ from the situation in the COUA where the Christians sought audience from the high authorities in both the church and government to allow their voices to be heard. However in both situations, the voices of the poor are not heard because they are limited in making choices. The systems are autocratic and have no time to listen to those who seek for liberation, except to suppress them and exert authority and power without being challenged.

Jesus' teaching in Mark 10:35-52 responds to a situation of discrimination and power relations that has no regard for the fate of the poor. The poor in this regard include the peasants, the sick, the children, slaves and servants, the blind, lame and demon possessed. These categories as mentioned above contribute to why the Gospel of Mark is the "Good News". Jesus included these categories on his agenda; he was always in constant dialogue with them. It is this dialogue that was missing from the Imperial leadership, and the same dialogue has not been fully realised in the COUA. Hence dialogue between Jesus' teaching

and the values established by the EAR that reflect a community egalitarian system leads the COUA into a model that is biblical and contextual.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions and Recommendations

8.0 Conclusions

This thesis has focused on the study of Mark 10:35-52 as a model for leadership development of clergy in the COUA. Besides the traditional way of preaching servanthood in the pulpit to convert leaders, this thesis has engaged with Paulo Freire's models of education to try and identify the oppressive codes that have undermined the development of servant leaders in the COUA. The theory of codifications begins with the surface and moves on to the deep structures, unveiling and revealing the oppressive codes. Unless the COUA deals with these codes it might not be able to develop a leadership model that is both biblical and contextual.

To achieve my objective I have employed the tripolar contextual model of exegesis with its three poles to examine the context, text and then appropriate the two in order to arrive at a biblical contextual model. I have also engaged with feminist hermeneutics to deal with issues of inequality and gender bias in the thesis. Since the tripolar model does not mind the order of the poles, in this thesis I started with the Context, moved on to Distantiation and concluded with Appropriation.

I have noted that religious wars between the Christians and the Muslims dominated the life of the church in Uganda during its early years. The struggle to colonise Uganda was engraved in the missionary activity. Hence Bishop Tucker, who was the first bishop of Uganda, also acted as an agent for colonisation. Since then, unequal power relations have been evident in the church. I have indicated that three models played a key role in shaping the Christian culture in Uganda.

The thesis acknowledges that when Christianity arrived in Buganda it was mediated by the *Kabaka* and his chiefs. Hence it was difficult for the missionaries to get into another model except the kingship model. In Buganda the *Kabaka* ruled using the banking model, specifically manipulating his subordinates to focus on him as the centre of power and spiritual vitality. Disrespecting the *Kabaka* was tantamount to punishment which included death, and the King was beyond the law, actually he was the law himself.

The Ganda society was hierarchical with the *Kabaka* at the top and other officials below him. Amongst those at the bottom of the pyramidal structure were the slaves, servants, pages and

the peasants. The peasants mainly lived outside the palace and were the sole producers of food eaten by the *Kabaka* and his officials in the palace. This hierarchical structure created a society where inequality was the order of the day.

In this structure was the patronage system where the *Kabaka* was the patron to all although later he allowed the chiefs also to have clients. It was through the client system that Christianity grew because the chiefs, after learning how to read and write in the palace, later gathered their clients and started teaching them. Some of these clients could have received Christianity not out of conviction but for fear of losing their relationship with the patrons. To some extent Christianity developed out of intimidation, fear and manipulation and not the desire for changed lives.

The *Kabaka* was also a symbol of glory whose many titles clothed him in two bodies of both a father to the Baganda but also a ruthless and cruel person. At coronation he was given the titles *Ssebataka* meaning head of all clan heads, *Ssabalongo* meaning father of twins, *Ssabasajja* meaning head of all men. Hence the *Kabaka* was everything in the Kingdom and therefore a power unto himself. He was honoured and adored, subordinates knelt before him, and others prostrated to pay homage to him. Kingship is meant for only men and therefore that affirms that Buganda is a purely patriarchal society.

I have noted that the CMS missionaries slotted very well into the Ganda hierarchical structures. The Ganda structure corresponded very well with their English structure where the clergy and bishops were among the aristocrats. However, irrespective of the similarities in structure between the CMS and the Ganda models, the CMS wanted to assume rather a higher status in Buganda, resulting in what Freire calls “cultural invasion.” Their model was focused on spreading Christianity with a view of replacing the Ganda culture with the English culture. The conflict between the two cultures caused resistance and resulted in the death of the very first converts in 1886, commonly known as the “Uganda Martyrs”. The struggle to Christianise the Kingdom led to more religious wars. But empowered by the British, the Anglicans won, taking up most of the counties in Buganda.

The British hegemony insisted on monopolising the state by dictating that every King must be a Protestant and the bishop is the one who should preside over all the state ceremonies including coronation. The chiefs were meant to go through moral scrutiny and be approved by the missionaries before taking up office. The bishop, who ranked third in the state hierarchy after the *Kabaka* and Governor, was also the chair of all the church committees, the

missionaries were ex-officio on all church boards and the clergy who were in this case chiefs, were the African representation. This kind of leadership, where decisions flowed from the top to the bottom, avoided the participation of the ordinary Christians. This fits with the banking model where the oppressed are only recipients of what has been deposited by those who know to those who do not know.

Unequal power relations were further reflected in the clergy who were ordained after a short period of training to enhance evangelism outside of the palace in Mengo. All these clergy were chiefs who did not relinquish their duties with the state but held both positions. The Christians respected them more as chiefs rather than as clergy. The clergy chiefs treated their congregations as clients because some of them were still under their patronage. This system facilitated the master servant relationship in the church. Secondly, chiefs were also more loyal to the *Kabaka* than they were to the church. They were able to leave the parishes and go to war as commanded by the *Kabaka*. Some of them died in war while others allowed the two offices to run together. The combination of the two offices empowered clericalism, despotism and autocracy in the church. The system also widened the gap between the clergy and the congregations. Hence the church, remaining at the top of the pyramid, was not able to bring the Good News to the local people in a way of identifying with the needs of society. It was a church that was empowered by the banking model without any conviction of dialogue with the ordinary members of the congregation.

This thesis argues that the EAR emerged as a resistance movement against missionary Christianity. They resisted the banking model and focused on creating an egalitarian Christian environment that embraced all who had been left out by missionary Christianity. Community life was revived through fellowships, Bible studies and the elders opening up their homes for all those who needed shelter and food. As opposed to cultural invasion, the EAR engaged with the theory of cultural synthesis, which helped them to integrate with the people from where they were, and learn the Bible together with them, thus causing authentic revolution from within the cultural structures.

The EAR decoded some of the oppressive codes that they had identified within missionary Christianity such as clericalism, racism, inequality and autocracy. Empowered by their faith in the universal cleansing blood of Jesus, every Christian was a brother and sister. They decoded the spirit of ethnicity that had been instilled by the Ganda Christians due to their political wrangles and hatred of certain tribes, especially the Banyoro and Balalo. These two

were considered oppressive codes in Buganda but the members of the EAR decoded the hostility that existed and made peace with them. They embraced the *Balalo* by visiting them in the local kraals where they ate with them and shared the gospel of Christ. This love drew the *Balalo* in to feel acceptable in society, and some of them became evangelists.

The EAR leadership was democratic under the system of elders which emulated the cultural setting of clan elders who sat around the fire to mentor the young generation. They encouraged team-work where every member of the fellowship was a participant. They modelled an egalitarian dialogical community where all members shared together irrespective of race, ethnic background or social status. Although the EAR does not agree with the fact that they developed leaders, they modelled a leadership that served the church with a spirit of service and integrity. These clergy served the church diligently, even through hard moments that included death and exile. Mention has been made of Archbishop Janan Luwum who was murdered for his faith and Bishop Festo Kivengere, who was exiled at the same time but also emerged as an evangelist and a renowned bishop of Kigezi. For a time the EAR overturned the patriarchal church structures by involving women in active ministry of the church. Moreover, Bishop Kivengere, out of his revival conviction, pioneered the ordination of women in Uganda.

In an effort to develop an educated clergy and meet the need for the growing numbers of congregations, theological education emerged. It was a missionary initiative and to some extent did not reflect the African culture in either content or methodology. The syllabus which contributed to the content was developed by the missionaries who then also designed the methodology of teaching. However, this was also coupled with the mentality of the Ganda clergy who wanted to enhance the kingship model because they had been chiefs or sons of chiefs before joining the seminary. This led to a rigid form of clergy who lived more like kings than servants of the gospel.

Besides training clergy in Mukono, by the 1980s, clergy started going for theological education in either Britain or the United States of America. This enhanced the banking model coupled with the pride of going overseas. The essence of the African culture slowly disappeared. Although the school is struggling to change the model through the revision of the curriculum, the banking model is still evident and hence some of the clergy who graduate from the theological seminaries are not able to reconcile the knowledge they have acquired

with the local congregations. Theological education still lacks a contextualised approach that roots biblical knowledge into the people's culture.

I further note that the COUA, having developed from the above models, is dominated by conflict and wars from within. Although some wars arise from the models that have shaped the church, others are a result of greed from the emerging leaders. I have also noted that some are a result of dictatorial regimes in Uganda and that most of the current leaders are products of these regimes. It is also true that power relations have also persisted partly because of the economic gap that exists between the lower clergy and the bishops. The moment students go for theological training, they focus their minds on becoming the next bishops just in case an opportunity arises. Yet those who are in offices as bishops or archdeacons do not want to retire but to inflict pain on their subordinates as a way of asserting power. Hence the cry for liberation, from symbolic kings and patrons in the image of clergy and bishops, is on the rise in the church. Battles such as those that happened in the dioceses of Busoga and Muhabura are a reflection of the oppressed Christian voices that need to be liberated. Oppressive codes such as authoritarianism and clericalism have been identified. It has also been noted that a deacon is an oppressive code much as a servant was in the traditional Ganda culture. Deacons are treated with contempt because their rise to priesthood lies in the hands of the merciless archdeacon who has to write a recommendation to the bishop. To use the words of Freire, the deacons too are submerged in the culture of silence.

Gender equality in terms of leadership is still a challenge. Of the two hundred women clergy in the Province, two are archdeacons, and one is Dean of the BTSDDT at UCU. The majority are placed under the leadership of male clergy as their assistants. Although women have tried to liberate themselves from the cultural gender ideologies that prevent them from coming up in the public scene, the church still holds them as captives of culture, silencing and controlling them. In my final analysis I have noted that neither preaching about service nor theological education has been able to deal with the leadership that is dominated by power relations, autocracy, patronage and gender discrimination.

In the second pole of the tripolar model which is Distantiation, I have dealt with the analysis of the text of Mark 10:35-52 in the context of the original readers. The codification model has been used to identify the oppressive codes in the world of Mark that dehumanised and oppressed the peasant community. There is a great deal in common between the world of Mark and the Church of Uganda. In the background chapter of the Gospel of Mark, I

discussed codes of child, cross, patriarchy, servants and slaves. I also indicated that in order to identify with the oppressed communities, Jesus took on the title Son of Man which brings him down to the people. In this thesis I have opted to use the terminology of Waetjen (1989) the “*New Human Being*” because it is more inclusive than the Son of Man and also brings out the idea of a new creation for humankind, a restoration of the image of God in which they were created. Hence the *New Human Being* was able to decode the oppressive structures because he embodied the Kingdom of God in himself. This title was used as opposed to the Son of God and the Christ which located Jesus above the people but also the new title is intended to decode the political connotations of messiahship at the time. For example the Emperor at that time called himself “son of god.” The presence of Jesus had no political connotations other than decoding the structures that oppressed the peasants by inaugurating an alternative model of leadership.

The simplicity of Jesus as *New Human Being* led him to decode the child from an oppressive code into an accepted member in the Kingdom of God (Mark 9: 36-37; 10:13-16). Stories of women in the company of Jesus have been highlighted to indicate that Jesus decoded the patriarchal structures of the Jewish and Roman world by giving audience to women and even further, engaging in dialogue with them. The painful death of the cross as place for insurrectionists and thieves has been discussed to show that Jesus was determined to liberate humanity even if it meant death on the cross. Hence Jesus focused on his agenda of liberation, and embraced the shame of the humiliating death on the cross for the sake of the oppressed. He decoded the power of the cross through his voluntary surrender, not as a robber but as a liberator. Hence the cross since then has been encoded as a symbol of liberation and not oppression.

Mark 10:35-52, revealed oppressive codes of honour and patronage that dominated the Imperial world. I have indicated that James and John were so seduced by the privileges of the elites in positions of power that they too requested Jesus to give them such positions when he finally comes into glory. Jesus’ teaching in response to their question revealed a system that used honour as a way of oppressing those who had no privileges. James and John wanted to emulate the oppressors, which was contrary to Jesus’ purpose of liberation. I have also indicated that Jesus noted with concern two oppressive codes which the Gentiles used to oppress the poor by lording it over them and exercising authority (Mark 10:42). In view of these codes I have discussed different aristocratic leaders such as the Emperor, his client kings and high priests who inflicted pain on the peasants through heavy taxes, grabbing land,

patronage leading to dependence, and the coinage system which demanded allegiance to the personalities whose busts appeared on the coin. I have also noted the false peace that was promised in the ideology of *Pax Romana* yet it only protected the Romans and not the poor peasants.

Jesus decoded these oppressive system by embodying the oppressive titles of servant and slave (Mark 10:43-44). In his theory of status reversal, he reminded his disciples that in his new alternative model of leadership, a leader was one who agrees to embody the position of humility ascribed to the less privileged in order to serve the poor and marginalised. Jesus further decoded the former essence of ransom from redeeming prisoners of war and buying slaves into redeeming the poor from ideologies of power and oppression. In this thesis Jesus demonstrated his redeeming love to the marginalised by healing Bartimaeus. He decoded the ideologies of the evil eye attached to the blind and embraced Bartimaeus as one of his disciples. Mark tells us that Bartimaeus “followed Jesus on the way”, his new physical and spiritual sight providing a contrast to the blindness of James and John.

In the third pole which is appropriation I indicated the dialogue that exists between the context (contextualisation) and the text (distantiation). I highlighted symbols of power and glory that seduced James and John (Mark 10:35) as also being evident in both the Ganda culture and in the Church of Uganda leadership today. As James and John admired the elites with their luxurious life style, in the same way the ordinands who join theological institutions have a mindset of climbing the ladder of the hierarchy. This competition is a result of the privileges that are attached to offices at the top, for example the office of bishop.

I have also indicated by example that those in top offices find it difficult to retire even when the environment is not convenient. Bishops Bamwoze and Sebuhinja demonstrated such a high level of patronage that led their dioceses into crisis for years. This kind of leadership empowers what Freire calls “populism”. They represent the kyriarchal system of domination where fathers act as masters and lords, oppressing those in their households. This is similar to what Freire mentions about those who claim to be liberators and yet in a different way “house” the oppressor within them. Hence populist leaders tend to claim to be liberators and yet in their actions they oppress their own people. This kind of leadership that lords it over and exercises authority is what Jesus warned his disciples about. He implored the disciples not to imitate such leaders but instead be servants if ever they want to change the system of oppression.

I have further noted that Jesus as a pedagogue of the oppressed challenged the patriarchal system in the world of Mark by embracing women and engaging them in dialogue--which was against the cultural cues as a male Jew. The world of Mark is not very different from the Church of Uganda where many women have been ordained but denied positions of leadership due to the influence of culture. This thesis invites the church to form egalitarian communities where all women and men serve together without discrimination. The church has to embrace the “discipleship of equals.”

Besides women, I have also contrasted the place of servants and slaves in the context of Uganda and the world of Mark. Although the treatment differs, especially when it comes to the office of diaconate in the church, the fact is that all hold a subordinate position both in church and in society. In addition, in both cases they are all subject to the demands of their top leadership. This situation also calls for a leadership that embodies Jesus as a liberator of oppressive leadership, in order to change the system.

Jesus’ selfless love of offering his life as a ransom for many and the immediate healing of Bartimaeus have much in common with the EAR movement. The movement through the universal love that they shared after being cleansed with the blood of Jesus prompted them to see one another as brother and sister. They decoded the banking model that had been set up by the Ganda and CMS models and embraced a dialogical model that welcomed all believers in fellowship with each other irrespective of race, ethnic background or social status.

To conclude, discipleship therefore goes beyond mere banking of information through preaching and teaching about service to engaging in dialogue with the oppressed, in this case ordinary Christians and clergy. This dialogue will then lead to identification of the oppressive codes that can be decoded not only by the leaders but through a joint effort of the leaders and ordinary clergy and Christians to arrive at a model that is both contextual and biblical. Hence the task of this thesis has been an attempt to identify the oppressive codes in the system of the Church of Uganda, create dialogue with Jesus’ teaching in Mark 10:35-52 and suggests a model that is both biblical and contextual.

8.1 Recommendations for further research

One needs to do a character study of some of the leaders in the COUA to be able to establish further social and psychological issues that might be leading to power relations in their administration.

A gender related research project needs to be done to assess the ministry of women in the COUA and their influence on different communities. Women's voices need to be analysed deeper to find how they feel about ordained ministry and the treatment that they receive from both their male colleagues and the Christian communities where they serve.

Further analysis needs to be done in reviewing the curriculum in order to enhance a contextual model of teaching in theological education.

I have hinted about the professional oppression of clergy. I suggest more research could be done to establish whether the clergy are happy where they are placed or if their talents are being suppressed because of the autocratic leadership. Some work needs to be done on church stewardship which will help to establish retirement schemes and projects that can enhance the income of clergy, in order to minimise power struggles.

Finally the purpose of this thesis was to develop a model that is both biblical and contextual. I suggest that the leadership of the COUA should carefully consider the blood brother relationship (*omukago*) among the Ganda and appropriate it with the Jesus model of servanthood that was accomplished by the shedding of blood on the cross as a seal of solidarity with the oppressed, marginalised and exploited. If I can apply the ideo-theological theory, the clear understanding of both the *omukago* and ransom that Jesus offered for many results in love and justice where all live together in a liberated community marked by the blood of Jesus, irrespective of gender, race or social status.

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The English Standard Version of the Bible (ESV) has been used for all biblical references.

Appendix 1 Questionnaire

Section A. Church issues

1. Who inspired you to come into ministry?.....
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.....
2. What inspired you about that person?.....
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3. Does the relationship between your bishop and the clergy (juniors and seniors) inspire you? Explain your answer.....
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4. How often does the bishop visit your parish?.....
5. Share some of the practical preparations you make when you expect a bishop on a confirmation tour.
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6. How often does the bishop visit you at your home?.....
7. Who sits with the bishop/ archdeacon when he comes to visit?.....
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8. What do you think is the role of a bishop as a servant?.....
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9. Do you see bishops fulfilling these roles?.....
10. Why do you think clergy aspire to become bishops/archdeacons?.....

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11. I have heard about leadership wrangles in this diocese previously, what was the cause?

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12. How did these affect the Christians in your parish?

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13. In which ways does the church hierarchy affect your personal/professional development?.....

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Section B. Culture and church leadership

14. What is the role of the king in society?.....

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15. How would you rate the kings in relation to servant leadership?.....

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16. In which ways is the role of a bishop similar/different to that of a traditional leader?.....

17. Is there something that we can learn from traditional rulers/kings that can help our church?.....

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18. Why do you think we have authoritarian leaders in the church?

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Section D. Women, leadership and culture

19. Why do you think we have few women clergy in the top leadership of the church?.....

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20. Do you think we will ever have a woman bishop in Uganda?

21. What does our culture say about women and leadership?.....

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Section E. East African Revival/Bishop Tucker School

22. What contribution did the East African revival make in the leadership development of clergy?.....

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23. Can you tell me some of the clergy that were shaped by the East African Revival.

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24. What is your understanding of Jesus’ words “I came to serve and not to be served?”

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25. According to your analysis, is Jesus’ style of servant leadership being practiced in our church? Explain your answer.

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26. What do you think is the way forward for the development of servant leaders in the Church of Uganda?

Appendix II: Informed consent document

I am Rebecca M. Nyegenye, a student at the University of KwaZul Natal in South Africa undertaking a study for the award of PhD in Theology (Biblical studies). The title of my research is “*A Study of Discipleship in Mark 10:35-45: A Model for Leadership Development of Clergy in the Church of Uganda (Anglican)*”. The study is a critical analysis of the three traditional models of leadership that have shaped clergy in the Church of Uganda: the Western model derived from the Church Missionary Society, and the cultural model of leadership from which the CMS established the church and the East African Revival. In these three models I will explore issues of authority, prestige, power and status. My aim is to promote dialogue between these models and the Markan concept of servanthood, resulting in a transformational model that is Biblical and contextual. As an Anglican priest who has grown up and served in the Anglican Church of Uganda, I undertake this research out of a burden for the church as one who has lived, seen and experienced the pain of power struggles, and more so heard so many sermons on servanthood with less practice of service.

I request you to participate in this research by providing viable information through interviews and questionnaires which is relevant and helpful for the leadership development of clergy. This is going to impinge on your valuable time; therefore I will ask that you avail me with the space which is convenient to you. Approximately 45 minutes for the interviews. Your involvement and participation in this research is voluntary, so you are free to withdraw any time when you feel uncomfortable without anticipating any consequences. You are also free to answer only those questions that are relevant to you.

During the interviews I will take notes and also use audio/video recording depending on what you are comfortable with. The information is going to be confidential and anonymous; names will not be disclosed except by your permission. Pseudo names will be given to participants in order to conceal their identity. The data being collected will be kept both in soft copy (electronic) and hard copy (eg questionnaires) during the time of study by the researcher. After the PhD some of it will be compiled and made accessible in the library for other researchers to use. If you have understood the purpose of this research and agree to participate, I request you to sign here below:

Declaration

I hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I agree to participate in this research project. I understand that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time without any consequences. I also understand that in case of any question or clarification I can contact the researcher rebeccanyegenye@yahoo.com or her supervisors at the University of KwaZul Natal draper@ukzn.ac.za and meyerw@ukzn.ac.za

Participant's Full Names _____

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

Researchers signature _____ Date _____

Appendix III Ethical clearance letter



**UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL**

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05 December 2009

Rev. N R M Ajambo
c/o School for Religion and Theology
Faculty of Social Science and Humanities
PIETERMARITZBURG CAMPUS

Dear Rev. Ajambo

PROTOCOL: A study of discipleship in Mark 10.35-45: a model for leadership development of clergy in the Anglican Church of Uganda
ETHICAL APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/0838/2009: Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences

In response to your application dated 20 November 2009, Student Number: **208529767** the Humanities & Social Sciences Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been given **FULL APPROVAL**.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Professor Steve Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS COMMITTEE

SC/sn

cc: Prof. J Draper
cc: Dr. Wilhelm Meyer
cc: Ms B Jacobsen

Appendix IV: Documents



CHRIST'S CATHEDRAL, BUGEMBE

BUSOGA DIOCESE - CHURCH OF UGANDA (Anglican)

Office: Cathedral Precincts

P.O. Box 1477, Jinja-Uganda
Telephone: (256-043) 20329
TelFAX: 22050

Our Ref: _____

Your Ref: _____

Date: 20 August 1992

The Rt Rev C K Bamwoze
Bishop of Busoga
Busoga Diocese
P O Box 1658
Jinja

Dear Bishop Cyprian,

Relinquishing Office of Dean, Christ's Cathedral

I am, with deep regret and reluctance, relinquishing all residual control over the office of Dean back to you with effect from mid-day Sunday 30 August 1992.

After 4 years of active service as a non-stipendiary (tent maker) priest, my conscience dictates me to stop taking charge of this high office - one of great responsibility but without corresponding authority ie: a meaningless "prestigious status".

Let this Church know what has influenced my decision. The gradual causes are legion and the immediate reason is your inexplicable refusal to see and co-operate readily in the most urgently needed exercise of raising funds in the Diocese for the remedial repairs of the falling Cathedral building, unless and until the Diocesan Council (of which you are the Chairman) - which does not normally meet, so grants authority to the Chapter (See Ezekiel Kate's letter to the Dean copied to you dated 18/8/92).

Hereunder are some of the causes which have gradually built up and contributed to the decision to relinquish the Dean's services with the Diocese.

1. Lack of proper recognition of the Dean's role in the Cathedral

- 1.1 I was appointed Dean on 6 January 1991. However, this Dean is treated more as a token, than someone who is well equipped to give the necessary lead. His loyalty to, is not reciprocated with confidence by the Diocesan Bishop, so that the congregation can also be stimulated, re-activated, and get fully involved in the running of our Cathedral.

1.

DEAN: THE VERY REV. CANON ENG. JAMES M. N. ZIKUSOKA
DIC, FICE, FIVES, FIPHE, FUIPE, MASCE.

- 1.2 A would-be most senior Canon ranking next to the Bishop, possessing responsibility and authority to run, manage and maintain the duties and affairs of the Cathedral is unfortunately denied the right to:
- i Administer the body of the clergy which serves the Cathedral
 - ii Control the finance of the Cathedral
 - iii Plan and develop the Cathedral, and the authority to streamline the liturgical department.
- 1.3 Presumed to enjoy a glorified, inflated status, but in practical content, the Dean's status is almost non-existent in matters pertaining to or devolving upon his office.
- 1.4 The Dean is isolated, not invited to retreats, senior meetings, church ceremonies, or given his canonical rights.

2. The Chapter

This is the governing council of the Cathedral but:-

- 2.1 It is not given due regard by the Diocesan Bishop.
- 2.2 It is not represented on the Diocesan Finance Board or empowered to have its own Finance Board or Department with assets and facilities to generate funds.
- 2.3 Has no representation or say in the appointments or transfers of the Cathedral staff. All this remains the Bishop's sole prerogative without even consultation with the Dean.

3. Unrespected Cathedral

Although it is the only cathedral in the diocese, it is in a state of disrepair.

- 3.1 It was reduced to less than a parish church, having only one full time priest whereas some parishes have 2 to 5 priests.
- 3.2 It has no funds available for its general maintenance or upkeep in spite of the Diocesan Council resolution of a grant!
- 3.3 Although the Diocesan Bishop was the Dean when the windows were twice hit by storm (1988/9) he never took the initiative to carry out repairs but instead praised the "Holy Spirit for entering the building through the holes", he said - perhaps jokingly!

4. Diocese

In my Financial Report of 6 November 1989 (made on your request) to the Diocesan Bishop, it was revealed that abject poverty reigns supremely in a diocese of natural wealth:

- 4.1 Many a clergyman is at a point of near starvation; living quarters' conditions are reduced to mere shelters; school fees and medical facilities have become a chronic source of worry and anxiety; salaries are far too inadequate, embarrassing and tempting. Since 1989 when this Report was made, there has not been a salary review implemented.

- 4.2 The clergy continue to depend entirely on offertories which are a meagre source of income.
- 4.3 Income-generating projects were recommended to be considered as supplementary resources but the Diocesan Bishop does not take them seriously. He, however, started on herding animals at the Cathedral premises (Bugembe), which animals are no more to be seen, and the project has been abandoned and grass overgrown.
- 4.4 If these projects were to be properly started and run successfully, the Busoga Diocese would be transformed into an economically independent church. The advantages of this type of source of income are tremendous.
- 4.5 It is on record that Sigulu Islands of the Diocese have never been visited by the Bishop since the formation of the Diocese 20 years ago; and some parishes on the mainland do not get visited for up to more than 2 years. This is more so since the death of the Assistant Bishop, the late Rt Rev T. T. Nabeta, on 8 December 1984. It seems MSRDIP have not been taken to those parishes.

5. Relationship with the Diocesan Bishop, Clergy and Laity

The relationship between or amongst the Bishop and the different levels of the clergy and the laity leaves much to be desired. This has tended to generate unnecessary heat and apathy which in turn have curbed down the enthusiasm and interest needed to promote love and unity for a common purpose of the church. In fact it has given rise to splinter groups mushrooming all over the Diocese.

The Diocesan Bishop seems to encourage this tendency by treating contemptuously his own clergy publicly at church services.

6. Manifesto or programme for entire Diocese

- 6.1 In relation to the above reaction, it could be believed the Diocesan Bishop has a manifesto or programme for the development of the Diocese; but if so, how can it be accomplished single-handedly when all the senior clergy are kept ignorant of it as if they were unconcerned?

What if the incumbent Bishop became the Archbishop tomorrow: will the seat of the Province of the Church of Uganda be brought to Bugembe to enable him to run the Diocesan programmes as well as the Provincial ones or will those for Busoga cease?
- 6.2 If the Bishop wants to change society, why can the programme not be monitored, its estimates and actual expenditures known by all clergy as related to progress?
- 6.3 Jesus' manifesto was the "Kingdom of God". His programme was proclaimed, specific, precise and final. At the end of 3 years he had indeed accomplished the programme.

- 6.4 The Diocesan Bishop appears to have no manifesto to end, reduce or minimise dependency on hand-outs from outside agencies. If he had one, the wealth is here and it only requires to use the available manpower (augmented by outside experts if necessary) to plan, tap and develop.
- 6.5 The Bishop uses almost entirely youths, but he could have realised that Busoga is also well gifted with old and experienced Christians who should be utilised in suitable jobs for the development of the Diocese but not ignored, exploited or wasted.

7. Abandonment of Diocesan Projects

The following come to mind:

- 7.1 Bishop Hannington Memorial - Church
 - Theological College
- 7.2 Busoga University College - Theology
 - Technical Education

Proposal to convert Busoga College Mwiri into this University.

- 7.3 Busoga Education Development Project - Technical Training Colleges
 - Education Colleges

These 2 were intended for integration of Technical Training and General Education

- 7.4 Lusoga Liturgy Translation - Inaugurated by the Archbishop of C. O. U. at Christ's Cathedral, 11 February 1989.

The Diocesan Bishop conceived and introduced these projects to, and they were approved by, the Diocesan Council; working committees were appointed but they are no longer obviously in the process of development - if they are, perhaps the Bishop could enlighten the ~~committees~~ ^{Committees} concerned.

8. MSRD (Multi-Sectoral Rural Development Programme)

- 8.1 These projects are commendable. However, some light must be shed on them:

Again in my recommendations to the Diocesan Bishop (Financial Report 6 November 1989) on donations received by the Diocese from outside agencies for running MSRD activities, advice was given that there was need to disseminate information through the Finance Board as to:

- a) Dispel ignorance and suspicion on terms, conditions, mode and disbursement of donations.
- b) Place the Diocesan Christians in a position of shared responsibility especially should donors withdraw or curtail support.

8.2 The Bishop neither appreciated nor acknowledged the report. Instead, his response has been unwisely exhibited by belittling all clergy to the effect that he is the Director, Manager, Monitor and Financial Controller. In his absence, no priest at any level can assume even a semblance of ordering the direction of the projects.

Consequently, only the Bishop knows the Diocesan assets and liabilities, and in the event of his absence the Diocese shall be plunged into serious tragedies (apparently there are no known inventories).

8.3 MSRDP is the darling of the Diocese. The Managing Director of this programme commensurately pays good and attractive salaries in the ranges of UShs 7,500 - 172,000 per month compared to UShs 3,772 - 27,000 per month for the clergy (who sometimes are not paid for several months). The feasible solution for the clergy lies in income generating projects if the Bishop agrees.

8.4 MSRDP is a money consuming programme, but the proposed income-generating projects in the Diocese hoping to make money will probably take a long time to realise funds. Therefore it is so easy to understand why MSRDP is a lot more attractive, especially so as it provides additional facilities and advantages, such as: motorcars, motorcycles, bicycles, housing, food and other forms of allowances.

* * * * *

It is important to recognise the positive role the Bishop has continually played and continues to play in his commitment to this Diocese, not withstanding the foregoing remarks in spite of his personal difficulties. Therefore, on the balance, I wish to put on record my appreciation for your having endorsed my calling into the Ministry of Jesus Christ by ordaining and giving me a beacon position whereupon I have had an opportunity to see and work from within, for my humble contribution towards the good of the Busoga Diocese and the Church of Uganda.

I shall always cherish memories of the church and it is my hope and desire to continue doing pastoral and evangelical work anywhere, all the time, in the name of Jesus Christ.

With kindest regards to you and the Diocese,

Yours prayerfully,

(James)

Rev. Canon Eng. James M. N. Zikusoka

cc: The Most Rev. Dr. Yona Okoth, Archbishop, Church of Uganda
Justice S. W. Wambuzi, Chancellor
The Diocesan Secretary, Busoga Diocese
The Chairman, House of Clergy, Busoga Diocese
The Archdeacons, Busoga Diocese
Members of Chapter, Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe
Leader of the Laity, Christ's Cathedral, Bugembe.



CHRIST'S CATHEDRAL, BUGEMBE

BUSOGA DIOCESE - CHURCH OF UGANDA (Anglican)

Office: Cathedral Precincts

P.O. Box 1477, Jinja-Uganda
Telephone: (256-043) 20329
TelFAX: 22050

Our Ref: _____

Your Ref: _____

Date: 6th September, 1992.

The Rt. Rev. C.K. Bamwoze,
Busoga Diocese.

Sir,

RE: VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE:

Whereas we the undersigned Christians of Bugembe Christ's Cathedral meeting today the 6th day of September, 1992 at the Christ's Cathedral do hereby resolve **A VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE** on you the Rt. Rev. C.K. Bamwoze as the Bishop of Busoga on the following grounds:-

1. That on receipt of the DEAN's (Rev. Canon Eng. J.M.N. Zikusooka) letter of resignation dated the 20th August, 1992 addressed to you and copied to us, among others, we the Christians of Christ's Cathedral wholly acknowledged the contents contained therein as true to the best of our knowledge, information, belief and understanding.
2. That having observed that for the last 20 years of residual control of the office of Busoga Diocese/Dean, you have not initiated any balanced development within the Cathedral and/or the Diocese. You will remember that at one time a contingent Committee of 7 people chaired by Hon. D.J.K. Nabeta was formed to look for ways of renovating the falling Cathedral but you vehemently opposed and frustrated its endeavors. The said members had to withdraw their pledges of shs.1,000,000/= each which they had promised to contribute.



CHRIST'S CATHEDRAL, BUGEMBE

BUSOGA DIOCESE - CHURCH OF UGANDA (Anglican)

Office: Cathedral Precincts

P.O. Box 1477, Jinja-Uganda
Telephone: (256-043) 20329
TelFAX: 22050

Our Ref: _____

Your Ref: _____

Date: 6th September, 1992.

3. That we the entire Christians of this Cathedral learnt it with dismay that you unlawfully and/or without any claim of right stopped the exercise of raising funds for the repair of our falling Cathedral, an act which we felt was contrary to your line of work and an abuse to the Laity who were contributing funds from their meager resources.
4. That you have leashed an antagonistic relationship between yourself as the Bishop, the Clergy and the Laity, to the extent that for many years you have failed even to convene not only the Diocesan Council but the Synod as well.
5. That for the last three years or so, you have abandoned the Cathedral and the official residence at Bugembe opting for your personal residence at Nakimegere. Notwithstanding the above ground, you also abandoned all your children without shelter and food - thereby rendering your own children paupers. Now the mere fact that you can fail to control your own family is a sure sign that you can no longer control the Diocese [1Tim:3] and Titus 1:1 ff
6. That there has been rampant misuse of the Diocesan funds. A case at hand is the recent acquisition of a Palace at Nakabango at the tune of shs. 75,000,000/= [Seventy five million shillings only] using MSRDP funds, to the detriment of the Basoga Christians who are the sole beneficiaries to the said programme.
7. That it is important to note that you are popularly known for avoiding problems within your Diocese without any solution. e.g. when the Walukuba Christians refused Rev. Kibedi Nswemu [for having attempted to commit suicide] you turned a deaf ear, St. James Church of Uganda, Christ's Cathedral, to mention but a few.



CHRIST'S CATHEDRAL, BUGEMBE

BUSOGA DIOCESE - CHURCH OF UGANDA (Anglican)

Office: Cathedral Precincts

P.O. Box 1477, Jinja-Uganda
Telephone: (256-043) 20329
TelFAX: 22050

Our Ref: _____

Your Ref: _____

Date: 5th August 1997

8. That once Hon. D.J.K. Nabeta, Rev. Canon Eng. Zikusooka, Rev. V. Wangoola and Mr. Kate approached you with the view of looking for a lasting solution to the growing rift between you and Rev. Eng. Zikusooka but that you became adamant and instead resorted to rebuking him publically in the Cathedral before his own flock. To us this contravenes the work of **GOD** for which you were called.

We however thank you for the services you rendered and the interest you still showed in continuing to serve despite the expiry of 20 years.

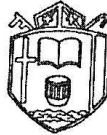
May God Bless you. Amen.


CHAIRMAN

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|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| c.c. The Archbishop,
Church of Uganda. | " The District Administrator,
Jinja District. |
| " The Chancellor,
Busoga Diocese. | " The District Police Commander,
Jinja District |
| " The Diocesan Secretary,
Busoga Diocese. | " The District Special Branch,
Jinja District. |
| " All Archdeacons,
Busoga Diocese. | " The District Security Officer,
Jinja District. |
| | " All the Parishes,
Busoga Diocese. |

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|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 3. Samuel Isiko | 67. Mary Mpologoma |
| 4. Baitagaine James | 68. Nyende |
| 5. D. Mudoola | 69. Gerusoni Ndifavunia |
| 6. S. Nanyanga | 70. Wamunah John |
| 7. P.W. Chumbo | 71. Samuri Kiyemba |
| 8. Lusi Bwoye | 72. Charles Mpologoma |
| 9. Lusi Nyenzi | 73. Namugere Irene |
| 10. Tenywa Herbert | 74. Harriet Kakya |
| 11. Samuel Tibayikawo | 75. Charles Kwanje |
| 12. Limbira William | 76. Charles Kigenyi |
| 13. Luwede T. | 77. Eastoni Byekwaso |
| 14. C.B. Nambago | 78. Mawalo B. |
| 15. Lusi Isiko | 79. Samwiri Musuubo |
| 16. R. Ssekubunga | 80. Sarah Mutesi |
| 17. Nambubi | 81. Margaret Batwaula |
| 18. Philexy Kafuko | 82. Joshua Batwaula |
| 19. Nabona Wilber | 83. Samuel Kitakula |
| 20. Allen Kibesere | 84. Samon Waiswa |
| 21. Muzira Paul | 85. Samson Kyangwa |
| 22. Mulya James | 86. Eiosi J. Bakibinga |
| 23. Kagoya Catherine | 87. Ruth Nakauba |
| 24. Judith Nankya | 88. Ifuba |
| 25. Mary Mugoda | 89. Damali Kyemba |
| 26. Arnet Tebigwayo | 90. Musoke Foni |
| 27. Betty Tebigwayo | 91. Marya Willy |
| 28. Bikwerekai Janet | 92. Ebaale Edward |
| 29. Kagoda Nathan | 93. Angela Lukakama-Nalongo |
| 30. Yonasani Lufafa | 94. Kasango Charles Emmanuel |
| 31. S.J. Nsongambi | 95. Nasani-Kakaire |
| 32. W.R. Higenyi | 96. Tois Samuel |
| 33. Waigolo Jonah | 97. Eafuko Pasito |
| 34. Richard David Kyaira | 98. Joni Ngobi |
| 35. Charles John Bamala | 99. S.A. Kintu |
| 36. George Mwangi | 100. George William Kyewalabye |
| 37. Perusi Kampi | 101. Patrick Yoswa Kakaire |
| 38. Mlwanyi Rachael | 102. Fred Musumba |
| 39. Mebra Kagiri | 103. Fuloronsi Kiwaninka |
| 40. Gasitafasi Kezaala | 104. Igaga Stephenson Binsan |
| 41. Rebecca Higenyi | 105. Kiige Herbert Evans |
| 42. Betty Namuli | 106. Vinkuli L.M. of Wanyango |
| 43. Egoya Catherine | 107. Kisambira James Kennedy |
| 44. Tawaya Florence | 108. Bagazo Bosco |
| 45. Milly Nabirye | 109. Mrs. J. Kiige |
| 46. Mirionsi Kantono | 110. Mrs. Ruth Z. Walube |
| 47. Tabitha Kamala | 111. Mrs. J. Nabirye |
| 48. Dorothy Nakaziba | 112. Rev. Dr. Tom Tuma |
| 49. Kiremba Aidha | 113. Rev. Ezekiel Joash Nyende |
| 50. Kintu Peter | 114. Mrs. R. Tuma |
| 51. David A.L. Naluwairo | 115. Grace Kizza |
| 52. E.M. Isiko | 116. Stephen Mutebo |
| 53. Katawera Proscovia | 117. Kato Yusuf |
| 54. Alice Nyakika | 118. James W. Mulidho |
| 55. Aida Kapyo | 119. Mimmo San |
| 56. Gideon Ougura | 120. Kakuku K. Moses |
| 57. Aggrey N.A. Igaga | 121. Nyago Samuel |
| 58. Yeseri Kajamali | 122. Faith Naigere |
| 59. Nathan Mukasa Sekabembe | 123. Lubaale Grace Franklin |
| 60. C.A. Magala | 124. D.J.K. Nabeta |
| 61. E.S.G. Basoga | 125. D.J.S. Nabeta (Mrs) |
| 62. Kyangwa David | 126. P.N.H. Magale |
| 63. Mugoda N. Baker | 127. L. Tenywa |
| 64. Nambozo Jessica | 126. Proscovia Ogwal |

126. Steven Lubuulwa
129. Nkutu David Paul
130. Kakaire Joshua
131. Maganwa Daniel
132. Chris Namyalo
133. Nakirya Rose
134. Nabeta John
135. Kintu Stephen
136. Mwolobi S.
137. Katusabe
138. Namugaya Prossy
139. Mirriam Kugumikiriza
140. Paul Ngobi
141. Margaret Baluka
142. Namulondo Faith
143. Magala Wyclife
144. Babirye Christine
145. Samu Okene
146. Maria Hingondo
147. J. Musanje
148. Sam Walugosi
149. John Bagebye
150. Christopher Kiige



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Our Ref: DOC/017/094

Date: April, 1994

Your Ref: _____

- SECRET -

The National Political Commissar
NRM Secretariat
Kampala, Uganda

For the Attention of: Hon. Eria Kategaya
1st Deputy Premier
The Republic of Uganda

Sir

Write-Up On Busoga Situation

We, the concerned Christians in Busoga, wish to inform you about the Busoga situation; and to appeal to you for remedial measures in order to bring about security, calm, harmony and unity of the Christians who constitute a big percentage of the population in the traditional Busoga. The two-year old crisis has behind it much more than mere wrangles in Church administration and leadership.

1. **Appreciation to NRM Government**

First of all, we would like to express our sincere appreciation of NRM Government for all she has done in bringing about peace, security and an even development in Uganda. We wish to thank the government for the sense of awareness it has made among its people, and institutions of all types including Churches. Without this it would have been impossible to realize the positive pace at which Uganda is moving.

Our special gratitude goes to His Excellency Yoweri Museveni, the President of the Republic of Uganda, as the Chief Architect of our national stability, affluence; added to the freedom of speech and appeal through which we are here.

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2. Rally Behind the NRM

Busoga, there is no doubt, is generally behind the NRM Government.

In the past, the people were politically inclined toward UPC and DP groups. Of now, the Basoga have drastically changed from these groups to a firm grip of the Movement under the umbrella of the NRM. It is not far-fetched to justify this by drawing an example from the recent CA elections, in which the Basoga voted the movement. Earlier on, there was an open gesture of support to the NRM, when the Basoga rejected Lakwena out-right; and she met her doom in Busoga. It may not have been equally as easy for the NRM to crash Lakwena forces, if she had crept in through any part other than Busoga. We have been a good lot by allowing and contributing toward the positive change as per the NRM 10 - Point Programme. We support the NRM Government, and hope the Government shall reciprocate by assisting us out of the present wrangles.

3.0 Brief Back-ground of the Church Crisis in Busoga

There is a Church Crisis in Busoga; and as a highly placed officer in the Government you might have been aware of it somehow. But even then, it is our duty to officially inform you of the situation.

The Crisis began when some Christians severally and then later jointly found Bishop Bamwoze making foul play in Church affairs, contrary to what he was expected of as a Spiritual leader. The dissent was mild at start, but as time went on the Bishop's behaviour became intolerable; and the Christians burst into open challenge and criticism against the Bishop in 1992. The accusations Christians have against Bishop Bamwoze and his system are three major evils; upon which grounds they passed a vote of No confidence on September 22, 1992 in Bishop C.K. Bamwoze.

3.1 Spiritual And Moral Decadence

A big number of Christians including the Clergy were not happy with the conduct of their spiritual leader; Bishop C.K. Bamwoze; which conduct for a leader is supposed to set a standard and an exemplary one for Christians and subordinate Clergy to copy from. Bishop Bamwoze's conduct is not only in shortage of the salt due to a Bishop, but also boards criminal lines, if observed carefully. The preponderant and concerned Christians could not withstand a spiritual leader of the Bamwoze like, Christians could not withstand a spiritual leader of the Bamwoze like, nor could the sensible clergy afford to do their ministration under such a Bishop at the apex. For fear such a situation would go on perpetually, some Youth defected to splinter groups of Churches, while others joined the elderly group to find a solution to the bad leadership and system.

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There are many adversely incredible stories about Bishop Bamwoze which depict a defiance of morality in Church and social circles: ranging from romance, avarice, graft, to upright murder connivance. In a brief write-up like this one, it is impossible to elaborate such evils, but we can justify them verbatim in a private audience. There are even pending cases which the Police had sometime back opened up files but were ordered to stay them by UPC authorities then in power.

3.2 Poor Administration

Bishop Bamwoze is a proven poor administrator, in fact a dictator. Christians noted their spiritual leader as one who had no respect for others; no respect for other people's views; no accountability in governance, full of sarcasm; in practice of primitive gossips that suggest vanity and lack of seriousness; Sectarian in approach and statements; no respect for Government in power as long as it is not UPC; practices Nepotism based on clan sentiments and political party values (e.g. his daughter Kezia is the Diocesan Accountant!). His strategies are much more political than either spiritual or moral in Diocesan administration, as seen from his deep inclination to UPC manoeuvres.

Bishop Bamwoze never set any right machinery in place for the legal existence and administration of the Diocese; e.g. Diocesan Constitution, Synod, Chancery, and a Commissary. The absence of these essential organs was proved and declared by the House of Bishops in January 1994. In absence of these essential pre-requisites, he ruled by inspiration of the Holy Spirit and hunch for two decades with an iron hand. He was able to go on like that because he was under the shield and guise of the mysterious Canon Law, order and faith of the Anglican legacy in the Church of Uganda.

3.3 Lack of Development

For two decades of dictatorship in the see of Busoga Diocese, Bishop Bamwoze never made any serious development plans. In fact he even killed those development projects he found in Busoga. He misappropriated the contributions of the Christians, made off with large chunks of foreign aid to Christians. A Casual look at the cramping Cathedral at Bugembe, explains vividly the type of Bishop we have had for 20 years of mismanagement, malicious destruction and one full of Vice and graft.

Crusade

The concerned Christians, picked courage to wage war against the Bishop as the causer of the sorry state in Busoga Diocese; waged war against the system, against dictatorship and other evils. We declared a Christian War (Crusade) in form of a peaceful revolution. We have done the very best to conform to the peaceful methods of putting an end to the bad system; its proponents and causers to be removed or retrenched through conventional or revolutionary means of Christian protestantism.

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We are of the conviction that Protestants have every right and tradition to protest or resist evil of bad spiritual leadership, regardless of the rank in that leadership. The environment under the NRM is so conducive to such resistance as the nation has become aware of the distinction between bad and good leadership in any sphere. We know how to resist evil, and how to put in place acceptable system based on modern democratic governance and transparency. We hanker to achieve this noble objective, and there is every hope of maintaining our objective and stand in a peaceful Church revolution.

Appeal to Archbishop & House of Bishops

As the crisis started, we duly informed the relevant Church authorities at the Province of the Church of Uganda i.e. the Archbishop and the House of Bishops. We appealed for their probe and constructive engagement into the conflict. Unfortunately, our expectation came out the reverse: there was a deliberate neglect on the part of the Archbishop and on the House of Bishops in finding a viable solution to the crisis. Even if they belatedly tried to intervene it was a laggard process marred by ends avert from christian faith. The Archbishop in his personal capacity had a stake to defend, and a vested interest in Bishop Bamwoze, both of whom have shared a long lasting bondage in UPC political machinations and other financial deals.

Dr. Yona Okoth and Bamwoze have a stake to protect in Busoga. The House of Bishops fears to set a precedent in getting their fellow Bishop retrenched, so the Archbishop and the House of Bishops have had problems in intervening into the Busoga crisis. Up to now the trend they have purported to take is much more dubious and aggravating the situation, putting the Christians in danger and in a state of insecurity. The House of Bishops could not do much with a biased Chairman in command, while other members of the House, too, have political inclinations. Also they thought time would solve the problem for them but it did not.

4.0 Political Infiltration and Gimmicks in the Busoga Crisis

As said earlier, Resistance against evil leadership in the Church is admissible in the protestant sects of Christianity, and we had every colour of right and grounds to challenge Bishop Bamwoze. While we have been busy engaged in a Crusade on peaceful bases, our opponents have chosen a political approach under the camouflag of the Church. There are much more behind the smoke - screen than meets the eye of the observers of the Busoga, and we pray that we pass some of them across to your knowledge, attention such that you make the necessary follow-up for justification, and corrective measures.

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4.1 Bamwoze's Role in UPC

Bishop Bamwoze is a very instrumental figure in UPC. He is the treasurer, signatory and charged with looking around for party funds the world over. It has been easy for him to go out as Bishop for this purpose because chances of suspecting him are remote. The UPC has to fight hard not to lose such a strategic treasurer who is well-placed.

4.2 Force Bamwoze Back - Bamwoze II

In the Busoga Crisis, Bishop Bamwoze suffered loss of confidence by his flock on 22/9/1992. All along there has been efforts to keep him in power by any possible means. Most of his supporters are UPC die-hards and are fighting tooth and nail to force Bamwoze back and impose him on the Christians. By doing this colossal sums of money have been used to buy the support of the Police - the Regional, DPC Jinja, and the DPC Iganga; and many other subordinate staff in the clergy. The Police has been instrumental on his side, and has several times been misused, has arrested, tortured, and at one time in Iganga shot at Christians. It appears as though the police is directly in confrontation with Christians with a bid to keep Bamwoze in power. There is fear, tension and insecurity to the Christians opposed to the bad leadership of Bishop Bamwoze.

Some Clergy, too, have been corrupted, brainwashed, in order to serve as agents of confusion for UPC to capitalise on.

4.3 Assassin Group (of UPC)

There is information from the Bamwoze camp that already an assassin group has arrived in Uganda through Busoga, and the group is directly under the care and direction of Bishop Bamwoze. While this appears as an allegation, there is more truth than otherwise and we, as responsible citizens, should alert the right authorities well in time, in case they are not aware. The Government should secure us from these killers and political fanatics.

4.4 Cecilia Ogwal's Warning

To endorse the political infiltration in the Busoga Crisis, even the UPC giantess, Mrs Cecilia Ogwal on 6th April, 1994 had the courage to see Rev. Canon Lubogo and warned him against the danger of going to Busoga and assist in resolving the Church Crisis. She said that even if Lubogo went there he would not last as bishop for long, as UPC would have come in power in 1996 by use of force.

4.5 Archbishop's Role - Conflict

It is not usual for a DA going on leave to be replaced by His Excellency the President as the acting or caretaker DA. Because of the UPC political tricks to

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cover their plans, the Archbishop stealthily assumed the Caretaker role when Bishop Bamwoze was granted a sabbatical leave. Dr. Okoth as Archbishop and then as Bishop of Busoga Diocese is unrealistic and obstructs the solution of the problems in Busoga. Now where do we go for appeal in case we are not satisfied with him as caretaker Bishop? Unless there is something behind, this anomaly should not have been allowed to occur if the church leadership is serious and would like peace and harmony to prevail in Busoga and Uganda as a whole.

Dr. Okoth has started in high gear, and is bent on aggravating the Crisis with the support of some Bishops who are also UPC die-hards, and have an ulterior motive in ensuring that Bishop Bamwoze is not retrenched, and that Dr. Okoth should take over to sustain their interests and political will. So he has shut his eyes and ears to reason that protest against his roles in conflict.

5.0 Liabilities To Christians

Bishop Bamwoze has taken Diocesan property to his home, including exotic heads of cattle (96). He has diverted aid for personal use and to UPC. In these critical days, he has drained to red all Diocesan Accounts. he bought a building at Shs. 85,000,000/= using aid funds but without authority from either the donors or Diocesan Council but is being forced onto the Christians to repay. Together with that sum he has a total overdraft of Shs. 200,000,000/= in various banks in Jinja all accumulated in the last 12 months period! There might be more from other Banks outside Busoga. Also, there are rumours of a dubious deal wherein Bishop Bamwoze gave Shs. 50,000,000/= to Dr. Okoth to complete a house as he retires as a token of appreciation from the Christians in Busoga to the good Archbishop!! All these were done behind the knowledge of the Christians, with forged minutes of approval. The purpose of all these transactions is to plunge Busoga Diocese and the innocent Christians in heavy liabilities for settlement; and to ensure that if he leaves no other person should take over with ease amidst these liabilities.

All these are nothing but political tricks for which the NRM should not keep indifferent at.

6.0 Request

In light of the above circumstances in which it is apparently clear there are problems in the Busoga Crisis which cannot be overlooked, we wish to put forward our earnest request to you as the top figure in the politics of the NRM. While the Government is non-partisan in religious matters, the one in Busoga with a political infiltration warrants a hand.

6.1 The Police supporting Bishop Bamwoze should be removed from the scene, and leave a free atmosphere to the Christians. The impression given to the Christians that Government is assisting in keeping Bishop Bamwoze in power

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by use of Police force will clear up. With this measure, security will improve; harmony will prevail; and the Church revolution will take its course, for the good of the majority and that of NRM.

6.2 Registration

One of the ways to put an end to the crisis is to get the registration of the Busoga Diocesan Council to secure legal entity status, as Busoga Diocese is a non- entity and has no legitimacy to do what it is purporting to do under Bishop Bamwoze and Dr. Okoth in their UPC politics at the expense of Christians and the entire public.

6.3 Reconciliation

We would like reconciliation between the Christians themselves, the Christians and the clergy. The person we feel can do this is Rev. Canon Samwiri Kamanya Lubogo, who has offered to do it. We have a good testimony of his ability to accomplish this task for the good of the people, Christianity, and the Government which wants its peoples in harmony. Any possible assistance could be accorded to this Canon in terms of security, transport and other amenities. There could even be more people to work on reconciliatory efforts.

7.0 Conclusion

We have tried to bring to your knowledge what is happening in Busoga. The Crisis has shifted in trend and magnitude as it is not purely christian on the side of Bishop Bamwoze. For us in the crusade, we have found ourselves caught up in battle with UPC politics. We cannot afford to pull out and give ground to these political party fanatics. We are united to counteract their evils, be they as dangerous as we have discovered them.

The political infiltration requires your probe, intervention and should be scrapped away well before the matter goes out of hand. We need your assistance in holding these negative forces to our Victory and hence that of the NRM. The Basoga are your people, your supporters; please support us at this crucial and material time, as we are sure you have all the power and capacities.

With this write-up, is a delegation to assist in clarifications where necessary. They will discuss these and other matters appertaining to the Busoga situation, should you grant them audience.

Thank you Sir,



D.J. K. Nabeta
CHAIRMAN BUSOGA DIOCESAN STEERING COMMITTEE