

ASSEMBLIES OF GOD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT AND RELATIONAL PATTERNS:
THE EARLY CHURCH AND THE CHURCH IN ZAMBIA TODAY

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ix
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	1
Introduction	
The Problem	
Orientation	
Leadership Development: The Roles of God and Man	
Leadership Development and Education	
Five Relational Patterns of Leadership Development	
Three Domains of Educational Objectives	
Purpose	
2. BIBLICAL-THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE REVIEW (PART 1): LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN THE EARLY CHURCH: JEWISH AND GRECO-ROMAN BACKGROUND.....	13
Jewish Leadership Background	
Leadership in Israel and Judah before the Exile	
Leadership from the Exile through A.D. 70	
Greco-Roman Leadership Background	
Greco-Roman Society and Worldview	

Leadership in the Roman Empire

Education and Patterns of Leadership Development

Five Institutional Influences on Early Church Leadership Development

Summary

3. BIBLICAL-THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE REVIEW (PART 2):
LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN THE EARLY CHURCH:
FROM JESUS TO PAUL 55

Jesus and His Disciples

The *Didaskalos-Mathetes* Relationship

The Twelve Disciples Jesus Chose

Jesus' Training of His Disciples

Views on Discipleship and Its Importance for Today

Summary

Leadership of the Church in Jerusalem

Leadership Under the Apostles (Acts 1-11)

Leadership Under James (Acts 12-23)

Summary

Leadership of the Church in Antioch

The Origin of the Church in Antioch

Barnabas and Paul

The Leadership in Antioch

Summary

Leadership in the Churches Planted by Paul

What Did These Churches Look Like?

Paul and His Companions

What Happened to Discipleship?

Local Church Leadership Terminology

Leadership in the Pauline Churches

A Possible Four-Step Approach to Leadership
Development Used by Paul

Leadership Development in the Early Church:
Summary and Implications

4. GENERAL LITERATURE REVIEW (PART 1): THE ROLE OF
RELATIONSHIPS IN LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT:
ZAMBIAN SOCIETY 125

Zambia: An Introduction

Leadership in Pre-Colonial Zambia

Five Common African Cultural Elements

Categories of Leadership in African Society

A Look at Some Zambian Kin Groups

The Nature of Leadership in Pre-Colonial Zambia

Leadership Development and the Five Relational Patterns

Leadership in Colonial and Post-Colonial Zambia

Britain's Colonization and Its Effects

Formal Education in Zambia

Formal Education and a New National Leadership

Society and Leadership Development in Zambia Since 1964

Leadership Development and Changing Relational Patterns

5. GENERAL LITERATURE REVIEW (PART 2):
CHURCH LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT: HISTORICAL
PRECEDENTS AND OPTIONS FOR ZAMBIA TODAY 178

Formal Education and Church Leadership Development

The Reformation and a Learned Ministry

Nineteenth Century Developments: Seminary and Bible School

Historical Summary

Shortcomings of Formal Education as Leadership Development

Theological Education by Extension: A Twentieth-Century Experiment

The Dominance of Formal Education in Church Leadership
Development in Zambia

Mission Schools and Churches before World War II

African Church Leadership before World War II

The Development of Church Leadership since World War II

Church Leadership Development: The Role of Informal and
Non-formal Education

Leadership Development and the Research of J. Robert Clinton

Paul D. Stanley's Constellation Model

Master-Disciple Pattern Relationships: Apprenticeships and
Imitation Modeling

Tutor/Mentor Pattern Relationships

Peer/Team Pattern Relationships

Conclusion and Suggested Way Forward for the Churches of Zambia

6. DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSED PROJECT 256

Introduction

The Problem

Purpose	
Project Design	
Scope	
Context	
Project Phases	
Contribution to Ministry	
7. DESCRIPTION OF FIELD PROJECT	268
Preparation of the Project	
Execution of the Project	
Results of the Project	
8. PROJECT SUMMARY	284
Introduction	
Evaluation of the Project	
Implications of the Project	
Recommendations for Christian Leaders Training Institute	
Recommendations for Future Study	
Appendices	
A. OUTLINE OF SESSIONS.....	296
B. PRESENTATIONS FOR THE SESSIONS	305
C. SUMMARY OF EVALUATIONS.....	309
SOURCES CONSULTED.....	315

ABSTRACT

Christian Leaders Training Institute is a non-residential leadership training program operated in Zambia through a network of Local Training Centers (LTCs) attached to districts and stronger local churches. Several of these LTCs have failed to perform as expected. This project designed a workshop which the pastors and church leaders forming several new LTCs were taken through in an attempt to help them deal with important issues that would affect the success of their centers. Africans, like most Africans, see formal education as the only “real” training method. In an attempt to help the boards of these new LTCs understand the limitations of formal education and include other approaches in their training programs, a second goal of the project involved encouraging the same boards to consider using mentoring and peer relationships to deal with spiritual formation and ministerial skills. Africans highly value relationships, so a study of how different patterns of relationships have contributed to the development of church leaders today and in the past became the focus of much of the research conducted for this project.

Five patterns of relationships were defined at the beginning of the study. The biblical-theological review in chapters 2 and 3 examines the patterns of relationships used by the Early Church to train its leaders. The research concluded that while Familial and Teacher-Student Pattern relationships played important foundational roles, Master-Disciple and/or Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships provided the basic means by which Early Church leaders were trained. Those already in leadership received further training

using Peer/Team Pattern relationships. Chapter 4 looks at how the kin groups of Zambia trained their leaders before colonization and concludes that Familial Pattern relationships played the dominant role in leadership development, with Peer/Team providing an important secondary role among many groups. Chapter 5 addresses how formal education with its Teacher-Student Pattern relationships became the dominant way church leaders have been trained since the Reformation and how missionaries brought this pattern to Zambia. The chapter concludes by examining how informal and nonformal relationships can play a valuable role in developing church leaders today.

Twenty-eight participants attended the workshops. Evaluations show that the first goal was met, and all participants felt better prepared to run their LTCs. In addition, about half of the evaluations directly mentioned issues related to non-formal and informal means of achieving leadership development goals, such as mentoring, spiritual formation, or similar topics, as having been helpful or having affected their understanding of church leadership training.

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Finally I wish to thank my wife Dawn for her help in editing and for putting up with all the time I have spent reading and writing for the past two and a half years to see this project through.

To God be all the glory!

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The Assemblies of God, U.S.A., works with three national churches in Zambia: the Assemblies of God in Zambia (AOG), the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Zambia (PAOG), and Grace Ministries Mission, International (GMM). The number of churches belonging to these three groups has more than doubled since the early nineties, and together they now number over 1,200 congregations. This fast-paced growth has created difficulty in training enough local church leaders to care for the new converts and to sustain this rate of growth into the future. All three national churches operate a residential Bible school program, although the program for Grace Ministries has temporarily stopped due to financial problems. Together the three schools have graduated between twenty and forty students each year for the past several years, a number insufficient to meet current leadership needs, much less the projected needs for trained leaders. At the moment about two out of three churches are led by persons who have not attended a residential Bible school program. Many of the churches established over the past decade have been started by lay leaders who have jobs and families and find it difficult to enroll in a residential program.

My wife and I came to Zambia in 1998 with the aim of creating some form of non-residential Bible school program to bring training closer to those already pastoring churches. After consultation with the leadership of all three churches, together we

established a program now called Christian Leaders Training Institute (CLTI), which serves as a cooperative effort of the three national churches mentioned above and missionaries of the Assemblies of God, U.S.A. and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. The Board of Administration of CLTI includes a representative of all five bodies and sets guidelines and policy. I serve as the representative of the Assemblies of God, U.S.A. and hold the position of chairman of the Board of Administration at the present time. The representatives of the three national churches serve as National Directors and oversee the programs begun by their respective churches. The actual training of church leaders takes place in Local Training Centers (LTCs) usually attached either to a local church or a district. Each LTC is expected to have its own board and runs its own program within the guidelines set by the national Board of Administration and under the supervision of one of the National Directors. Each national church sets up its own LTCs and assumes responsibility for their operation. CLTI uses Global University's Christian Service and degree level courses for its curriculum. An educational agreement with Global University means that a student taking courses with CLTI can eventually transfer those courses towards the B.A. degrees offered by Global University.

The Problem

While some LTCs have performed well, others have not. Several ceased functioning, though a couple of those have been restarted. The boards establishing LTCs sometimes fail to consider all the issues involved in running a successful training program. From discussions with other national leaders, three factors usually receive the blame for poorly functioning LTCs: a lack of finances, difficulty finding qualified

teachers willing to teach, and a decline in student interest over time. In my observation, another more basic problem concerns the common understanding of how to train leaders.

Formal education provides the only real education in the minds of most Zambians. For historical reasons, they do not recognize the importance of informal and non-formal education in leadership development. As a consequence, they have focused almost exclusively on the classroom and the transmission of information as their means of education. While most leaders know character and ministerial skills provide an important foundation for church leadership, they fail to realize how an LTC might address these matters except to discuss them in the classroom. Those taking courses have in many cases already gained considerable ministry experience, for many have pioneered a church that they now lead. The greater needs for those presently serving as church leaders lie in cognitive input and spiritual formation. At present the Global University courses provide considerable cognitive input, but the present pattern of leadership training in most LTCs ignores spiritual formation.

Orientation

Leadership Development:
The Roles of God and Man

God plays a profound, primary role in the development of the Church's leadership. The Bible teaches that God calls men and women to serve as leaders of His people. He furthermore provides them with the necessary enabling spiritual gifts and directs these leaders as to where and how they should guide His people. These three roles, while acknowledged as crucial for the success of all church leaders, have been addressed elsewhere by others. This paper instead seeks to primarily focus on the development of church leadership and the role relationships play in that development.

Unlike the call to church leadership or the impartation of spiritual gifts, the development or shaping of a leader is the result of a complex interaction of events and relationships which may be directed by God but also involve the actions of others. In a few cases the Old Testament gives us glimpses into how that shaping process made someone into a leader God could use. David's experiences in killing the lion and the bear while tending his father's sheep prepared him to take on the challenge of Goliath. The forty years Moses spent in the Sinai wilderness humbled him, making him a man capable of leading the Israelites out of Egypt. Who bears responsibility for this process of shaping of future leaders—is it God or man? The Bible teaches us the answer to this question is not “either/or” but “both/and.”

If God alone bore responsibility for the shaping of Christian leadership, Christians should rightly conclude that God both chooses those He desires to lead the local church and also ensures that they develop into the kind of leaders He wants. If someone exercises terrible leadership and proves incapable of giving guidance or direction to a church, it must be because God wanted him or her to be that kind of leader. However the Bible teaches not only the sovereignty and omnipotence of God but also that everyone has a free will.

People bear responsibility for how they respond to the events that swirl around their lives. The same circumstance that causes one leader to fail turns another into a stronger leader. Free will also extends to the role each person plays in shaping the leadership potential of those around him or her. The failure of a father to properly raise his son can prevent that child from being used by God later in life. The pastor of one church assists a dozen young people under his ministry to become pastors and

missionaries while the pastor of another church in the same town of the same size sees none. Should this only be seen as God's will? Is it not more likely that, if God's perfect will was truly done, both pastors would have seen future leaders develop as a result of their ministry?

Experience and Scripture seem to suggest that we bear responsibility both for how we respond to the circumstances of life and for the influence we have on others. The shaping of future church leaders involves the interplay of God, a great number of individuals, many events, and the responses of the future leaders to all of these. The church today needs to take seriously its significant role in leadership development and shoulder its responsibility to provide a nurturing environment in which future leaders can develop their God-given gifts and abilities. If the church's current methods do not yield the necessary kinds of leaders, the church should adjust its methods or find new ways of developing church leadership.

Leadership Development and Education

J. Robert Clinton has spent years researching the various elements, which he calls processes, that go into making a person into a church leader.¹ Concerning leadership development Clinton has written:

Development includes all of life's processes, not just formal training. Leaders are shaped by deliberate training and by experience. "Leadership development," as one of my colleagues so often emphasizes, "is a much broader term than leadership training." Leadership training refers to a narrow part of the overall process, focusing primarily on learning skills. Leadership development includes this but much more.²

¹See J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Emergence Theory* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Resources, 1989) for a detailed treatment of the subject.

²J. Robert Clinton, *The Making of a Leader* (Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress, 1988), 15.

This project uses the term “leadership development” to refer to all the processes involved in the making of a Christian leader, in keeping with Clinton’s use of the term. This means it includes much more than what would normally be considered under theological education. It involves all kinds of training, including not only formal education but also informal and non-formal methods. David Martz describes the differences between formal, informal, and non-formal education as follows:

Formal education or training denotes full-time, structure, and organized academic programs such as the pursuit of a diploma or degree within a school setting. Non-formal education is “planned, staffed, and organized, but structured outside of the normal school system.” This type of instruction is more oriented to the needs of learners and focuses on developing specific skills. Examples of non-formal education would include workshops, seminars, and symposiums. Informal education occurs outside of the classroom and is often called life-long learning as people continue to search out knowledge...Informal education can include life experiences or activities.³

Although leadership development includes many factors, as just noted above, the research portion of this study focuses on the relational contexts in which leadership development takes place.

Five Relational Patterns of Leadership Development

Down through human history relationships have always played a crucial role in the formation of leadership. These relationships tend to fall into patterns: the relationship between a father and his son, between a teacher and a student, between two good friends who share their experiences with each other. Defining these patterns becomes difficult as there are no fixed number of possible patterns, the patterns tends to overlap, and the terminologies used to describe these relationships vary widely. In an attempt to simplify

³David Martz, *Practical Learning Theory and Strategies. A Handbook for Christian Educators* (Springfield, MO: Life Publishers International, 2004), 81-82.

the analysis of these patterns of relationships, the following five terms and patterns have been chosen. This project uses these terms in the ways defined below:

Familial Pattern

A close family member, usually the parents, grandparents, or aunts and uncles, exerts a strong influence on the development of the young leader, passing on his or her knowledge, skills, and values. The future leader follows “in his father’s footsteps.” This form of leadership training would, for example, fit the situation where a priest receives training in his priestly duties from his father. The focus of the relationship is on the child being trained and the form of training would in almost every case be informal.

Tutor/Mentor Pattern

An individual, not a close family member, exerts a strong influence on the development of the future leader. In New Testament times the wealthy often put their children in the care of a tutor who assumed responsibility for the child’s upbringing and, in some cases, his basic education. Today a person who needs individualized instruction in a subject may hire a private tutor. Mentors tend to be older, experienced individuals who perform the service of advising a younger person, often out of a sincere desire to be helpful. Because these two terms may overlap and are hard to differentiate, they are combined. The modern interest in personal coaches would also fall in this category. In this pattern, the senior partner may use informal or non-formal educational methods and the junior partner provides the focus of the relationship. The junior partner does not necessarily seek to become just like the mentor, though the mentor may serve as a role model

Master-Disciple Pattern

This relationship seeks for a transfer of knowledge, experience, and lifestyle from the master (or senior partner) to the disciple (or junior partner). Apprenticeships serve as a good example of this category of relationship. It differs from the Teacher-Student Pattern in that it is non-formal or informal and does not usually occur in a classroom setting. The disciple seeks not merely to show mastery of a body of knowledge, but to perfectly practice what the Master teaches. It differs from the Tutor/Mentor Pattern in that the disciple seeks to become just like the Master. The senior partner or Master therefore serves as the focus of the relationship, not on the junior partner. Because of its intensely personal nature, a master can have only small number of disciples at any one time.

Teacher-Student Pattern

In the Teacher-Student Pattern of relationship, the goal of the relationship usually revolves around the impartation of knowledge from the teacher (or senior partner) to the student (or junior partner). This takes place most often in a formal educational setting. In the case of certain subjects, such as music, skills may be taught. Though the teacher may deliberately communicate values and certain behaviors, mastery of the subject's content remains the real goal. Discussion and interaction during class between teacher and student may take place, but this usually serves to improve the transfer of knowledge. In many situations, opportunities for teacher-student interaction outside the classroom rarely take place, and the student normally has little opportunity to observe the teacher in everyday life. The large number of students in the classroom prohibits a close

relationship between teacher and students to develop, thus precluding a relationship such as a disciple has with his or her Master.

Peer/Team Pattern

All relationships between two or more people who see themselves as equals fit in this category. Unlike all the other patterns, Peer/Team Pattern relationships may have no senior partner. At any given point in time any person in this relationship may serve as the senior partner by encouraging or assisting another. The relationship between Jonathan and David serve as a good biblical example of this pattern. Using informal educational methods, the focus of the relationship often rests on commonly held goals rather than certain individuals. For this form of relationship to exist, there must be a sincere friendship or companionship between those involved. The assistance rendered in developing the leadership potential of others in the group may be a by-product of the relationship and not a primary reason for its existence.

Three Domains of Educational Objectives

Intentional leadership development involves the setting of educational objectives. Benjamin S. Bloom has noted that educational objectives can be categorized into three broad domains:

The cognitive domain...includes those objectives which deal with the recall or recognition of knowledge and the development of intellectual abilities and skills....A second part of the taxonomy is the affective domain. It includes objectives which describe changes in interest, attitudes, and values, and the development of appreciations and adequate adjustment....A third domain is the manipulative or motor-skill area.⁴

⁴Benjamin S. Bloom, ed., *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. The Classification of Educational Goals. Handbook 1 Cognitive Domain* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1956), 7.

While most authors tend to use “cognitive” as the label for the first domain, the labels for the other two have varied widely, and some have subdivided them. This project will use the following set of terms to refer to these three domains, the first term being the one most commonly used in this project:

1. Cognitive/Knowing. A church leader needs knowledge of the Bible, certain basic Christian doctrines, etc. if he or she is to properly carry out leadership tasks.

2. Spiritual formation/Affective/Being. A church leader needs to be a certain kind of person. Issues related to the leader’s spiritual nature, character, values, motivations, and Christlikeness will all be grouped under this nomenclature. Fuller School of World Mission uses this term as follows:

The term *spiritual formation* [italics in original] is used in the leadership concentration at the School of World Mission to designate the transformation process whereby a leader’s inner character is developed. It is defined as the development of the inner life of a person of God so that the person experiences more of God, reflects more of God-like characteristics in personality and in everyday relationships, and increasingly knows the power and presence of God in ministry. This should be the bottom line of any development or training.⁵

3. Ministerial skills/Psychomotor domain/abilities. A church leader needs certain skills, many of which deal with the ability to communicate effectively, lead various meetings, and relate to other people.

In the performance of leadership roles the three categories overlap and interact considerably. For instance, in order to preach, which clearly falls into the category of ministerial skills, a church leader needs a certain amount of knowledge of the Bible (cognitive), as well as a Christian life that complements the message (spiritual formation).

⁵Clinton, *The Making of a Leader*, 214-15.

Purpose

This project seeks to create a series of four sessions through which the members of a new LTC board can discover and address issues related to the establishment of their LTC. The sessions have a two-fold purpose. First, the sessions seek to raise appropriate issues relating to the operation of the LTC. This will include areas such as finances, student body, teachers, administration matters, etc.—issues that have caused the failure of LTCs in the past. The sessions seek to guide the board in the making of informed choices concerning these same issues in their local context. Second, the sessions seek to change the attitude of the board members concerning the nature of leadership development. The LTCs presently tend to focus almost exclusively on the cognitive area and largely ignore issues related to spiritual formation and ministerial skills development. In my experience they often end up being ignored because everyone expects someone else to address those two areas. Because many students already pastor a church, they may have developed a significant amount of ministerial skills, but spiritual formation on a personal level receives little or no attention.

After attending the sessions, those participating will be asked to evaluate how helpful the sessions were. I am especially interested in seeing if the sessions bring about a change in attitude towards the importance of spiritual formation and ministerial skills development and a willingness on the part of the board to shoulder responsibility for those areas in the leaders they train.

In preparation for these sessions, the biblical/theological review and current literature review of this project seek answers to two questions:

1. What relational patterns did the Early Church use in leadership development?

2. How did the churches of Zambia come to believe that formal education provides the only proper training for church leaders, and how can the shortcomings of this approach be addressed in the Zambian context today?

CHAPTER 2

BIBLICAL-THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE REVIEW (PART 1): LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN THE EARLY CHURCH: JEWISH AND GRECO-ROMAN BACKGROUND

In America today, most Christians view pastoral ministry as a profession. It is assumed that if a young person feels called by God into pastoral work or full-time Christian ministry, he or she should plan on attending a Bible school or similar institution and receive a B.A. degree or, if possible, a Masters degree. This popular view has two closely related major assumptions. First, that the proper place to receive the training necessary for church leadership is believed to be an institution of higher learning. Second, that the knowledge received in such an institution provides the future pastor with all he or she will need for a successful career as a church leader. The conclusion to this line of reasoning is that the call of God and the right knowledge, gained through attendance at an institution of higher education, provide a person with all that is necessary to serve as a pastor or church leader.¹

While widespread, are these assumptions correct? Or, more importantly, are they biblical? If a young man from Ephesus met the Apostle Paul and shared with him that the Lord was speaking to his heart about going to a nearby town and starting a church, what

¹While widespread discontent with the present state of theological education exists, differences exist concerning the root of the problem and the best solution. Chapter 5 addresses some of the issues involved and the literature on the subject.

would Paul have said to him? How would Paul's answer have differed from the answer received by many future pastors today?

When missionaries left America and Europe to spread the gospel, they took Western ideas of church leadership with them. The churches they planted in places like Africa came to accept Western ways of doing things, often without questioning those ways. Most churches of the Majority World have accepted the Western view of the pastor as a professional who needs several years of higher education. When churches were few and leaders could be educated by missionary teachers in their residential Bible schools and seminaries, this form of leadership development created no major difficulties. But the rapid expansion of the Church in countries like Zambia during the past few decades has created a crisis, with national churches struggling to keep up with the rising demand for leadership training. Many of these churches find themselves unable to support the Western-style institutions of higher education needed to train pastors and church leaders.

When the church experiences rapid growth in any culture, with tens of thousands of first-generation believers formed into new congregations, a severe shortage of pastors with the proper academic credentials frequently occurs. A lack of adequately trained leaders could either result in stunted church growth or in the rise of new cults, as untrained pastors syncretize Christian beliefs with beliefs common to the local culture. A few years ago an American missionary in Zambia shared with me that the national church he assisted had been forced to greatly scale back its church planting efforts. The seminary would be unable to supply qualified pastors for existing churches for several years, so the national church abandoned plans to plant additional new churches until meeting the current need for trained pastors.

The Early Church also faced rapid growth during the first few decades of its existence. How did the Early Church meet the need of developing new leadership? Did the Early Church have its own “program” or institution of higher learning to train leaders? Or did it merely choose those already trained as leaders by society? How did society’s views of leadership affect the Early Church? Can the approach adopted by the Early Church provide the newly emerging churches of the Majority World a New Testament pattern of leadership development with greater relevance to their cultural context than the leadership training pattern imported from the West?

Everyone has cultural biases that color the way they view life. These biases extend to important issues like church leadership and how those leaders should be developed. They even affect the kinds of questions one asks! I wish to acknowledge that, as an American, I also have cultural biases. Though I have spent years studying ancient Near Eastern culture and have lived in Africa most of the time since 1988, I am an outsider to both cultures, and this affects the way I understand leadership in these two contexts—including the questions I am raising and seeking to answer. The cultures of biblical times had their own culturally appropriate methods for recognizing and developing leaders, as did the pre-colonial cultures of Zambia. These differed in profound ways from the methods used in the West today. My hope is that this study might provide insights that may serve the churches of Zambia and beyond in the fulfillment of the overwhelming job they face—that of training an army of church leaders to lead the growing church of this generation in fulfilling its mission.

This chapter seeks to explore the pre-Christian Jewish, Greek, and Roman worlds and how these societies may have influenced leadership as it developed in the Early

Church. The next chapter focuses on leadership development as it existed in the First Century, with the goal of discovering what patterns of relationships the Early Church used to train its leaders. The nature of the Early Church's organization will also be examined, since it has significant bearing on leadership development.

Jewish Leadership Background

The Old Testament contains leaders of various sorts, but only rarely does the Bible discuss how they attained their leadership abilities. The following section analyzes the kinds of relationships and experiences Israel's leaders may have had that prepared them for leadership, in order to discover basic Jewish patterns of leadership development that may have served as patterns that the Early Church then adopted.

Leadership in Israel and Judah before the Exile

The earliest known leaders of Israel, above the level of the heads of individual families, were tribal elders (Exod. 3:16-18). To this the Mosaic Law added the Levitical priesthood. Over time Israelite society added several other categories of leaders, such as prophets, kings, and wise men. Most of them simply appear in the pages of Scripture as fully developed leaders. For the better-known individuals, such as David and Moses, the Bible sometimes gives enough detail to see how God used key people and circumstances in their lives to influence them, but the Bible always presents the leaders' reliance on God as the key that enabled them to function effectively. God may have used some of the patterns of leadership training outlined below to shape Israel's leaders, but this use by God comes from inference or analogy rather than the clear teaching of Scripture.

*Familial Pattern*²

The Familial Pattern constituted the most widespread pattern of leadership development during this period. Parents passed on values, skills, and knowledge to their children through the day-to-day experiences of life.

It was the mother who gave her children the first rudiments of education, especially moral formation (Pr 1:8; 6:20). She might continue to advise her children even in adolescence (cf. Pr 31:1), but as the boys grew up to manhood, they were usually entrusted to their father....The context of the instruction was very general. The father handed on to his son the national traditions....The father also gave his son a professional education; in practice, trades were usually hereditary, and the crafts were handed down in the family workshop.³

God instructed His people to train up their children in “the way of the LORD,” a phrase that first appears in God’s instructions to Abraham as recorded in Genesis 18:18-19. In Deuteronomy 6:6-8 and 20-25 God instructs the Israelites to make sure their children know His commands. Much of the ritual observed by Israel had the goal of teaching God’s ways to His people from the time they were children. Ensuring that the next generation learned and observed “the way of the LORD” opened the opportunity for God to use these children later to fulfill His purposes, including sometimes serving as leaders. The Old Testament recounts the stories of many leaders, such as Eli and Samuel, who failed as parents to teach God’s ways to their children and thus prevented their offspring from serving as leaders with God’s blessing.

The vast majority of children carried on the occupation of their parents.⁴ The skills and knowledge necessary for farming, herding sheep and goats, cooking, keeping

²For a definition of the way this and the other terms are being used, see chapter 1.

³Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, John McHugh (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1997), 49.

⁴William Barclay, *Educational Ideals in the Ancient World* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1974), 16-17.

house, or carrying on trades such as metalworking would have been passed on from father to son and mother to daughter using informal styles of training, in a pattern still seen in less developed economies across the world today. When old enough, a boy would first assist his father and then perform the skill under the father's watchful eye. Once confident of the son's capability, the father had the son perform the task on his own.

The Familial Pattern probably received less use in the training of the children of the king than among the common people. The accepted royal pattern in the ancient Near East called for the king's children to be raised by nannies and tutors.⁵ Such arrangements did little to promote close relationships between a king and his sons. While rare, biblical evidence for the raising of the sons of kings favors the impression that Israel and Judah followed the example of their neighbors. David clearly failed to give the kind of close, personal supervision to his sons that would have influenced them to follow in his footsteps as men "after God's own heart."⁶

One category of leader, which has specific bearing on leadership in the New Testament, was that of the elders. The title of "elder" predates the Exodus (Gen. 3:16) and continued among the Israelites into New Testament times, when it was used of local church leaders. Virtually nothing is known about how elders were chosen or what training, if any, they received to qualify them for the position. R. A. Campbell has concluded that elder, "refers to the heads of the families or houses of which the clan or

⁵For how this was practiced in Egypt see Adolf Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971), 77.

⁶See, for instance, the story of Amnon, Absalom, and Tamar in 2 Sam. 13-19.

tribe consist....they were leaders whose authority came by recognition from below rather than by appointment from above.”⁷

One can assume that an elder served as a representative of his clan or tribe in any dealings with the rest of the Israelite community. Campbell has noted that the Old Testament never uses the word “elder” in the singular to refer to an office-holder. In such cases another word is used, such as “prince” (*sar*), “noble” (*nasi*), “head” (*rosh*), or “official” (*nadib*). He further writes, “‘the elders’ is a *collective* term for the leadership of the tribe, or of the ruling class...it was never the title of an office to which an individual might be appointed” (italics in original).⁸ Likely a person became an elder due to the community’s perception of that person as one of the oldest, wisest members of a family or clan. Thus, heredity, the wisdom gained by years of experience, and the honor and respect of the family gained through wise actions probably constituted the requirements for eldership. Many of these could be gained through Familial Pattern training.

Tutor/Mentor and Master-Disciple Patterns

The Tutor/Mentor and Master-Disciple Patterns of leadership development existed among many ancient cultures. While probably widespread in Israel and Judah, lack of specific information makes this difficult to prove. These two patterns will be considered together here because the major difference between them, as used in this paper,⁹ concerns whether or not the senior partner serves as a model for the younger partner, an issue difficult to prove in the ancient past without some written evidence.

⁷R. Alastair Campbell, *The Elders: Seniority Within Earliest Christianity* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd., 1994), 22.

⁸*Ibid.*, 26.

⁹For definitions of how these terms are used in this paper, see the end of chapter 1.

Members of the wealthy upper class of Israel and Judah probably followed the example of other nations and assigned a tutor to oversee the development of their offspring. 2 Kings 10:1, 5 refer to the “guardians of Ahab’s children,” who very likely functioned as such tutors. They may have tutored either on a one-on-one basis or in small groups. In the latter case, when the groups were large enough, the pattern of relationship might have fallen under the Teacher-Student Pattern.

The Wise appear as a class of leaders during the time of the monarchy, and by the time of Jeremiah exerted considerable influence upon society as counselors and authorities on a range of issues. Scholars disagree about almost every matter touching upon the Wise of Israel and Judah.¹⁰ Some believe they amounted to a professional class of people, trained by schools set up by the royal court. Others argue the Wise were merely individuals of uncommon intelligence.¹¹ For instance, Michael J. Wilkins writes:

Serious effort has been made recently to find the location of wisdom training. Training within the father-son relationship or a clan guild offers a possible way to account for the wisdom tradition....The provenance of wisdom in the life of ancient Israel is still a puzzling feature, with no lack of theories.¹²

Because of this uncertainty, little can be said about the methods used to train these leaders, but more than likely they developed leadership abilities either through Familial, Tutor/Mentor, or Master-Disciple Pattern of relationships.

¹⁰James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 2-3

¹¹For a more complete discussion of these issues see Richard J. Clifford, *The Wisdom Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1998), John G. Gammie and Leo G. Perdue, ed., *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), Roland E. Murphy, *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966), Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972), and R. N. Whybray *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament* (New York: De Gruyter, 1974).

¹²Michael J. Wilkins, *Discipleship in the Ancient World and Matthew’s Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995), 51.

Unfortunately the Bible gives little detail concerning the relationship between Moses and Joshua, which might have been a case of either mentoring or discipleship. Michael Wilkins has argued that this was a discipleship relationship,¹³ but Scripture does not indicate that Moses saw Joshua as his successor until God had revealed that Moses would not enter Canaan. Joshua served Moses as “his young aide” (Exod. 33:11). The word translated as “aide,” *sharat*, resembles the word *‘ebed*, but while *‘ebed* was used for tilling the ground or any form of service, *sharat* means to serve or assist a person, either human or divine. Terrence E. Fretheim understands *sharat* as used in Exodus 33:11 to mean a personal assistant.¹⁴ The picture of the relationship between Moses and Joshua as described in the Bible therefore does not seem to reflect that of a mentor and his charge, but rather the relationship between a manager and his assistant. The purpose of the relationship was not primarily to benefit the assistant by preparing him to lead, but to benefit the manager by easing his workload. It therefore seems unlikely that the relationship of Moses and Joshua fits this pattern of leadership training.

Wilkins goes on to argue that the relationship between Jeremiah and Baruch was that of a master and his disciple:

In each [Moses and Joshua, Elijah and Elisha, Jeremiah and Baruch], we find a person called to serve God and the nation and another person in a subordinate role....Josephus looked back on each of these relationships and used the same term to designate the subordinate person as the gospel writers used to designate the disciples of Jesus (*mathetes*). From Josephus’ perspective, the association between each of these pairs is that of a master and disciple. After evaluating the

¹³Michael J. Wilkins, *Following the Master: Discipleship in the Steps of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992), 61.

¹⁴Terrence E. Fretheim, “*Sharat*,” in *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, vol. 4, gen. ed. William A. VanGemeren (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1997), 256-57

evidence from the Old Testament, we should agree with Josephus. The association between these individuals is a discipleship relationship.¹⁵

Karl Rengstorf disagrees with Wilkins. He writes:

But the records we have seem to show that Baruch served Jeremiah as Gehazi served Elisha (cf. Jer. 32:12ff. with 2 K. 4:27ff.; 5:19ff.), except that Baruch is more of a scribe and sees to the publishing of what is written (Jer. 36:4ff.; 45:1ff.)....But there is no hint of any independent work of Baruch alongside or after Jeremiah. He is the assistant and interpreter of Jeremiah, no more.¹⁶

Rengstorf is correct. Again, there is no scriptural evidence that the goal of the relationship was for Baruch to pattern his life and ministry after that of Jeremiah.

A better case can be made for the relationship between Elijah and Elisha. In 1 Kings 19:16 God tells Elijah that his ministry will soon end, and he must anoint Elisha as his successor. Again, the Hebrew word used to describe Elisha is *sharat*, but in this case the entire relationship between Elijah and Elisha rests upon the understanding that Elisha is to replace Elijah. The Bible implies that the young prophet-in-training followed the old prophet so that he could learn how to carry on Elijah's leadership when the old prophet left. This could therefore be considered an example of mentorship.

Teacher-Student Pattern

Scholars strongly disagree as to whether formal schools existed at this point in Israel's history or whether tutors performed all instruction. Schools clearly did exist in both Egypt and Mesopotamia at this time. Donald E. Gowan writes:

In Egypt there was a system for the training of kings' sons and other young men destined for the bureaucracy and the wise men who did the teaching produced books of instruction, several of which have been preserved for us....There were also wise men in Israel, attached to the court, and some of the materials they

¹⁵Wilkins, *Following the Master: Discipleship in the Steps of Jesus*, 61-62.

¹⁶Karl H. Rengstorf, "Mathetes," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Vol. 4, ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1967), 429.

produced (especially in the book of Proverbs) show remarkable similarities to parts of the Egyptian instruction books. This at least suggests that they may have been involved in regular teaching activities also.¹⁷

Unlike in Egypt and Mesopotamia, private tutors carried out the education of the sons of the wealthy in Greece. Grammar schools did not appear in Greece much before the end of the sixth century B.C. but then spread so quickly that by the late fifth century every city of any size had at least one.

Did Israel follow the educational pattern of Egypt or Greece? Undoubtedly some form of education existed for the wealthy and the royal family in Israel, but whether that education consisted of private tutors or something more formal and on a larger scale remains uncertain. The Old Testament depicts writing as a fairly common practice, with many people able to read the Law and the Prophets; numerous Hebrew inscriptions have been found in recent years. Some say the ability to read and write in Israel was passed on from father to son in certain families or family-based guilds. Others believe that schools with buildings and paid teachers may have existed as early as Solomon. James Crenshaw, one of the most recent scholars to deal with the matter, concludes:

The strongest evidence for the existence of schools is epigraphic. These inscriptions leave little doubt that schools existed in Israel from about the eighth century, if not earlier, but they do not clarify the nature of these places of learning. Were they sponsored by the government and open to all citizens, or were the schools under the control of a few heads of families? In all probability, a combination of these alternatives best explains the situation. A few scribal guilds existed from early times and were conscripted, probably at their own initiative, by some monarchs to assist in propaganda, record keeping, and administrative activity. With the collapse of the monarchy, first in the north and later in Judah, a single guild may have continued to train scribes in exile and subsequently in Judah....Such a formulation of the matter is pure conjecture, although one based

¹⁷Donald E. Gowan, *Bridge Between the Testaments: A Reappraisal of Judaism from the Exile to the Birth of Christianity*, 3d ed. (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1986), 234.

on probability. Nothing seems to require the existence of public schools, supported by taxpayers and open to everyone.¹⁸

Assuming Crenshaw is correct schools existed in Israel and Judah for at least part of the divided monarchy and would have played a foundational role in the education of the children of the elite. Training in such schools probably involved little more than teaching children to read and write, with tutors, mentors, or close family members carrying out any higher education..

The mysterious group, the “sons of the prophets,” appeared during the ministry years of Elijah and Elisha in 2 Kings chapters 2-9. They may or may not be related to the “procession of prophets” mentioned in connection with the anointing of Saul (1 Sam. 10:5). Wilkins’ argument that no connection exists since such a long period of time separates them seems reasonable.¹⁹ Some older commentaries suggest that a formal school under the direction of the prophets existed for the study of the Law through much of the Old Testament period.²⁰ More recently Kenneth Gangel and Warren Benson have written:

One can probably conjecture with some accuracy that the so-called schools were informal disciple bands, not unlike those men who lived and learned with Jesus during the three and a half years of His earthly ministry. Samuel and the others were not instructors in homiletics, but by watching and learning from the dynamic

¹⁸James L. Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 112-13.

¹⁹Wilkins, *Discipleship in the Ancient World and Matthew’s Gospel*, 51.

²⁰For instance, Matthew Henry, in his fanciful comments on 2 Kings 2:1-8 writes there were, “colleges, where men were trained up and employed in the exercises of religion and devotion, and whither good people resorted to solemnize the appointed feasts with praying and hearing, when they had not conveniences for sacrifice or incense, and thus religion was kept up in a time of general apostasy....These seminaries of religion and virtue, which Elijah, it is probable, had been instrumental to found, he now visits, before his departure, to instruct, encourage, and bless them.” Matthew Henry and Thomas Scott, *Commentary on the Whole Bible*, Vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1973), 317.

propheticism of men like Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, the young prophets undeniably enjoyed an educative process.²¹

The Scriptures provide little evidence concerning the nature and function of the “sons of the prophets.” A group of up to fifty men (2 Kings 2:7), many married (2 Kings 4:1), they left their families and lived apart as a separate group that enjoyed some form of relationship with the prophets Elijah and Elisha.

That these “sons of the prophets” should be thought of as prophets-in-training seems unlikely as the Bible never depicts true prophets as the product of a school. It seems more likely that these individuals merely sought to live lives pleasing to God and felt the best way to achieve this involved leaving their homes and living in proximity to the prophet. There they could hear what the prophet taught and apply that teaching to their lives. Unless Elisha belonged to this group, for which the Bible provides no scriptural evidence, none of these “sons of the prophets” are known to have later functioned as a prophet. James Reed and Ronnie Prevost appear correct in concluding, “In fact, the purpose of these bands is unclear, although instruction may have taken place within them. Little can be proven regarding these schools of prophets.”²²

Peer/Team Pattern

In this relationship pattern, two or more leaders of roughly equal status and not of the same family encourage each other to grow in their leadership abilities, often as they work on common problems. This kind of relationship theoretically occurred over and over among the leaders of Israel, as one of the normal patterns of relationships people

²¹Kenneth O. Gangel and Warren S. Benson, *Christian Education: Its History and Philosophy* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1983), 29.

²²James E. Reed and Ronnie Prevost, *A History of Christian Education* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1993), 47.

have with each other. One can surmise that the sons of the king and the sons of the nobility might have interacted in a group as they grew up, perhaps on the order of the *ephebia* or the *hetaireia* in Greece, but the Old Testament never draws attention to it. This is simply another example of the fact that leadership training is not a basic theme of the Bible.

The relationship between Jonathan and David stands as one of the few cases where two leaders-in-the-making and not of the same family enjoyed a close relationship. Perhaps the Bible pays attention to this relationship in order to show how close Jonathan was to David, even though they naturally should have been enemies. Scripture says nothing of the way such a relationship could have played a part in the development of David or Jonathan's leadership abilities.

Leadership from the Exile through A.D. 70

A number of dramatic changes occurred in the practice of the Jewish religion during the Second Temple period. The Babylonians scattered the Jewish people abroad, never to fully return to their native land. In New Testament times, Jews lived from Spain to Babylon and beyond.

As many as two-thirds of the Jews in the first century were living outside Palestine. Besides the large and important communities in ancient Babylon...the largest concentrations of Jews outside Palestine were in Syria and Egypt, but sizable groups were found throughout Asia Minor and not insignificant numbers in Phoenicia, Cyrene, Greece, and Rome, with probably lesser numbers farther west.²³

After the fall of the Persian Empire to Alexander, Hellenism had a profound impact on all the cultures of the Near East, including Judaism. Greeks lived in significant numbers in

²³Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 3d ed. (Grand Rapids: William. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003), 427.

all the major cities, and wherever they went they brought their culture, their language, and their institutions. Greek ways proved attractive to other peoples, who soon began imitating them. This Hellenistic influence even penetrated the Jewish heartland, as Martin Hengel has shown.²⁴

Although the Davidic family continued to play a leadership role for a century or so, it then faded into obscurity. A series of foreign empires dominated Judah, and when Judah once briefly exercised a form of political sovereignty under the Hasmoneans the priests wielded political as well as religious power. This dominance of the priests continued through early New Testament times, assisted by the scribes, the experts in the religious Law.

The Temple continued to play a major role in the faith of the Jews, but the synagogue replaced it as the focus of Jewish religious life for most people. The rise of this institution brought about the creation of a whole new set of leadership positions open to Jews of all tribes. Lee Levine notes that significant differences existed between the synagogues of various regions, which extended to the titles and roles of its leaders.²⁵ A fuller description of the relationship between the synagogue and the Early Church will be undertaken later in this chapter.

At this time a number of Jewish religious sects, each with their own interpretation of what Judaism should look like, came into existence. Two of these groups, the Pharisees and Sadducees, figure prominently in the Gospels and Acts. Josephus refers to others such as the Essenes and Zealots. Concerning this proliferation of Jewish sects,

²⁴See Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991.

²⁵Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 426.

Jacob Neusner writes, “Academic learning no longer takes seriously the proposition that there is now, or ever in history has been, a single Judaism.”²⁶ This variety in the nature of the Jewish faith played a role in the eventual founding of Christianity, as Jewish believers around Jerusalem continued to be accepted as Jews by the wider community as long as they observed the Law (Acts 21:20-24).

Familial Pattern

With the destruction of Judah as a nation, “the Jews attached new importance to the home after the return from captivity.”²⁷ As in the period before the exile, the Familial Pattern of leadership training continued to play a dominant role.

Jewish education retained many of the components of preexilic, or Hebrew, education. All teaching still began in the home. It was a place not only of first instruction but of the daily living out of that which was learned. The national/religious feasts and festivals of the Jews continued to serve educational functions...²⁸

Vocational and industrial training was fundamentally the same after the exile as it had been before. Every boy, seemingly, learned some handicraft, usually the trade of his father. Every father, whatever his position, was directed to teach his son a trade. All arts and crafts were regulated according to the requirements of the Law. An educational ideal of the period found expression in these words: “Excellent is the study of the law combined with some worldly occupation, for toil in them both puts sin out of mind.” As in preceding periods, there was, therefore, no sharp line of demarcation between vocational and religious life.²⁹

By New Testament times many Jews culturally resembled their Hellenistic neighbors, and this resemblance probably extended to the way Jews raised their children. In the stratified society of that day, a boy’s family background and wealth determined

²⁶Jacob Neusner, *Three Questions of Formative Judaism: History, Literature, and Religion* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2002), 2.

²⁷C. B. Eavey, *History of Christian Education* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1966), 67.

²⁸Reed and Prevost, 51.

²⁹Eavey, 68-69.

what opportunities opened up to him as he grew. Many Jewish fathers, enamored of Greek ways, sought Greek education for their children.³⁰ For these individuals, the Greco-Roman patterns of leadership development described in the next section would apply.

Teacher-Student Pattern

As noted earlier, many scholars assume Israel and Judah had schools that catered to the children of the elite before the exile, but irrefutable evidence for these schools does not exist. Exactly when public education began among the Jews is uncertain, but by New Testament times it appears to have been widespread. Josephus (*Against Apion* I.60) and Philo (*De legatione ad Gaium* 16.115; 31.210) picture education as an important part of Judaism. Was a well-organized school system a prominent part of Second Temple Judaism?

Nathan Drazin argues in the affirmative. He bases his reconstruction of the educational system of the Jewish people upon the rabbinic traditions, which he considers as accurately depicting the historical situation during the Second Temple period. Drazin argues that by the late first century A.D., Judaism had a well-developed educational system for youth of all age levels, including a college for the training of all Jewish religious leaders. According to Drazin, this college existed in Jerusalem by 200 B.C.

Many of the Priests and Levites received their higher education in this college. So, too, from this college came the elders who sat in the highest tribunal of Israel, the Sanhedrin, consisting of seventy-one sages, as well as the judges of the lesser courts comprising twenty-three men.³¹

³⁰Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexandria to Justinian* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 57-59.

³¹Nathan Drazin, *History of Jewish Education from 515 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1979), 42.

This college, in a building known as the *bet hamidrash*, was located near the Temple.

This school building consisted chiefly of one main auditorium that was large enough to accommodate all the students. Even from the meager evidence that is available, it seems obvious that there were no separate classrooms in the building. The entire school formed one class under the leadership of the ‘nasi’ and the ‘ab bet din’ of the Sanhedrin. All students were expected to attend their lectures of instruction and then to participate in a general discussion.³²

But a number of recent scholars, including E. P. Sanders,³³ Jacob Neusner,³⁴ and Anthony Saldarini,³⁵ have argued that the rabbinic traditions cannot be used to reconstruct Jewish life during the Second Temple period without supporting evidence, which undercuts Drazin’s detailed reconstruction. Donald Gowan writes:

The Talmud provides extensive information about the well-organized system of elementary, secondary and higher education which existed in Judaism by the third century C.E., and most of the studies of Jewish education which have been produced have projected that data back on to the second temple period. In the absence of confirming evidence from contemporary documents, that tendency should be resisted, however, and it seems best not to try to reconstruct a hypothetical school system on that basis.³⁶

Dennis Duling rejects the idea that the Jewish people were largely literate. He writes that “the literacy level of Jews mirrored the low literacy level of the population in general, that is, not more than ten percent.”³⁷

³²Ibid., 57-58.

³³E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE-66 CE* (London: SCM Press, 1992), 10.

³⁴Neusner, *Three Questions of Formative Judaism: History, Literature, and Religion*, 33-53.

³⁵Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2001), 199-226.

³⁶Gowan, 234-35.

³⁷Dennis C. Duling, “The Matthean Brotherhood and Marginal Scribal Leadership,” in *Modelling Early Christianity: Social-Scientific Studies of the New Testament in Its Context*, ed. Philip F. Esler (New York: Routledge, 1995), 175-76.

Lee Levine strikes a middle ground and assumes some basic form of education for children would have been carried on at most synagogues.

...the assumption that many children studied in some sort of formal setting at this time is not entirely far-fetched. In the Greco-Roman world, educational frameworks for children were well-known. Moreover, rabbinic material attributes the introduction of some sort of public schooling to some personalities in the Second Temple period....Even though such attributions are highly questionable... some sort of educational system may have been formalized in this pre-70 period.³⁸

Assuming Levine's moderate position is correct, many Jewish boys received a basic education—including learning to read and write—and an extensive study of the Torah in schools attached to their local synagogues. Those going on to become scribes or other learned Jewish leaders needed further training, but what form would that training have taken? Drazin's description of a massive school in Jerusalem where students hear lectures by a single teacher seems highly unlikely. This form of mass education is common today, but has no known parallels in ancient Greco-Roman times. All known higher education of the first century took the form of small groups of students who gathered around a master.

Tutor/Mentor and Master-Disciple Patterns

The list of known Jewish leaders of various sorts for the first century A.D. is quite lengthy. Where and how did these individuals receive training? As noted above, Drazin's proposal that they were all educated *en masse* in Jerusalem in a special college on a teacher-student pattern seems highly unlikely. With a few exceptions, all higher education of the day more closely resembled the Master-Disciple Pattern of Jesus and the

³⁸Levine, 133.

Twelve. Advanced training of Jewish religious leaders more probably occurred in small groups both in Jerusalem and in various locations around the Roman Empire.

Jewish leaders of the Second Temple Period almost never describe the form of training they received. But in Acts 22:3 Paul describes his education in the following manner: “Under Gamaliel I was trained in the law of our fathers and was just as zealous for God as any of you are today.” Literally, Paul said that he studied at the feet of Gamaliel, implying a close relationship in keeping with a Master-Disciple Pattern.

In summary, little biblical evidence for the relational patterns in which Israelite and Jewish leadership received training exists. Familial Pattern relationships played a key role in the foundation of all leadership and provided the only form of training in the case of hereditary leadership positions, such as the priesthood. Evidence of formal schools in Israel and Judah before the Exile is lacking, however. The Jews had schools by New Testament times, but how early this began and how fast such schooling spread remains uncertain. The primary relational method used in the training of Jewish leadership probably resembled either a Tutor/Mentor Pattern or a Master-Disciple Pattern, but this cannot be verified due to lack of evidence.

Greco-Roman Leadership Background

Greek language and culture spread quickly, and many cities had a sizable Greek population by New Testament times. While many neighboring peoples admired and adopted Greek ways, others sought to maintain their own traditions. This caused cultural conflicts, such as those faced by the Jews of Judea in the early second century B.C.

During the second and first centuries B.C., Rome pushed east and dominated the area. In 63 B.C., Pompey succeeded in incorporating Syria and Judea into the Roman

Empire. Hellenic cities of the eastern Mediterranean, free to maintain their culture, ran their affairs as they wished. Rome established colonies in places like Corinth, resulting in the introduction of Roman ways into what was otherwise an area dominated by Hellenism.

While Greek language and culture provided a common basis for sharing and spreading the gospel, numerous local cultural mixes meant that each city had certain peculiarities. Alexandria, with its large Jewish and Egyptian population, would have differed from Antioch on the Orontes with its more Middle Eastern outlook, which in turn would have differed from the Roman colony of Corinth.

Greco-Roman Society and Worldview

Over the past few decades numerous studies of the culture of the New Testament world have emerged.³⁹ These insights from the social sciences have increased understanding concerning the mindset of the Greco-Roman world, which in turn has aided understanding of the Early Church and its view of leadership.

During this period society was highly stratified. At the top three aristocratic classes controlled the vast majority of the Roman Empire's wealth. The rest of the population consisted of a very small middle class, freedmen, and slaves. Most people remained all their lives in the strata of society to which they were born. Greco-Roman society knew nothing of such American ideals as equality and social mobility. Bruce

³⁹For example, see Andrew D. Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical Study of I Corinthians 1-6* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), E. A. Judge, *The Social Patterns of Christian Groups in the First Century: Some Prolegomena to the Study of New Testament Ideas of Social Obligation* (London: Tyndale Press, 1957), and Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983).

Malina and Jerome Neyrey offer the following observations concerning how people viewed themselves:

We submit that what characterized first century Mediterranean people was not individualistic, but ‘dyadic’ or group-oriented personality....Group-oriented persons internalize and make their own what others say, do, and think about them because they believe it is necessary, if they are to be human beings, to live out the expectations of others....who can grant or withhold reputation or honor.⁴⁰

The patron-client relationship, another key to understanding the world of that day, helped tie the various levels of society to each other.

Patron-client relations are social relationships between individuals based on a strong element of inequality and difference in power. The basic structure of the relationship is an exchange of different and very unequal resources. A patron has social, economic, and political resources that are needed by the client. In return, a client can give expressions of loyalty and honor that are useful for the patron.⁴¹

A person of wealth and status surrounded himself with clients who, for a stipend, did his bidding and could be counted upon for public praise at the appropriate times. The patron gained social status by having many people dependent upon him, while the clients gained financially from the arrangement. Their former masters expected freed slaves to serve them as clients.

Leadership in the Roman Empire

Leadership in the political and religious affairs of the cities fell to the wealthy aristocrats. Taxes did not pay for all the necessary expenditures of government, and most positions of prominence had little, if any, salary. The general population selected the

⁴⁰Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, “First-Century Personality: Dyadic, Not Individualistic,” in *The Social World of Luke-Acts. Models for Interpretation*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1991), 72-73.

⁴¹Halvor Moxnes, “Patron-Client Relations and the New Community in Luke-Acts,” in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation*, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1991), 242.

wealthy to serve in high office with the expectation that they would pay for many of the necessary expenses of religion and government out of their own pockets. The aristocracy sought these prominent positions for the honor and public acclaim that went with the office. Public acclaim was more highly prized than wealth.

Although Roman colonies and towns differed in constitution from the older Greek cities, their civic leaders were in similar respects drawn from the elites, and likewise functioned in both a political and religious capacity. Significant personal wealth, demonstrated through patronage, was a necessary prerequisite for civic leadership. Such leadership had a strong component of self-interest where reputation, both in the present and in perpetuity was a guiding principle. Such leaders necessarily enjoyed a high profile within their local communities. The munificent round of public entertainments and sacrifices for the civic population, reinforced by statutes, inscriptions and building works in strategic positions in the city, ensured that one's name and one's deeds were on the lips of almost all.⁴²

Thus the wealthy usually served as society's leaders. Their leadership in society came about as the wealthy used their wealth to increase their honor and status.

Education and Patterns of Leadership Development

The Greeks developed an educational system with three well-defined levels, similar to the pattern followed in American education today. This system, adopted by the Romans with few modifications, became the standard education of New Testament times. The following section provides an overview of education with a focus on its relevance for leadership training.

Familial Pattern

In the first century, poor parents carried out all the training of their children using informal Familial Pattern relationships. Those who could afford it might send their sons

⁴²Andrew Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical Study of I Corinthians 1-6*, 58.

to local schools where they would learn to read and write, but the rest of a child's training for life would be carried out in the home. Fathers expected their sons to learn the trade, skills, and values of their family, while daughters learned from their mothers.

Originally Roman education for all levels of society was carried out in the home, with the entire responsibility for rearing children lying with the parents. Children received a very utilitarian education, aimed at producing people capable of trades and professions such as engineering, farming, and commerce.

The fact of its peasant origin gave early Roman education its two great characteristics. It was an education which was founded on tradition...Its great watchword was *mos maiorum*, the customs of our ancestors...The second basic fact is that all early Roman education took place within the family.⁴³

In the early days, the sons of Roman leaders spent their early childhood with their mothers followed by a lengthy period of time spent at the side of their fathers. Cato, described by Plutarch as the ideal father, took charge of his son and personally taught him how to read and write.⁴⁴ Once he reached adulthood, the future Roman leader capped off this education at his father's side with a year or more spent in the company of a close friend of the family. But by New Testament times the Greek model replaced this familial pattern for the wealthy.

Teacher-Student Pattern

About 500 B.C., the Greek education previously provided by mentors for the sons of the warrior class became available for all as teachers opened schools to provide training for those with money. This education, based on the Teacher-Student Pattern,

⁴³Barclay, 146-47.

⁴⁴Ibid., 155.

spread quickly. By 400 B.C. virtually every Greek city had a grammar school. A secondary school was added somewhat later, creating the forerunner of the modern primary and secondary educational system. The Romans adopted this pattern of Greek education before the end of the third century B.C.

In the early Roman Empire, boys entered the lowest or primary level of education at about the age of seven. Lasting for five or so years, this instruction focused on reading and writing, with perhaps some arithmetic. At the secondary level grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, astronomy, and geometry were covered, but only the elite could afford this more advanced education. Most schools on the primary and secondary level consisted of a single teacher who taught classes open to anyone who could afford to pay. The tertiary level of education almost exclusively followed the Master-Disciple Pattern.

During New Testament times, the quality of primary education can be described as very poor. Teachers usually held classes in or near the market, where noise and confusion would make it difficult for students to pay attention to the teacher. Teachers received little pay and usually sought to beat an education into their students.⁴⁵ “The savagery of the Roman elementary teachers had become proverbial....Menander said: The man who has not been flogged has not been trained....Only Quintilian is a lonely voice against this policy of the lash.”⁴⁶ This resulted in an education summarized by Barclay as follows:

Although Quintilian was to leave as fine an outline of primary education as any man ever produced, it is probably true to say that never at any time in the history

⁴⁵Stanley F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), 46. Bonner suggests this poor treatment of students may have been because many teachers were former slaves.

⁴⁶Barclay, 164-65.

of education was primary education worse done than it was in Rome....They undermined instead of strengthened the children's morals; they mishandled the children's bodies instead of developing them; and if they succeeded in furnishing their minds with a certain amount of information, they were not calculated to perform any loftier or nobler task.⁴⁷

Early Greek education had been deeply concerned with character formation, achieved initially by studying Homer. The Greek ideal consisted of a man of action and valor like Achilles and of wisdom like Odysseus. "The guiding ideal of this old education was still an ethical one...being a man both beautiful and good."⁴⁸ These moral emphases degenerated in Roman times into having students copy and memorize pithy sayings which, it was hoped, would inspire them to live good lives.

Tutor/Mentor and Master-Disciple Patterns

Originally all Greek education resembled the Tutor/Mentor Pattern rather than Teacher-Student. A young man of the nobility was entrusted to an older, experienced person who could guide the youth in his development. This one-on-one training originally focused on developing the kinds of skills a person needed on the battlefield and as a member of the king's court. As the cities of Greece grew and the ranks of the wealthy swelled, the nature of the desired education came to include reading, writing, and other skills, while athletics largely replaced battle skills. It was impractical to train this larger number of students in one-on-one situations, so a Teacher-Student Pattern relationship took the place of the Tutor/Mentor Pattern for the lower levels of a person's education.

⁴⁷Ibid., 160.

⁴⁸Henri I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London: Sheed and Ward, Ltd., 1956), 43.

The wealthy continued to follow the older one-on-one pattern for their children by obtaining a *paidagogos*—a trusted man, usually a slave, who took personal responsibility for the son from the time he was weaned until he was grown and on his own, usually around the age of sixteen. The *paidagogos* accompany the child to school and might help him with his studies. In a few cases the slave would be so well educated that he personally oversaw all of the child’s education. “Thus the ‘pedagogue’ took over from the parents the general training in manners, and inculcated the traditional proprieties of behaviour in the home and out of doors.”⁴⁹

By the end of the third century B.C. the Romans had adopted the Greek custom of having a *paidagogos* for their sons, and this practice continued through New Testament times. Paul used the term twice in his writings. In 1 Corinthians 4:15 he stated, “Even though you have ten thousand guardians [*paidagogous*] in Christ, you do not have many fathers, for in Christ Jesus I became your father through the gospel.” In Galatians 3:24 Paul wrote, “So the law was put in charge [*paidagogos*] to lead us to Christ that we might be justified by faith.” Here Paul pictured the Law of Moses as a *paidagogos*, escorting his readers to and from the teacher—Jesus Christ.

The relationship between a young man and his *paidagogos* could be very close and warm. Augustus Caesar honored his *paidagogos* with a public funeral⁵⁰ while the younger Cato’s *paidagogos*, Sarpedon, patiently explained things in such a way that he earned the boy’s trust. It is likely that many times the *paidagogos* had a greater influence over the development of a future leader than the father did.

⁴⁹Bonner, 42.

⁵⁰Bonner, 41.

The tertiary level of education also continued to use a one-on-one approach to training. Education at primary and secondary levels had become largely uniform, with everyone expected to take the same courses of study. But at the tertiary level a young man decided the direction his life would take, and this usually involved specialized training at the feet of a master. The most common fields of study for those expecting to assume leadership roles in society were rhetoric, law, and philosophy. The ability to speak well and command the attention of a crowd proved an important skill for those who sought public office and public acclaim, a foundational skill for leadership in that day.

Learning to speak properly meant learning to think properly, and even to live properly: in the eyes of the Ancients eloquence had a truly human value transcending any practical applications...it was the one means for handing on everything that made man man, the whole cultural heritage that distinguished civilized man from barbarians.⁵¹

Recent scholarship has demonstrated the important role played by rhetorical education....No other training more effectively compelled bodily and mental habits to conform with the ideology of mastery over self and others that was an integral part of elite self-conception, embodied in the upright carriage and refined gestures that the fledgling ‘pepaideumenos’ polished to perfection under a rhetorician’s tutelage. There he also acquired the oratorical and historical knowledge required for participation in the governing council (‘boule’) and the public assembly (‘ekklesia’), both of which remained central parts of the urban scene...⁵²

This level of study had no set curriculum. A student submitted himself to the discipline of learning what his master had to teach him. The master not only shared his knowledge and insight, but also modeled values and behavior.

The personal tone of the old education, which I have stressed again and again, here comes out particularly clearly. The philosopher was expected to be much more than a teacher; he was expected to be “guide, philosopher and friend”, and

⁵¹Marrou, 196.

⁵²Joy Connolly, “The Problems of the Past in Imperial Greek Education,” in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Yun Lee Too (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 349.

the essence of his teaching was imbibed, not from the lofty eminence of his chair, but in the common life that he shared with his disciples: more important than his words was the example he set, his inspiring virtues and living wisdom.⁵³

The word commonly used in Greek to describe the junior partner in a master-disciple relationship is *mathetes*. In its original usage it could describe any learner, including an apprentice to a trade. Some philosophical groups, such as the Epicureans, used the term, as did the mystery religions. But Socrates, Plato and others avoided using the term for those they trained.⁵⁴ A *mathetes* needed a master, referred to as a *didaskalos*. Rengstorf described this individual as follows:

The *didaskalos* is not just a teacher in general, but a man who teaches definite skills like reading, fighting or music, developing the aptitudes already present. Thus, if the subject of instruction is not clear from the context, it has to be defined more precisely by an indication of the skills in question....The decisive point is that systematic instruction is given.⁵⁵

The master had certain skills which he sought to impart to his disciple and thus had knowledge superior to that of the *mathetes*. It was this claim of superiority which caused Socrates to refuse the title *didaskalos*.

Peer Pattern

Early on the Greeks felt the need for something besides a teacher-student experience to prepare youths for adulthood and leadership in society. The Greek elite developed a network of various groups and activities for their young people, both men and women, who had finished the grammar school and were approaching puberty. These group experiences frequently preceded tertiary education. In these relationships youth

⁵³Marrou, 209.

⁵⁴Rengstorf, "Mathetes."

⁵⁵Karl H. Rengstorf, "Didasko Didaskalos," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 2, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1967), 149.

interacted with each other and learned social skills that would stand them in good stead later in life. Belonging to one or more of these groups became a rite of passage which shaped young people's values and marked their acceptance as adults in society. They fulfilled the role that clubs, societies, and fraternities do for many young people today.

One of these groups, the *ephebia*, started off as a military training program for young men, but by New Testament times functioned as a finishing school for the sons of the wealthy elite before they entered public life. This experience had the effect of creating strong bonds between these youths that often lasted throughout their lives.

Another group, the *hetaireia*, amounted to basically a club for young men to dine and drink together. Griffith writes:

The 'higher education' of the male members of the Archaic Greek elite seems largely to have been obtained at drinking-parties and dinners. As children, in grammar-school or at home, they had learned (mostly from slaves or low-class professionals) to read and write, to recite Homer and Hesiod, and to manage rudimentary skills of drawing, singing, geometry, and arithmetic. But it was among their adolescent and adult 'comrades' or 'buddies' (*hetairoi*), as they exercised during the daytime in the gymnasium (or on military duty), and later in the evening as they enjoyed a shared dinner, reclining around the mixing-bowl in a 'men's hall' (*andreion*) or dining room of a private house, that they learned the finer arts of sophisticated conversation, literary and musical analysis, eulogy, invective and personal ridicule, sexual seduction and resistance, and stylish self-presentation.⁵⁶

These kinds of peer experiences had the effect of shaping and honing the leadership abilities of young men at a crucial time in their lives.

In summary, while Rome ruled the world, Greek culture strongly influenced the fabric of society and provided a set of relationships in which future leaders received their training. Familial Pattern relationships provided the basic foundation upon which all

⁵⁶Mark Griffith, "Public and Private in Early Greek Institutions of Education," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Yun Lee Too (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 57.

other forms of leadership training were built. The primary school-age children of the elite received an education using private tutors while an education using the Teacher-Student Pattern existed in every city for anyone who could afford it. Peer/Team Pattern experiences provided an important part of the leadership development for the teenage children of the upper class, but the primary method used to train most leaders-to-be involved Tutor/Mentor and Master-Disciple Pattern relationships.

Five Institutional Influences on Early Church Leadership Development

In the past few decades scholars have attempted to answer the question of how early Christians would have identified themselves in Greco-Roman society. What kind of label would they have put on themselves, and what kind of label would others have put on them? The attempts basically fall into five categories, each of which has advocates who see their position as the key to unlocking modern understanding of the nature of the Early Church.

Synagogue

The church in Jerusalem and elsewhere presumably resembled a synagogue. Jewish believers often made up the original core of a new church. Paul first went to the local synagogue when planting a church and garnered all willing to respond to the gospel. It is therefore only reasonable to assume that the Early Church turned to the patterns of leadership observed in the synagogue as a model; but what was that pattern? Levine has done an excellent job of analyzing synagogue leadership based on inscriptional evidence. He writes:

It had been assumed that the pattern of synagogue organization was standardized and that all local Jewish communities followed the pattern which was known to

have existed at Alexandria, where a gerousia, composed of archons and led by a gerousiarch, governed all the affairs of the entire Jewish community. It is now apparent that there was no such uniformity and that in many cities each synagogue ruled its own affairs, as was the case in Rome.⁵⁷

He has further pointed out profound differences between Jewish practices in Palestine and those of the Diaspora.

For whatever reason, be it cultural, geographical, or sociological, synagogue officialdom in Jewish Palestine appears to have been different from that of the Diaspora, as well as from that of the hellenized areas of Palestine. This is true of the titles used and presumably of the roles played as well.⁵⁸

The most common senior official in a synagogue held the title *archisynagogue*.

Levine states that, “the office of the archisynagogue involved overall responsibility for all facets of the institution, as in fact, the title itself seems to convey....he is the one in charge of worship and a financial patron.”⁵⁹ This office frequently appears in Scripture. Jairus held this office (Mark 5:22, 35-36) and in Antioch the *archisynagogue* invited Paul to speak at a synagogue service (Acts 13:15). Crispus (Acts 18:18) and Sosthenes (Acts 18:17) both held this position. Eight synagogue dedicatory inscriptions list the *archisynagogue* as having either built or made extensive renovations to the synagogue, indicating that this person was often a patron. Levine traces the origin of this title to Greco-Roman culture, which honored patrons of associations with a similar title.

The *presbyteroi*, or elders, make up a rather mysterious group of leaders. Who were they, and what kind of position did they hold? Levine obviously struggles with these questions, without coming to a satisfactory answer, when he writes,

⁵⁷Levine, 389.

⁵⁸Ibid., 426.

⁵⁹Ibid., 391.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to pinpoint precisely the function of this office. Was it administrative, financial, religious-liturgical, all three, or perhaps a combination of any two? The specific definition of this title may well have differed from place to place....The elders in the first-century Alexandrian synagogue are said to have occupied seventy-one elaborately decorated chairs. Another tradition speaks of elders seated with their backs to the Jerusalem-oriented wall while facing the congregation.⁶⁰

The solution to Levine's problem involves the recognition that there was no position of elder as such. Based on Josephus and other Jewish Second Temple texts, Campbell has concluded that among the Jews of the first century, elder was not a position but a category or class from which people were frequently chosen for office. Campbell uses Josephus as an example of how this worked: upon his assumption of command in Galilee, Josephus needed support and wise counsel, so he chose from the group of older, wise men—elders—a group of seventy rulers or *archontes*.⁶¹

A variety of other synagogue titles appear in inscriptions of the Second Temple period, some limited to certain geographical areas. The titles *pater synagoges* and *mater synagoges*, probably honorific titles extended to the synagogue's patrons, occur frequently. The *grammateus* may have served as synagogue secretary. Occasionally this position was handed down from father to son,⁶² indicating the importance of one's family for this position and probably indicating a Familial Pattern of leadership training. The *hazzan* was a prominent functionary in the synagogues of Palestine. The position seems to have primarily involved taking care of the Torah and other books, deciding who read the Scripture passages in the synagogue, and making public announcements.⁶³ Another

⁶⁰Ibid., 407-08.

⁶¹Campbell, 41-42.

⁶²Levine, 409.

⁶³Ibid., 411.

title found in Roman catacombs but rarely elsewhere is *archon*. It is unclear whether this title refers to leaders of the Jewish community or to leaders of the synagogue or both.⁶⁴

Thus, texts and inscriptions use many terms to describe synagogue leaders but little can be said about what roles these leaders played or about the training they may have received. In some cases a position in the synagogue was handed down from father to son, probably indicating training by the father in a Familial Pattern. Many synagogue leaders, raised in the homes of wealthy Jews, likely experienced all the educational benefits that this entailed. Presumably they would have had a *paidagogos*, attended better primary and secondary schools, and received a typical Hellenic tertiary education—perhaps in rhetoric under the tutelage of a master.

Households

No evidence exists that any local church of the first century had its own building. Christians usually met in homes, following the practice of most synagogues at that time. Several scholars have looked to the households of the wealthy as a source of influence on the Early Church's organizational structure. Besides his wife and children, a wealthy man would have had slaves and employees to carry on various trades in the household. Many scholars believe such households had a profound impact on the Early Church.⁶⁵ In describing this influence Branick writes:

For about a century the private dwelling shaped the Christians' community life, forming the environment in which Christians related to each other, providing an

⁶⁴Ibid., 402.

⁶⁵For further discussion of the influence of households on the Early Church see: Abraham J. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), chapter 3, Andrew D. Clarke, *Serve the Community of the Church: Christians as Leaders* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2000), chapter 5, and E. A. Judge, chapter 3.

economic substructure for the community, a platform for missionary work, a framework for leadership and authority, and probably a definite role for women.⁶⁶

Branick's survey of several excavated Roman villas came up with an average size of 36 square meters for the dining area, or *triclinium*, and 55 square meters for the central court, or *atrium*,⁶⁷ Branick figures this area could comfortably accommodate thirty to forty people.

The Greco-Roman concept of a household, or *oikos*, was much broader than in modern usage. To Cicero the *oikos* included relatives, business partners, clients, and anyone else dependent on the *paterfamilias*, the head of the house. "Cicero defines the 'domus' or household by a relationship of dependence, not kinship. In fact the family or household was constituted by the reciprocal relationships of protection and subordination."⁶⁸ If the *paterfamilias* converted to Christianity, it is likely the rest of the house would convert as well. "Most probably the conversion of a household and the consequent formation of a house church formed the key element in Paul's strategic plan to spread the Gospel to the world."⁶⁹ Having a wealthy benefactor would provide a house large enough to accommodate Paul and his companions, as well as a place for meetings. Paul frequently passes greetings to believers by indicating the name of the person in whose home they meet: "Aquila and Priscilla greet you warmly in the Lord, and so does the church that meets at their house" (1 Cor. 16:19).

⁶⁶Vincent Branick, *The House Church in the Writings of Paul* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1989), 39.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid., 37.

⁶⁹Ibid., 18.

As the ones who had opened their homes for meetings, and as people with wealth and often prominence in the community, the *paterfamilias* would logically assume some kind of leadership responsibility in the church. Branick writes:

The group that comes to mind as the one that could easily emerge in this manner with these responsibilities are the heads of household, men and women with the means and the ability to manage the affairs of the church. In general they would have been persons of some education and a relatively broad background. Especially in the larger households, these persons would have had considerable administrative experience....They would be the leading members in every house church, directing their household life. They would have been the hosts for others who attached themselves to their household church....In the absence of Paul, everything favored the emergence of the host as the most influential member at the Lord's supper and hence the most likely presider.⁷⁰

Philosophical Schools

While some philosophers had small schools where they taught those who came to them, larger schools of philosophy, dedicated to the teachings of their founders, played a prominent role in society during the first century. These schools served as one of the prominent tertiary forms of education during the early Roman Empire. Athens continued to be the primary city for philosophy, though well-known philosophers could be found throughout the Empire. Some lesser-known philosophers were hired as counselors by the wealthy.

In Rome there were still those who kept philosophers in their households to give advice and comfort as well as instruction....There were some Roman magnates who supported philosophers in their households without any real desire to learn from them....Even women, according to Lucian, had their philosophers, though they only had time to hear their lectures while they were dressing, doing their hair or eating, and sometimes interrupted the lecture to write a reply note from a lover.⁷¹

⁷⁰Ibid., 91.

⁷¹M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 80.

The four dominant schools of philosophy were the Pythagoreans, Epicureans, Stoics, and Cynics. These schools varied greatly in format, but usually consisted of a group of *mathetes*, or disciples, dedicated to the study and practice of the teachings of an individual. They were led in this process by a *diadochoi* or successor, selected from the senior *mathetes*, and who served in that position for life. The Cynics, a popular school of philosophy among the Romans, refused to collect disciples around them but instead spoke to ordinary people wherever they could draw a crowd.⁷²

Voluntary Associations

An urban environment creates the possibilities for people to search out and find others who have similar beliefs and interests, but who are unrelated to them by family ties. As the Greek city-states developed, a number of organizations arose collectively referred to as voluntary associations. Scholars today describe a voluntary association as any group which a person joins of one's own free will. Because of the diversity of these associations, it is difficult to say anything true of all of them. In the first century these associations fell into roughly three categories: religious associations, trade or professional associations, and burial societies. They varied in size from a dozen to several hundred individuals. Joining a voluntary association created a set of obligations, based upon the rules of the association that tied the new member to the group. Very likely most people of the first century would have viewed a newly-planted church in their community as a voluntary association of a religious nature, like ancient writers often viewed synagogues.⁷³

⁷²Ibid., 85.

⁷³For further reading see John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

Voluntary associations provided a means of fulfillment for people's need of honor and recognition.

Officials were common in the associations, and there was a 'positive exuberance' with granting titles to functionaries. Often these officials imitated both the titles and functions of civic officials. Officials were responsible for the sacrifices, banquets and festivals (priests; priestesses), the collection and dispersment of monies (treasurers), and the convening and chairing of meetings (presidents).⁷⁴

Most associations depended upon patrons to take care of any heavy financial burdens. In exchange for their gifts, the patron received honors of various sorts, such as titles, inscriptions, proclamations, etc. Such honors provided the chance for lesser persons to "be somebody" and exercise a certain level of authority.

Mystery Religions

A number of mystery religions arose during the early Roman Empire. They developed out of fertility beliefs of the ancient Near East and spread west. From the time of the church fathers on, both Christians and non-Christians have drawn comparisons between the mystery religions and Christianity. Modern scholars have noted a number of similarities such as addressing Jesus as *kyrios* (Lord), water baptism, and the Lord's Supper, all of which have mystery religion counterparts. Richard Ascough suggests that the common Greco-Roman culture provides the reason for these similar motifs and elements.⁷⁵ There is no reason to believe that the mystery religions provide the source for certain aspects of Paul's theology, as some have suggested, but perhaps a number of

⁷⁴Richard S. Ascough, *What Are They Saying About the Formation of Pauline Churches?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 77.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 70.

Christians took part in various mystery religions before becoming Christians—though no such references exist in the New Testament.

Much of the leadership training in the mystery religions followed the Master-Disciple Pattern. Rengstorf notes that, “the initiate needs the master to introduce him to the mysteries of the god and the cultus in order that he may become a member of the society gathered around the god.”⁷⁶

In summary, all five institutions probably had either direct or indirect impact upon the church. The synagogue provided a very strong influence, especially among Christian communities with many Jewish believers. Among Gentile believers, the household and voluntary associations likely exerted a similarly powerful influence. Christians of Gentile background may have also experienced some measure of influence from the philosophical schools and the mystery religions.

Summary

When God established a covenant with Israel, He made it very clear that He expected His people to walk in His ways. Leaders were expected to play a crucial role in this process, of which Joshua’s declaration in Joshua 24:15, “As for me and my house, we will serve the LORD,” stands as an example. The training of future generations of leaders in the way of the LORD was crucial for Israel’s long-term relationship with God. The Familial Pattern of relationships, the primary method God gave Israel to pass on His ways, most likely also became the primary method used to train new generations of leaders. Scattered evidence of the use of Tutor/Mentor training of leaders and perhaps a case or two of Master-Disciple Pattern exists. Teacher-Student Pattern relationships and

⁷⁶Rengstorf, “*Mathetes*,” 421.

training probably occurred among the upper classes, but not the lower classes. Peer/Team Pattern training can easily be read into a number of situations, but the Old Testament does not draw attention to it.

In the five centuries before the coming of Christ, the Jews found themselves scattered among many nations. Successive waves of conquerors had a profound impact on Jewish culture, but lack of information currently makes it difficult to trace all of these changes. While the priests continued to provide some form of religious leadership, it seems a few wealthy families provided local community leadership in most places among the Diaspora. The development of the synagogue, the origin of which remains an issue of scholarly debate, provided a focus for Jewish social and religious life.

Probably most leadership training among the Jews continued to be carried out in a Familial or Tutor/Mentor Pattern. Until recently it was commonly accepted that rabbinic traditions provide insight into life among the Jews during the Second Temple Period, but that position has recently been called into question. This leaves us with many unanswered questions concerning what role Teacher-Student Pattern relationships played among the Jews. The Jewish people became a part of the Hellenistic world of the eastern Mediterranean, and it is likely that this Greek influence brought widespread use of Master-Disciple Patterns of leadership training.

While Rome provided the political framework for the world of the New Testament, Greek language and culture created its social framework. Much is known about how Greek civilization developed and the changes it went through as it spread across the world. All five relational patterns played a role in leadership development in Hellenism. The lower classes primarily utilized informal education and Familial Pattern

of relationships to develop their children. Schools were commonplace in the first century, and thus Teacher-Student Pattern training in reading, writing, and arithmetic was available for those who could afford it. The children of the upper classes went through a complex web of relationships which provided for their leadership development. Once a child left its mother, a *paidagogos* provided oversight using a Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationship. From about age seven to his mid-teens, a son attended school, where he would have experienced Teacher-Student Pattern relationships. Most young men were then involved in an *ephebia* or *hetaireia* where Peer/Team Pattern relationships further developed their leadership skills. The sons of the highest classes then underwent a Master-Disciple Pattern relationship through which they studied rhetoric, philosophy, or law. In some cases a young man might have received further Tutor/Mentor Pattern training under the tutelage of a well-respected friend of the family before he entered society as an adult.

Scholars have identified five social institutions that may have had direct or indirect impact on the development of the church and its leadership: (1) there is a very clear and natural connection between the synagogue and the Early Church of Jerusalem and elsewhere. Paul frequently preached the gospel in a synagogue first. It seems likely that former synagogue leaders played a crucial foundational role in the establishment of several churches. (2) Most early churches met in someone's house. In fact, it is commonly assumed that most synagogues of the first century also met in houses. The nature of the *oikos* and the importance of the *paterfamilias* thus would have had a major impact on the leadership of the Early Church. (3) Jesus was not the only *didaskalos* who surrounded himself with a group of *mathetes*. Thus the nature of the philosophical

schools and their structure provide a backdrop against which to view how Jesus trained the first generation of church leaders. (4) Voluntary associations were a common feature of urban life of the first century. It is likely that some would have perceived a newly established church in town as merely a new religious voluntary association. These associations provided a way for many to express and develop their leadership abilities. (5) Some have suggested that the mystery religions, whose leaders were often trained using Master-Disciple relationships, may be able to provide insights into how the Early Church functioned.

CHAPTER 3

BIBLICAL-THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE REVIEW (PART 2): LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN THE EARLY CHURCH: FROM JESUS TO PAUL

Jesus and His Disciples

The Gospels and the Book of Acts clearly depict the relationship between Jesus and His disciples as crucial to the establishment of the Church. Jesus invited many to follow Him, and out of that group chose twelve, most of whom went on to become the leaders of the Early Church. For a period of time, traditionally believed to have lasted up to three years, Jesus lived with this group day in and day out. These men had a chance to observe His ministry, see how He lived, and interact with Him on a personal level. After His death, burial, and resurrection, Jesus challenged His disciples to go and make disciples of all nations (Matt. 28:19). The Book of Acts describes how this group then proceeded to carry out Jesus' command, under the power and direction of the Holy Spirit. The Gospels primarily describe the relationship between Jesus and the Twelve as that of a master and His disciples.

The *Didaskalos-Mathetes* Relationship

The terms used in the Gospels to describe the relationship between Jesus and His followers is that of a teacher or master (*didaskalos*) and His disciples (*mathetes*). The *didaskalos-mathetes* relationship had a long history in Greek culture. As used among Greek philosophical schools of Jesus' day, the two necessary elements for a master-

disciple relationship were a group of disciples gathered around a master and a tradition into which the master sought to guide the disciples.¹

Exactly when such relationships started among the Jews is not clear. In his book, *Following the Master*, Michael Wilkins expresses the view that discipleship is a pattern of training with a long history in the Old Testament. He writes concerning discipleship relationships:

Most clearly, discipleship relationships can be observed on three levels: (1) on the national level, in the covenant relationship of Israel and God; (2) on the individual level, in the relationships of certain individuals who followed God; and (3) on the human relationship level, in relationships found within the national life.²

Wilkins uses the relationships of Joshua and Moses, Elisha and Elijah, and Baruch and Jeremiah as examples of discipleship. Conversely, in his treatment of the terms *didaskalos* and *mathetes*, Karl Rengstorf has written that he cannot find any evidence of a master-disciple relationship in the Old Testament:

If the term is missing, so, too, is that which it serves to denote. Apart from the formal relation of teacher and pupil, the OT, unlike the classical Greek world and Hellenism, has no master-disciple relation. Whether among the prophets or the scribes we seek in vain for anything corresponding to it.³

Rengstorf argues the master-disciple relationship appeared among the Jews relatively late under the influence of Hellenism.

While Wilkins may be overreaching and “finding” evidence of discipleship everywhere, Rengstorf’s approach also seems to be flawed. The fact that the Hebrew equivalent to the Greek term *mathetes* is missing in the Old Testament does not mean that

¹Karl H. Rengstorf, “*Mathetes*,” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 4, ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1967), 415-61.

²Michael J. Wilkins, *Following the Master: Discipleship in the Steps of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992), 56-57.

³Rengstorf, “*Didasko Didaskalos*,” vol. 2, 427.

such relationships did not exist. The essence of the relationship is the intent of a master to pass on to a disciple all that he has learned and is able to do. As noted in Chapter 2, no evidence exists that Moses had such a purpose in his relationship with Joshua, but a case can be made for a master-disciple relationship between Elijah and Elisha, since God had revealed to Elijah that Elisha was to be his successor. However, this may be the only such relationship in the Old Testament for which there is clear biblical evidence of a master-disciple relationship. It seems likely, therefore, that master-disciple relationships on the Greek pattern did not constitute a major method used in ancient Israel to train leaders.

How and when the use of master-disciple relationships developed among the Jews is not certain. Such relationships clearly existed by the fourth century A.D., when various rabbinic schools were using this model as their primary method of rabbinic training. Rengstorf argues that the Jewish use of the master-disciple pattern began during the second century B.C. as a response to the danger that Hellenistic culture might destroy Judaism. To combat this, the Jews borrowed the methods used by many of the Greek philosophical schools to perpetuate themselves. They turned Moses into a didaskalos and made their oral traditions into a body of traditions that had been passed down from Moses to that time. This accounted for the origin of the oral traditions, made Judaism more understandable to the Greeks, and set up the Jewish faith in a way that would allow it to compete with the various Greek philosophies of the day.⁴ As noted earlier, a number of scholars have recently called into question the assumption that most of the rabbinic traditions began during the Second Temple Period. Neusner, Sanders, and others want to move the origin of many of the rabbinic traditions to a time after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

⁴Rengstorf, "Mathetes," 438-40.

This issue has an important bearing upon how people in the time of Christ would have understood what Jesus was doing. Because John the Baptist is described as having disciples (Matt. 9:14), the Pharisees are said to have had disciples (Mark 2:18), and the Jews called themselves disciples of Moses (John 9:28), it seems very likely that the rabbinic pattern involving masters with groups of disciples was in existence by Jesus' time. Thus, Rengstorf is right when he writes, "The Gospels make it clear point by point that the relationship between Jesus and the disciples corresponds to that of Rabbinic pupils to their masters and that the crowd treated Him with the respect accorded to teachers."⁵ Jesus would have been seen by the masses as one of many Jewish masters who gathered disciples around himself.

Rengstorf has noted several ways in which the *didaskalos-mathetes* relationship of Jesus and His disciples differed from that of the Greek philosophers and the rabbinic traditions. A primary one involves Jesus' call for personal allegiance by His disciples.

But one can go further and say that Jesus represents something new as compared not merely with the Rabbinate but also with the Greek master after the manner of Socrates. If allegiance to the rabbi has its ultimate source in the Torah which he expounds, the basis of allegiance to Socrates is to be found in the idea which he personally represents. In contrast to both, Jesus binds exclusively to Himself. The rabbi and the Greek philosopher are at one in representing a specific cause. Jesus offers Himself. This obviously gives a completely different turn to the whole relation of the disciples to Him.⁶

Although Jesus taught His disciples, these teachings were secondary to Jesus himself.

After He had returned to the Father, the primary task of the Twelve was to bear witness to Jesus' resurrection and to what that meant for mankind.

⁵Rengstorf, "Didasko Didaskalos," 153.

⁶Rengstorf, "Mathetes," 447.

The Twelve Disciples Jesus Chose

Many different kinds of people followed after Jesus and expressed interest in His teachings. Some of them, men like Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, could have given His ministry a certain level of respectability in the eyes of the religious establishment. But instead of choosing such men, Jesus made up His inner circle from those people that Jewish society would neither look up to nor approve of as potential leaders for a new religious organization. Peter, James, and John were fishermen. Simon was a Zealot, a political reactionary. Matthew was a tax collector, hardly the kind of person any self-respecting *didaskalos* would want to accompany him.

The Gospels present all those called by Jesus to join His inner circle as mature men, already engaged in various secular occupations when Jesus called them. Probably most, if not all, were married and had children. None appear to be youths, the time when, according to later rabbinic traditions, most young men would seek a *didaskalos* to instruct them in preparation for the life of a rabbi. Although taught Torah by their fathers from a young age, as was the tradition of the time, apparently none had more than a basic formal education. When the leaders of Jewish society examined Peter and John, they concluded that, “they were unschooled, ordinary men” (Acts 4:13). This meant that they lacked any of the higher education expected of those who sought to be religious leaders, and that they had not “sat at the feet” of any well-renowned teacher, as Paul had done under Gamaliel.⁷ The only *didaskalos* Peter and John had sat under was Jesus, who himself was considered an outsider and a self-schooled master (John 7:15).

⁷F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of Acts: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954), 94-95.

Jesus' Training of His Disciples

The disciples of Jesus formed three concentric circles around the Master. At the outer edge was a great multitude of unknown number, attracted to the teachings of Jesus and following Him whenever convenient. Their understanding of Jesus and His mission was limited, and many turned away from Him when His teachings became difficult for them to accept (John 6:66). An unknown but much smaller number followed Jesus around on a regular basis (Mark 2:15). The personal closeness required by a master-disciple relationship led Jesus to choose twelve men out of this second group who He also called Apostles. These Twelve followed Jesus everywhere; they ate and slept with Jesus and observed His ministry on all levels. Peter, James, and John formed an inner circle of three that received special attention from Jesus from time to time. Later in His ministry, as an extension of the group of Twelve, Jesus commissioned a group of seventy-two (Luke 10:1). It is unclear what happened to this larger group, but many may have been among the 120 that gathered in Jerusalem after Christ's ascension, forming the foundation of the church in Jerusalem.

The Gospels focus on the teachings and the miracles of Jesus rather than furnishing details concerning the way Jesus prepared the Twelve for their future leadership positions in establishing the Church. This makes it difficult to describe with any assurance the approach used by Jesus in training His disciples. The methods and principles used by Jesus to train His disciples have, however, been the subject of a number of studies, three of which are briefly summarized below.⁸ In the classification

⁸Besides the authors mentioned later in this section, see also: Alexander Balmain Bruce, *The Training of the Twelve* (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Sons, 1894), Colin Kruse, *New Testament Models for Ministry, Jesus and Paul* (Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, 1983), Richard N. Longenecker, *Patterns of Discipleship in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996), John F.

system used in this paper, the pattern of leadership training employed by Jesus with the Twelve would be the Master-Disciple Pattern, while the relationship with the larger body of disciples was more of a Teacher-Student Pattern, though not in a formal way.

Carl Wilson believes he can identify a pattern or program of seven steps Jesus used, first with the Twelve, and then with the seventy-two:

It is my conviction that Jesus and His apostles had a program for about three and a half years that formed the foundation for future growth to maturity and for the basic skills for carrying out a ministry [italics in original]. After that they were ready to have a ministry of their own under the guidance and power of the Holy Spirit.⁹

In those three years He taught the original twelve disciples all He wanted them to know and began repeating these teachings over and over again several times to other new groups of followers. The disciples would have intuitively used the same approach with new converts in building their own disciples as Jesus used them with the Seventy.¹⁰

According to Carl Wilson, this pattern of teaching established by Jesus continued to be used by the Early Church during those crucial first years. At the end of this pattern the believer, though not totally mature, had the tools necessary to keep on growing. Wilson suggests Barnabas taught Paul in this pattern, and Paul would have in turn used it with those he led to the Lord. Thus, many of the leaders of the first-century church received discipleship training using the same pattern of teaching and methods as that used by Jesus with the Twelve. These steps are not a mechanical, rigid formula, but an “outline

O’Grady, *Disciples and Leaders: The Origins of Christian Ministry in the New Testament* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), Fernando F. Segovia, ed., *Discipleship in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), Michael J. Wilkins, *Following the Master: Discipleship in the Steps of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Co., 1992), and Michael J. Wilkins, *Discipleship in the Ancient World and Matthew’s Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1995).

⁹Carl W. Wilson, *With Christ in the School of Disciple Building* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Co., 1976), 60.

¹⁰Ibid., 69

of the normal development that most of His men were led through.”¹¹ Wilson defines these seven steps as follows: (1) repentance and faith, (2) enlightenment and guidance, (3) ministry training and appreciation of benefits, (4) leadership development and government under God, (5) reevaluation and separating, (6) participation and delegation, and (7) exchanged life and worldwide challenge.¹² While admitting his seven steps are artificial, Wilson believes that Jesus had a basic pattern and a set of teachings that He repeated in the same order for all the disciples.

Bill Hull has also developed a discipleship and local church leadership development plan based on the way Jesus related to the disciples in the Gospels.¹³ He writes concerning Jesus’ approach:

When Jesus told the disciples to go and make disciples of all nations, they knew what He meant: He had taught them by His example, and they understood the principles and priorities they had seen in His behavior. They were to win others to the faith and make more of what they were. Jesus modeled both a strategy and a life-style....Some have tried to argue that Jesus had no intentional strategy. “You must be reading a different Bible from mine,” I reply. If anything shows clearly in the Gospels, it is that Jesus was a man with a plan, priorities, and a goal.¹⁴

Bill Hull has organized his understanding of Jesus’ discipleship strategy around four different invitations issued by Jesus:¹⁵

1. John 1:38-39: “Come and See.” This initial invitation, extended to the crowds, allowed those who responded to observe and see what Jesus was all about.

¹¹Ibid., 73.

¹²Ibid., 66.

¹³For further details of his approach, see the following books written by Bill Hull: *The Disciple Making Pastor* (Old Tappan, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell, 1988), *The Disciple Making Church* (Old Tappan, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell, 1990), and *New Century Disciplemaking: Applying Jesus’ Ideas for the Future* (Grand Rapids: Fleming H. Revell, 1984).

¹⁴Hull, *The Disciple Making Church*, 22.

¹⁵Ibid., 21-22.

2. Mark 1:16-20: “Come and Follow Me.” In this developmental stage, new disciples were established in the basics and began the process of spiritual growth. Spiritual development at this stage qualified an individual to be considered for an invitation to join the future leaders-to-be of stage three.

3. Matthew 9:37-38: “Come and Be with Me.” Jesus extended this invitation only to the Twelve. As they continued to grow and develop, they participated with Jesus as He performed His ministry.

4. John 15:7-8: “Remain in Me.” Jesus finally released His disciples, under the direction of the Holy Spirit, to go and make more disciples.¹⁶

Like Wilson, Hull has crafted a very detailed approach to discipleship and leadership development. Unlike Wilson, who believes the focus of Jesus’ method for the development of the Twelve was a program built around a set of teachings, Hull believes the key to Jesus’ development of the Twelve consisted simply of His relationship with them. Hull writes, “*Choose people as your method* [italics in original]. Jesus’ ministry centered around the training and building of disciples.”¹⁷ He encourages the pastors of today to emulate the methods used by Jesus and make discipleship the bedrock of the local church rather than various church programs.¹⁸ For Hull, the key to healthy churches is neither teaching, nor certain programs, but people and relationships.

¹⁶For a fuller treatment of the four phases and how Bill Hull has worked them out in the practical environment of his local church, see *his New Century Disciplemaking*.

¹⁷Hull, *New Century Disciplemaking*, 59.

¹⁸Hull, 10-13.

Robert Coleman has also been a strong advocate for a return to the pattern of discipleship training used by Jesus. Coleman's approach resembles Hull's. He prefers to stress the unstructured nature of Jesus' approach:

Having called His men, Jesus made it a practice to be with them. This was the essence of His training program—just letting His disciples follow Him. When one stops to think about it, this was an incredibly simple way of doing it. Jesus had no formal school, no Seminaries, no outlined course of study, no periodic membership classes in which He enrolled His followers. None of these highly organized procedures considered so necessary today entered at all into His ministry. Amazing as it may seem, all Jesus did to teach these men His way was to draw them close to Himself. He was His own school and curriculum.¹⁹

As Jesus came to the end of His time with the Twelve, He attempted to show them that what He had really been doing was preparing them for the role of leadership in the Church.

Without any fanfare and unnoticed by the world, Jesus was saying that He had been training men to be His witnesses after He was gone, and His method of doing it was simply by being “with them.” Indeed, as He said on another occasion, it was because they had “continued with” Him in His temptations that they were appointed to be leaders in His eternal Kingdom.²⁰

Building men is not that easy. It requires constant personal attention, much like a father gives to His children. This is something that no organization or class can ever do. Children are not raised by proxy. The example of Jesus would teach us that it can only be done by persons staying right with those they seek to lead.²¹

The treatment of discipleship by Coleman—his stress on the unstructured nature of it—is probably closer to the truth than Wilson.

In summary, Coleman and Hull have argued convincingly that the relationships Jesus established with His disciples provide the key to understanding how Jesus prepared

¹⁹Robert Emerson Coleman, *The Master Plan of Evangelism* (Old Tappan, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1964), 38.

²⁰Robert Emerson Coleman, *The Master Plan of Discipleship* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1987), 44.

²¹*Ibid.*, 47.

them for their future ministry. While the teachings of Jesus were important, they were secondary to the relationship the disciples enjoyed with their Master. Through His relationship with the Twelve, Jesus communicated His passion, His teachings, His way of life, and most significantly, His mission. The Twelve, having been profoundly touched by their Master, then sought to share with others what He had shared with them, thus fulfilling Christ's command to, "Go and make disciples of all nations" (Matt. 28:19).

Views on Discipleship and Its Importance for Today

A crucial part of the mission of the Church is the discipling of those who respond to the gospel (Matt. 28:19-20). Discipleship formed a crucial aspect of leadership development for the Early Church as Jesus viewed discipleship and leadership development as closely intertwined. How does Jesus expect the church of today to understand His command to "make disciples of all nations," and what impact should that have on leadership development? Gary Tangeman writes, "During the past twenty-five years a virtual flood of material dealing with the subject of discipleship has swept over the church, creating a certain amount of confusion and misunderstanding among believers."²² In an attempt to bring clarity to the meaning of discipleship for the church of today, Tangeman has grouped the various modern opinions on this issue into five views, summarized below.

²²Gary E. Tangeman, *The Disciple-Making Church* (Fort Washington, Penn.: Christian Literature Crusade, 1996), 30.

1. A disciple is a learner. This view takes the word *mathetes* at its most basic meaning. The person may not even be saved, but is merely interested in learning more of Jesus' teaching.²³

2. A disciple is a Christian. According to this popular view, these two words are synonymous. All believers become disciples at the point of their conversion.

Tangeman cites James Boice as a supporter of this view.²⁴

3. A disciple is a more committed believer. Tangeman labels Dwight Pentecost, Leroy Eims, and Walter Henrichsen as supporters of this view. The Church is seen as consisting of two groups of people: ordinary believers and disciples.²⁵

4. A disciple is one called to full-time ministry. This view stresses the traditional clergy-laity divide and reserves the term "disciple" for those called to train and serve others.²⁶

5. A disciple is a Christian who may also be a leader. Tangeman supports this view along with A. B. Bruce and Michael Wilkins.²⁷ It is similar to the second view but differs in that disciples are seen as divisible into three categories—believers who occasionally follow Jesus, full-time followers, and leaders-in-training—all of which qualify as disciples. Tangeman writes, "In essence, we are saying that a disciple is involved in a lifelong process of becoming like Jesus. He

²³Ibid., 32.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., 33.

²⁶Ibid., 34-35.

²⁷Ibid., 35-36.

or she is a learner, yes. He or she is a follower, yes. But the person may or may not happen to be a leader.”²⁸

The last option seems to represent best what Jesus meant by the Great Commission. Jesus invited many to follow Him; some did part-time and some did full-time. All were expected to pattern their lives after His teachings. Jesus then chose His inner core of Twelve from those who had made that deeper commitment (Mark 3:13-14; Luke 6:13). Thus, the commitment to follow Jesus as a disciple preceded a call to serve the Church as a leader.

Dallas Willard makes an interesting point regarding the nature of the discipling process in his book, *The Divine Conspiracy*. He notes that there is a frequently overlooked step between knowing and doing:

And here is one of those points where the educational practices that have developed in our society deeply injure our souls and impede the coming of the kingdom into our lives. In our culture one is considered educated if one ‘knows the right answers.’ That is, if one knows which answers are the correct ones. I sometimes joke with my students at the university where I teach by asking them if they believe what they wrote on their tests. They always laugh. They know belief is not required. Belief only controls your life.²⁹

Knowing what Jesus taught is not enough. Jesus expected obedience from His disciples, but people cannot be expected to obey teachings in which they do not believe. How would Jesus have responded to a disciple who wanted to know the traditions Jesus was teaching but showed no commitment to believing or practicing them? Certainly He would have sent such a person away.

²⁸Ibid., 36.

²⁹Dallas Willard, *The Divine Conspiracy: Rediscovering Our Hidden Life in God* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1998), 317.

Jesus further realized that the training of leaders cannot be mass produced. While continuing to teach the multitudes, He deliberately chose certain men who were to become the foundational leaders of the Church and invested considerable time with them in a Master-Disciple Pattern relationship. The Teacher-Student Pattern relationship could not completely equip those expected to lead the Church following His return to the Father, for while this pattern of relationship is excellent at passing on information, the distance between the senior and junior partners makes it difficult to pass on skills or perform necessary tasks, such as shaping the student's character.

Summary

The relationship between Jesus and His disciples was crucial to the establishment of the Church and the fulfillment of its mission. The two terms most often used in the Gospels to describe this relationship, that of a *didaskalos* and his *mathetes*, had a rich heritage in the language and culture of Greece. While using these terms, Jesus redefined them by making himself the basis of the relationship and not a certain body of traditions, such as was the pattern of both the Greek philosophers and Jewish Rabbis. Another distinction was Jesus' choice of the Twelve. The normal pattern of the day was for a disciple to choose a *didaskalos* rather than for a *didaskalos* to choose his *mathetes*. The men Jesus chose possessed none of the characteristics a religious *didaskalos* might hope to find in a *mathetes*. Jesus' Twelve were older individuals who already had an occupation and probably also had families to support. In choosing the Twelve, Jesus passed over many with wealth and religious leadership status, such as Nicodemus (John 3), Joseph of Arimathea (Matt. 27:57), and Jairus (Luke 8:40-56), all of whom could have given the ministry of Jesus a certain air of respectability.

Hull and Coleman have noted how Jesus established a strong, loving relationship with the Twelve. The Gospels, by focusing on the teachings and works of Jesus, describe the content of what Jesus communicated to His disciples, but not the method He used. The close bond Jesus and the Twelve enjoyed became the means by which Jesus' passion and determination to fulfill the Father's work were communicated to His disciples. This energized the Twelve and enabled them to stand firm in the face of the tremendous opposition they later faced.

During the past two thousand years the Church often either ignored or forgot about Jesus' method of making disciples. Recently this has changed, with numerous church leaders now seeking to make discipleship the key activity of the local church. But there are widely differing understandings concerning the nature of discipleship and also how to integrate the Great Commission into the activities of local churches today. While discipleship and leadership development may not be identical, they are closely related. It is important to note that Jesus used a *didaskalos-mathetes* relationship as His primary means of preparing the Twelve for their leadership positions in the Early Church.

Leadership of the Church in Jerusalem

The New Testament depicts leadership as tightly bound to the concepts of the Church and its mission. Through His disciples, Jesus had established a new community and had given that community the mission of continuing His work. The way the Gospels and Acts state this mission varies somewhat (Matt. 28:19-20; Luke 24:46-49; Acts 1:8), but it can be said to consist of preaching forgiveness of sins in Jesus' name, bearing witness to His resurrection and ascension to the Father, and the adding of those who receive this message into the community of disciples. Jesus further declared that this

mission should be carried out in all nations until He returns. Thus, the New Testament depicts leadership as primarily existing to help the Church carry out its mission; leadership is not treated in isolation.

It is also apparent that the Church went through major shifts in its understanding of leadership, mission, and the nature of the Christian community during the first few decades of the Church's existence. The first-century Church of the seventies differed greatly from the first-century Church of the thirties. The scope of the Church's mission shifted from a focus on the establishment of a community in Jerusalem among Jews to a community of communities, made up of numerous ethnic groups scattered over the eastern half of the Roman Empire and areas to the east. As the Church grew in size and complexity, and as the wait for Jesus' return stretched into decades, the need for further development and differentiation of church leadership became apparent. By the end of that period, at least some local churches had overseers and deacons, and an unknown number of itinerant leaders with various spiritual gifts were traveling from church to church.³⁰

Leadership Under the Apostles (Acts 1-11)

Luke's account in the Book of Acts seeks to show how the Early Church succeeded in continuing the work of Jesus under the direction and empowerment of the Holy Spirit. The Church in Acts 1 began as a group of about 120 disciples. The eleven remaining disciples of the Twelve, as the ones Jesus had picked to carry on His mission and as the ones who had been closest to Him, were the ones giving leadership to this group. Ladd

³⁰Paul and his band of followers would fit here, as well as Demetrius (3 John 12), Apollos (1 Corinthians 3), and many others.

makes the following comments concerning the nature of the post-Pentecost Church and its leadership:

The earliest ekklesia consisted of a free fellowship of Jewish believers who had in no way broken with Judaism, who continued in Jewish religious practices and worship....Their only leaders were the apostles, whose authority was apparently spiritual but not legal. There was no organization and no appointed leaders. The ekklesia was not what it is today: an organized institution. It was a small, open fellowship of Jews within Judaism. Of the twelve, three—Peter, James and John—filled a role of prominence as leaders over the other nine (Acts 1:13).³¹

But as the Church began to grow, the Twelve found themselves hard pressed to meet all the needs of the expanding community, thus necessitating an expansion in the Church's leadership base.

The Apostles

One of the first orders of business involved finding a replacement for Judas in order to bring the Apostles' number back to twelve. The primary criterion for Judas' replacement was that this person must have been with Jesus from the time of His baptism through the ascension, so he could stand with the others as a witness of Jesus (Acts 1:22). Bruce notes that it was Jesus who chose Judas' successor through the casting of lots.³² Manuel Miguens further observes that because there was no ordination or laying on of hands following Matthias' selection, he could stand beside the other Apostles as an equal.³³

³¹George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993), 388.

³²Bruce, 51.

³³Manuel Miguens, *Church Ministries in New Testament Times* (Arlington, Va.: Christian Culture Press, 1976), 19-21.

Once constituted, these Twelve were unique. Others would later bear the ascription of apostle in the New Testament,³⁴ but since they had not enjoyed a close relationship with Jesus “the whole time the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from John’s baptism to the time when Jesus was taken up from us” (Acts 1:21-22), they could not have been considered on par with the Twelve. When James died, there was no attempt to find his replacement. Thus, the Twelve played a special, unique role in bearing witness to the teachings and resurrection of Jesus, but that role ceased with their deaths.³⁵ Considerable scholarly discussion has taken place concerning the origin and nature of first-century apostleship and how the Twelve related to the other apostles mentioned in the New Testament, but space does not permit full consideration of those arguments here.³⁶

The pertinent question for this study is what role did the Twelve and the other apostles play in the leadership of local churches during the first few decades of the Church’s history? Was every local church expected to have its own apostle(s)? Concerning the relationship between apostles and local church leadership, Rengstorf writes, “According to Paul the *apostoloi* (1 C. 12:28f.) are not officials of the congregation, let alone the chief of such officials; they are the officers of Christ by whom

³⁴This group includes Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14:14), Andronicus and Junias (Rom. 16:7), and James, the half-brother of Jesus (Gal. 1:19).

³⁵Bruce, 52.

³⁶For various views on apostleship see: Francis H. Agnew, “The Origin of the New Testament Apostle-Concept: A Review of Research,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 105 (1986):75-96, John J. Burkhard, *Apostolicity Then And Now: An Ecumenical Church in a Postmodern World* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2004), Hans von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, J. A. Baker (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1969), Kenneth E. Kirk, *The Apostolic Ministry* (London: Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., 1946), and Walter Schmithals, *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church*, trans. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1969).

the Church is built.”³⁷ In a similar vein, Robinson states, “As the foundation pillars they [the Twelve] spoke with authority, but it was an authority that sought to bring out and develop the local ministry.”³⁸ Thus, the Twelve and the other apostles often played a crucial role in the establishment of local churches³⁹ and perhaps in setting up local church leadership, but they were not a part of that leadership. James may have been the only exception to this generalization. A study of the applicable New Testament passages has led me to the belief that Rengstorf and Robinson are correct—apostles were not an expected part of local church leadership. Once a church was established, with local leadership installed, the apostle(s)’ work was basically finished.

Who Assisted the Apostles?

According to Acts 4:4 five thousand men plus an uncounted number of women and children comprised the church in Jerusalem. How did the Apostles manage to take care of so many? Did they have anyone to help them? How were these several thousand believers organized?

Surprisingly, little is said about the activities of the Twelve. Peter figures prominently in the first few chapters of Acts, with brief vignettes concerning John and the death of James, but otherwise the Twelve only appear as a group at certain key points. Presumably they were busy doing what Jesus had commanded them: bearing witness to Him as Messiah, sharing the gospel, and making disciples of those who responded. The

³⁷Rengstorf, “*Apostolos*,” vol. 1, 423.

³⁸W. C. Robinson, “Apostle,” in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia. Fully Revised*, vol. 1, ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1979), 195.

³⁹Michael Green, *Thirty Years That Changed the World: The Book of Acts for Today* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004), 208.

priority of the Apostles during those first crucial years was to turn new believers into disciples, using the same discipleship pattern Jesus had used with them. Such discipleship training, following a Master-Disciple Pattern as taught to them by Jesus, is a painstaking process requiring a master willing to spend tremendous amounts of personal one-on-one and small-group time with other people.⁴⁰ If someone could have visited the Twelve during those days, they would probably have found them carrying on the work of the ministry in Jerusalem, in the company of a few disciples who perhaps were leaders-in-training, modeling the life of a disciple for others, just as Jesus had modeled it for them.⁴¹ Many of the rest of that band of 120 believers who joined the Twelve following Jesus' ascension must have been assisting them. They remain unnamed, but as those who had in many cases followed Jesus around personally listening to His teachings, they would have served as able assistants to carry on the work of making more disciples. It must be assumed that Stephen, Philip, Barnabas, and many others were available to share in various responsibilities when needed.

Likely, Early Church leadership was primarily functional rather than official or positional. Fee writes concerning Paul's use of *episkopos* in Philippians 1:1: "...as with all his designations of church leaders, it first of all denotes a 'function,' rather than an 'office.'"⁴² Rengstorf, in his discussion of the nature of apostleship, concludes that the Twelve viewed their position as a commission and not as an office.⁴³ Though the Twelve

⁴⁰Wilkins, 279-80.

⁴¹Leroy Eims, *The Lost Art of Disciple Making* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Co., 1978), 42-43.

⁴²Gordon D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995), 68.

⁴³Rengstorf, "Apostolos," 427.

are the only ones mentioned as carrying a title before the selection of the Seven in Acts 6, that does not mean they were the only ones performing leadership duties.

A question closely related to who assisted the Apostles is, where did all those believers meet? Acts 2:46 states that the believers were meeting in the temple courts and also in homes where they broke bread together. If the Early Church followed the practice of the synagogues of the day, wealthier members of the Christian community would have opened their larger homes to other believers. The heads of those households, seen as leaders in society due to their public position and wealth, would very naturally have become the leaders of the church in some sense. Joseph, whose nickname was Barnabas, was obviously one of these wealthy leaders (Acts 4:36). Mary, the mother of John Mark and a close relative of Barnabas, was also a person of some substance and had a large home used frequently for Christian meetings.⁴⁴

Though Luke does not provide any details, it is very likely that the Apostles and others of the original 120 were able to train hundreds of leaders in a relatively short period of time using either a Master-Disciple or a Mentor/Tutor Pattern. Thus, it must not be assumed that the Twelve were alone in carrying out all the leadership functions during those first few years. Doubtless a large group assisted them, and that number was soon augmented by others as more and more disciples were trained.

The Seven

In Acts 6 the Church faced a major crisis over perceived differences in the way the widows of the Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking Jews were being handled. The

⁴⁴Acts 12:12. It is interesting that Peter came here directly from prison and found many gathered, which indicates it was a well known Christian meeting place and also one of considerable size.

handling of this crisis provides several insights into the way the community was functioning. The Apostles did not seek to assert their authority, but rather brought the problem to the community with a proposed solution. The Twelve suggested that the community choose seven men to handle this responsibility so that the Apostles could be freed to concentrate on the ministry of the Word of God, a solution which the community accepted. Though the Apostles set the criteria that these seven servants of the church must meet, the choice was left up to the people. The Twelve received those selected, ratified the choice of the community, and set them apart for this ministry by the laying on of hands.

C. K. Barrett makes the following comment on the selection of the Seven: “It is however probably true that the story embodies the method of appointing ministers that was familiar to Luke himself: popular choice, approval by those already ministers, and the laying on of hands.”⁴⁵ Luke evidently expected his readers to conclude this procedure was the established church practice for selection of local church leaders, a practice followed elsewhere, including those churches established by Paul (Acts 14:32).

Many scholars take the Seven of Acts 6 to be deacons, but most scholars disagree and believe the office of deacon actually developed much later. Barrett writes, “It is easy, and correct, to say that it was not Luke’s intention here to describe the origin of the order of deacons.”⁴⁶ F. F. Bruce notes that the Greek noun *diakonos* is not used here, but instead Luke uses the cognate noun *diakonia* and the verb *diakoneo*.⁴⁷

⁴⁵C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles in Two Volumes* (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), vol. 1, 304.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 304.

⁴⁷Bruce, 130.

Probably the Seven had already surfaced as leaders in the eyes of the community prior to their selection, and Luke simply uses this event as an opportunity to introduce them in his narrative. The actions of Stephen and Philip now occupy the next two chapters. Though Luke does not make the point, it is likely that Stephen's confrontation with non-believing Jews and Philip's taking the gospel to the Samaritans were the result of their Hellenistic background.

Following the death of Stephen, the disciples were scattered throughout Judea and Samaria, taking the gospel with them and planting churches wherever they went. Some scholars, such as F. F. Bruce,⁴⁸ believe the Greek-speaking Hellenistic believers were specifically targeted by this persecution and the Aramaic-speaking believers largely left alone. While Luke focuses on the church planted in a city of Samaria, it is likely that a number of communities of disciples were planted at the same time elsewhere. Luke comes back to Jerusalem in his narrative from time to time, but the real growth of the Church from now on takes place elsewhere.

Leadership Under James (Acts 12-23)

In Acts 12 the Apostle James was put to death by Herod Agrippa I, and Peter narrowly escaped the same fate. After being freed by an angel, Peter fled the city. Sometime after this event, James, the half-brother of Jesus, emerged as the leader of the Jerusalem church. While the "apostles and elders" are said to be in Jerusalem in Acts 15 for the Council, it seems likely that this was only a visit and not a return to the condition of Acts 1-8, when all the Apostles were headquartered there. When Paul visited Jerusalem in Acts 21, he only found James and a group of elders.

⁴⁸Ibid., 174.

James

James, the half-brother of Jesus (Matt. 13:55), had not accepted Jesus' ministry until he witnessed a personal post-resurrection appearance (1 Cor. 15:7). He was probably one of the unnamed 120 believers who met in Jerusalem awaiting the coming of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:14). He next surfaces in Acts 12:17 as the one Peter specifically singled out to be told about his miraculous escape from jail. By that time James was a prominent leader of the Jerusalem church. At the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 he played a key role in the agreement reached regarding the issue of how much of the Law the Gentile believers needed to follow. The picture of the church in Jerusalem given by Luke in Acts 21 is fascinating. At that time, under the leadership of James, the Jerusalem church had achieved great success in winning thousands of Jews over to their side by apparently maintaining a strict attitude towards observance of the Law (Acts 21:20). James was well regarded by many in the Jewish community which, according to Eusebius, earned him the name, "James the Just."⁴⁹

The Elders of the Church in Jerusalem

Peter was forced to flee from Jerusalem following the death of James, and by the time of the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15, James and a group of elders were depicted as the leaders of the church there. Previously, in Acts 11:30, the church in Antioch had sent assistance for the brothers in Judea to the elders who presumably were in Jerusalem. In Acts 21:18 Paul met with James and all the elders. Who were these elders? How did they come to be the leaders of the church in Jerusalem? And how did they come to replace the

⁴⁹John Painter, *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 1.

Apostles? While the answers to these questions do not appear in the New Testament, perhaps the history and culture of the period can provide insights concerning the events of this crucial time.

For more than a century scholars have assumed that sometime around A.D. 40 the church in Jerusalem created the position of elder, following the pattern of the Jews, and that as the Apostles left Jerusalem this body of elders took over leadership of the church. As the leader of the elders, James naturally became the leader of the church once Peter left.⁵⁰ However, R. A. Campbell argues convincingly that the term “elders” in Acts does not refer to an office but rather was a term of respect and honor used of the leaders of society among the Jews.

Clearly the primary meaning of *presbyteros* is “old man,”⁵¹ but Bornkamm and others have assumed that in many situations it refers to an office. Bornkamm writes, “The peculiar problem of the use of *presbuteros* in Judaism and Christianity arises out of the twofold meaning of the word, which can be employed both as a designation of age and also as a title of office.”⁵² Campbell has made a strong case that the second meaning almost never occurs, and that in almost every use of the word in Greek in early Judaism it can better be understood as an honorific collective noun, used of the group of elderly men due respect and honor because of their wisdom and status in society:

Were the elders holders of an office? The answer must surely be No. Whether we look at the history of ancient Israel or the political life of early Judaism, at the

⁵⁰This was the view of J.B. Lightfoot in *The Christian Ministry* (London: Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis, Ltd., 1927) a view which has been followed by many since.

⁵¹Gunther Bornkamm, “*Presbus, Presbuteros,*” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 6, ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1985), 652.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 654.

nation as a whole or the life of a town or village within it, the answer is the same. The elders are the senior men of the community, heads of the leading families within it, who as such exercise an authority that is informal, representative and collective....and for most Jewish people in our period it was a term more commonly associated with what we would call the 'civic' community.⁵³

The Greeks had a similar concept, but instead of *presbyteroi*, they used the terms *gerontes* or *gerousia*. Campbell notes that to the Greeks, "*Hoi presbyteroi* connoted rather a class of person to whom respect was instinctively felt to be due, not so much the leaders of the state or town, but one's own elders within family, clan or acquaintance."⁵⁴

Based upon the work of Campbell it seems that, unless there is evidence to the contrary, elders should be taken as a reference to the group of traditional Jewish community leaders and not to people who hold an office. This would mean that the elders referred to in Acts 11, 15, and 21 constituted the natural leaders of the various house churches in Jerusalem, the ones everyone looked up to and respected. These people would logically be called together for significant discussions, such as in Acts 15, over what part of the Law Gentile believers must keep. Peter was probably the most respected elder in this body and therefore led it as a "first among equals" in much the same way Peter seems to have led the Apostles.

Peter and James both mention elders. James 5:14 reads, "Is anyone of you sick? He should call the elders of the church to pray over him and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord." In 1 Peter 5:1-4, Peter addresses the leaders of the churches to whom he wrote as "elders." He describes himself as a fellow elder and seeks to encourage them to "be shepherds of God's flock that is under your care, serving as overseers." Both of

⁵³R. Alastair Campbell, *The Elders: Seniority Within Earliest Christianity* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd., 1994), 65.

⁵⁴Ibid., 95.

these passages are in keeping with the understanding of elders as traditional community leaders and not as people who hold an office. As depicted by Peter and James, the local church had a group of leaders called “elders,” responsible for the spiritual oversight of the community, but neither passage gives a clue as to how this group came into their leadership role. It is as if the situation was so normal and expected that there was no need to discuss it further.

Summary

The church in Jerusalem was in many respects a part of Judaism of that day. It seems to have become a sect whose distinctive belief was that Jesus was the Messiah, with a collection of synagogue/house churches around the Jerusalem area organized in a fashion similar to that of other sects during that time. By Acts 21 the Jerusalem church had made peace with the other Jewish groups and had achieved a certain air of respectability (Acts 21:20).

It seems safe to presume that the leadership pattern of the Jerusalem church resembled that of other Jewish groups, with each synagogue/house church having its own leader(s). There was probably a fair amount of flexibility, with each house church having a slightly different pattern that would have also changed over time. Age, patronage, and the honor or respect people received from others were likely the key factors determining who was seen as the leader(s) of a local house church. Presumably the senior leader of a local house church was a man or woman⁵⁵ of some age and status in the community. In most cases it is likely that the house church the elder led also met in his or her house. The

⁵⁵Mary the mother of John Mark had a group meeting in her house (Acts 12:12) and very likely may have been considered a house church leader in some sense.

leaders of the various house churches would gather together periodically to make decisions that affected the entire community, and when they did so, they were “the elders” of the church in Jerusalem. There is no mention of any official titles or offices in the Jerusalem church, though such titles were a common feature of the patron-client culture of the day among both Hellenists and Jews.⁵⁶ This may be a reflection of Jesus’ condemnation of the use of titles.⁵⁷

Assuming the above scenario is correct, the church in Jerusalem would not have had any formal program or school whereby future leaders were trained. Based on the command of Jesus (Matt. 28:19-20), one would expect that everyone, including future leaders, would have received some form of discipleship training shortly after conversion, which would have followed a Master-Disciple Pattern. For those recognized as leaders, this presumably would have been followed up by some form of Master-Disciple Pattern leadership training. It is likely that among the church leaders there may have been some informal Peer/Team Pattern interaction going on as well. Together these leaders were going down a road that no one had ever traveled before. They had the Holy Spirit and they had each other, but there was no lengthy history of traditions or decisions of the church in the past to appeal to for guidance.

In addition to these patterns, which would have been carried on church-wide, those house church leaders who were the sons of wealthy families would have likely received an education in keeping with the practices of the day. On the lower level, that

⁵⁶See the list of known synagogue offices in the section on the synagogue in chapter two.

⁵⁷See Matthew 23:5-11 and Dennis C. Duling’s comments in “The Matthean Brotherhood and Marginal Scribal Leadership,” in *Modeling Early Christianity: Social-Scientific Studies of the New Testament in Its Context*, ed. Philip F. Esler (New York: Routledge, 1995).

education would have been either with a *paidagogos* and/or a Teacher-Student Pattern. In some cases, this education would have been followed by training in rhetoric, philosophy, or rabbinic studies under the tutelage of a master in a Master-Disciple Pattern, as was the case with Paul. Throughout his life the young man would have observed his father and other close family members as they carried out their leadership roles and responsibilities in the community, training which would fit the Familial Pattern.

Leadership of the Church in Antioch

Following the death of Stephen, Luke first traces the spread of the church to Samaria, where a group of half-Jews became believers. After relating the story of the conversion of Saul, he then deals with the encounter between Peter and Cornelius and its fallout. This sets the stage for a momentous event, the establishment of a predominantly Gentile church in the third biggest city of the Roman Empire—Antioch.

The Origin of the Church in Antioch

Unnamed disciples who fled Jerusalem following Stephen's death preached to the Greeks of that city, many of whom responded. When word of this reached the Jerusalem church they sent Barnabas to investigate what was happening. Barnabas was excited about what he saw and stayed on to give direction to the church.

As reconstructed by Hengel and Schwemer, several factors contributed to a unique situation in Antioch. Though Antioch had over 30,000 Jews, they were scattered throughout the population of the city rather than concentrated in a certain quarter, as were the Jews of Rome and Alexandria. Josephus wrote of how the establishment of

synagogues in the city had attracted a number of Greeks to Judaism,⁵⁸ creating a situation which made it easy for the Hellenistic believers fleeing from Jerusalem to preach to Greeks. Apparently the Hellenistic believers did not make direct contact with one synagogue community, “but developed their activity on the periphery of several synagogues.”⁵⁹ As a result, a community developed in which Jewish and Gentile believers mixed as equals on a common footing outside the bonds of circumcision and a strict understanding of the Law. This, plus a tension between Greeks and Jews during A.D. 38 to 41, led to the creation of an identity for the fledgling community which was separate from Judaism, and the first instance in which believers were called “Christians.”

Barnabas and Paul

Barnabas realized he needed help and sought out Saul of Tarsus, who he had previously met in Jerusalem. The close ministry relationship between these two lasted for almost a decade before it split over whether to give John Mark a second chance (Acts 15:37-39). Hengel considers this relationship a crucial one for the history of the Church, with both leaders influencing the other in profound ways.⁶⁰

Barnabas’ influence on Paul likely extended to some mentoring and/or discipling in the ways of Jesus. The New Testament is clear about Paul’s conversion and subsequent call to carry the gospel to the Gentiles, but what is not so clear is when and by whom was Paul taught concerning the teachings of Jesus? In other words, who was involved in the discipling of Paul? At this point there were no written accounts of Jesus’ life and

⁵⁸Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch: The Unknown Years*, trans. John Bowden (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 189.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 196.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 205-07.

teachings, so all such matters had to be taught to new believers by a mature disciple, who had in turn been taught by someone else. Paul was associated with the church in the area of Damascus for about three years, so it is likely that the church there, perhaps Ananias in particular, played a key role in the early steps of that process (Acts 9:20-25; Gal. 1:17). Paul then spent fifteen days in Jerusalem with Peter and James, in the company of Barnabas, at which time he would have had an opportunity to check his understanding of the teachings of Jesus with key church leaders. But as a result of his relationship with Barnabas in Antioch, Paul had a lengthy period of time to talk over numerous issues with someone who had been a part of the leadership of the Jerusalem church during its formative days.

The Leadership in Antioch

Luke tells us that after one year, the church in Antioch had prophets and teachers. He lists five names—Saul, Barnabas, Manaen, Lucius, and Simeon. Brought up with Herod, Manaen must have come from a wealthy Jewish family. Some link Lucius with the Lucius of Romans 16:21, but F. F. Bruce has instead suggested that he was one of the Hellenistic believers who had started the church in Antioch.⁶¹ Simeon is unknown, though some have suggested that he was the father of Rufus and Alexander (Mark 15:21). All the leadership of the church at this point were Jews, though Luke has created the impression that many of the believers were Gentiles (Acts 11:20).

It seems that Luke expects his readers to conclude that these five people were the leaders of the church in Antioch, in much the same way that he later refers to James and the elders in Jerusalem (Acts 21:18). But why does he call them “prophets and teachers”

⁶¹Bruce, 260.

instead of “elders?” Is this a significant clue to the nature of Antioch’s leadership, indicating a difference from that of Jerusalem or not? The most natural meaning is that Luke simply indicated these five were the leaders of the church in Antioch and that they had certain spiritual gifts which included prophecy and teaching. This set the stage for one of them to come forth with a word from the Lord to set apart Barnabas and Saul, which naturally led to Paul’s first missionary journey. Their leaving did not deprive the Antioch church of leadership since Simeon, Lucius, and Manaen were still there.

Paul and Barnabas spent a long time in Antioch following their missionary journey (Acts 14:28). This, with the clear leadership that Paul and Barnabas gave in the controversy of Acts 15, shows that the pair returned to their former leadership positions in the church. Eventually Paul and Barnabas split, and they both left Antioch (Acts 15:39-41). Though Paul visited Antioch again in 18:22-23, it seems that when Paul left for his second trip, his work as a leader of the church in Antioch was largely over.

Luke gives us two further clues concerning the internal workings of the Antioch church. In Acts 15:2 he wrote, “So Paul and Barnabas were appointed, along with some other believers, to go up to Jerusalem.” Bruce ascribes this decision to “The church of Antioch,” implying the body of believers.⁶² Apparently the decision was made informally, perhaps by consensus. No indication of a strong hierarchy exists in the church of Antioch, but rather a “grass-roots-up” approach in which the decision-making process resembles what took place in Acts 6. The second passage is Acts 15:35 where Luke mentions that “many others” were teaching and preaching in addition to Barnabas and Paul. The implication is that as the church continued to grow, the leadership of the church

⁶²Ibid., 204.

no longer revolved around Barnabas and Paul, or even the five mentioned in Acts 13:1, but a growing pool of unnamed leaders.

Summary

Antioch was crucial to Paul's missionary journeys and the history of the Church. As narrated by Luke, this was the first church which had an identity separate from Judaism. Though its initial leadership was Jewish, for the first time a large percentage of a group of believers was Gentile. Under the direction of the Holy Spirit, this community sent out Barnabas and Saul on a mission which resulted in the planting of several more churches along the lines of this new pattern.

It seems likely that the church in Antioch had two forms of leadership. At the top, initially, was a group of five with certain spiritual giftings (described by Luke as prophecy and teaching), who Weber would have characterized as leading with charismatic authority.⁶³ If Antioch was like many of the churches planted by Paul, there were probably also at least a handful of people considered leaders in society at large: the people who owned the homes the believers met in. It is likely Manaen was such an individual,⁶⁴ and there may have been others; perhaps some of these were Hellenistic Jews and some were Greeks, but this is merely speculation. All that has been said earlier about the development of leadership in the church in Jerusalem would probably be true in Antioch as well.

⁶³Bryan S. Turner, Chris Rojek, and Craig Calhoun, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Sociology* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications Ltd., 2005), 288-90.

⁶⁴Of Manaen, Lenski writes, "...we may say that Manaen was of aristocratic if not princely birth and thus stands out among the disciples. His princely education was an asset in his present leadership." R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1934), 493.

A subtle change in the nature of local church leadership may have begun in Antioch, though this change would only become clear later in the churches established by Paul. In a multitude of small ways, and some big ways, local bodies of believers would be influenced by the views of society around them. Every time a person became a follower of Jesus and joined a local community of believers, a new infusion of ideas from the culture outside would be brought inside. The faster a church grows, the more likely it is that the people inside the church will resemble the community outside. In the case under discussion, this means that the more likely it is that the Christian community will perceive church leadership in secular terms.

The church in Jerusalem certainly was influenced by Judaism—resulting in its adoption of the idea of corporate leadership by the elders of the community—though it apparently did not adopt the granting of titles to its patrons, a practice common in the synagogues of the day. How much did a similar process of accommodation occur in Antioch, and what was the nature of that process? The answer to that question is unknown, but it is likely there were leadership differences between Jerusalem and Antioch that mirrored their cultural differences.

Leadership in the Churches Planted by Paul

In a missionary career that spanned over two decades, Paul planted numerous churches in a wide swath from Antioch to Achaia. F. F. Bruce has summarized Paul's work as follows:

His achievement during those years, as “from Jerusalem and as far round as Illyricum” he “fully preached the gospel of Christ” (Rom 15:19), is impressive on any showing. As R. Allen has put it, in A.D. 47 there were no churches in the provinces of Galatia, Asia, Macedonia and Achaia. Now, ten years later, these four provinces had been evangelized so thoroughly that Paul could speak of his work in that part of the world as done, and he was planning to repeat a similar

program in the Western Mediterranean. Paul's evangelistic work was thus extensive rather than intensive. He concentrated on the principal cities situated along the main roads, assisted at times by colleagues working either in those cities or in neighboring ones.⁶⁵

Before attempting to discern how leaders in the churches established by Paul were trained, two other issues must be addressed first. Leadership training will be determined by the nature of the leaders desired, and the nature of church leadership will in turn be determined by the nature of the church to be led. Thus, two questions must be answered: What kind of churches did Paul plant, and how were those churches led?

What Did These Churches Look Like?

Some general characteristics of the nature of the churches established by Paul can be described. None had buildings, so the most common meeting place was a private home, though perhaps a few may have hired a hall.⁶⁶ Since a home of some size would be required, this meant that the church needed wealthy patrons who were believers and also willing to host the frequent meetings. Paul usually started his evangelism in the synagogue and occasionally was able to win a synagogue leader, such as Crispus in Corinth.⁶⁷ Most churches seem to have consisted of a mixture of Greeks, Romans, and Hellenistic Jews, with perhaps a few from other ethnic groups as well. Presumably they represented a cross-section of all levels of society, from slaves to the wealthier upper class.

⁶⁵F. F. Bruce, "Paul in Acts and Letters," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. G. Reid (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 688.

⁶⁶Paul used the lecture hall of Tyrannus as a daily meeting place (Acts 19:9), and other churches may have hired halls for meeting purposes.

⁶⁷See Acts 18:8.

One thing is clear: Paul focused on the key cities where ever he went, and all the churches Paul started were located in a major urban center. The cities of the Roman Empire differed from each other, as each had its own history and unique cultural mix, and Rome allowed a city to run its own affairs within the parameters of Roman law.⁶⁸ Some cities, like Corinth, were established as Roman colonies.⁶⁹ Others, like Alexandria, had been previously established as Hellenic colonies. The cities attracted peoples from various ethnic groups who came looking for work and the opportunities to gain a better life.⁷⁰ The result was a situation in which the cities of the eastern Roman Empire shared many similarities, but also reflected their regional differences. Levine has documented the fact that these differences carried over into how local synagogues were led and organized.⁷¹ Local groups of Jews experienced freedom to experiment in finding creative ways to meet their local needs; presumably, the churches established by Paul would also have been free to experiment with how their local house churches were organized.

The organizational structure of those churches has been the subject of endless books and research over the past two centuries.⁷² Unfortunately all the attention has

⁶⁸Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians : The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983), 11-12.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 47.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 13.

⁷¹Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000), 120-21.

⁷²For recent works besides the authors cited in this section, see Richard S. Ascough, *What Are They Saying About the Formation of Pauline Churches?* (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), Paul Avis, *Authority, Leadership and Conflict in the Church* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992), Robert Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1994), Vincent Branick, *The House Church in the Writings of Paul* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1989), Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel (London: SCM, 1955), John K. Chow, *Patronage and Power: A Study of Social Networks in Corinth* (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1992), Philip F. Esler, ed., *Modelling Early Christianity: Social-Scientific Studies of the New Testament in Its Context* (New York:

tended to create even more confusion, for much of what has been written reflects the biases and presuppositions of the scholars.⁷³ One common approach has been to follow the lead of the nineteenth century scholar, R. Sohm, and see Paul's churches as without any formal leadership. Instead, the churches depended upon the Holy Spirit's workings through various charismatic individuals. Hans von Campenhausen is typical of those with this view:

The most striking feature of Paul's view of the Christian community is the complete lack of any legal system, and the exclusion on principle of all formal authority within the individual congregation....Furthermore, his vision of the structure of the community as one of free fellowship, developing through the living interplay of spiritual gifts and ministries, without benefit of official authority or responsible 'elders', did not at once disappear after his death.⁷⁴

A second approach has been to use sociology as a tool in an attempt to recover information concerning the Pauline churches. Many have attempted to apply a Weberian approach of some sort. Typical of this view is Bengt Holmberg's *Paul and Power*. Using Weber's terminology, Holmberg determined that Paul established the churches using charismatic authority. Over time, this charismatic authority was institutionalized,

Routledge, 1995), Kevin Giles, *Patterns of Ministry Among the First Christians* (Melbourne, Australia: Collins Dove, 1989), E. A. Judge, *The Social Patterns of Christian Groups in the First Century: Some Prolegomena to the Study of New Testament Ideas of Social Obligation* (London: Tyndale Press, 1957), Margaret Y. MacDonald, *The Pauline Churches: A Socio-Historical Study of Institutionalization in the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline Writings* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), Eduard Schillebeeckx, *Ministry: Leadership in the Community of Jesus*, trans. John Bowden (New York: Crossroads, 1981), Eduard Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1961), Nicholas Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem: A Study in Relationships and Authority in Earliest Christianity* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 1992), and Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity*, ed. and transl. John H. Schutz (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982).

⁷³For an overview of the history of this debate, see J. T. Burtchaell's *From Synagogue to Church: Public Services and Offices in the Earliest Christian Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁷⁴Campenhausen, 70.

resulting in its replacement by rational-legal authority.⁷⁵ A. D. Clarke has voiced dissatisfaction with both approaches. In the conclusion to his study of secular leadership in Corinth and its influence on the church situation there, Clarke writes:

First, it may be concluded, on a general level, that the multi-disciplinary approach which combines social history and New Testament exegesis offers insights which are inaccessible to either a purely exegetical study or a Weberian analysis....The consensus view, following Sohm, drew the conclusion that there was no leadership in the Corinthian community. Weberian analysis, derived via Sohm from 1 Corinthians, produces the predictable results that the church in 1 Corinthians demonstrates the beginning of the process of institutionalising leadership. This study which analyses 1 Corinthians within its socio-historical context, however, suggests that Sohm was wrong to conclude that there was no hierarchical leadership in the community...It has been shown clearly that, rather than an absence of leadership in the Corinthian church, Paul is deeply concerned with the nature of the leadership which did exist in the community.⁷⁶

Clarke's approach, and the light he was able to shed on leadership in the Corinthians church by the use of numismatic, epigraphic, and literary inscriptions, suggests that further archaeological finds may bring about greater understanding concerning the nature of secular Greco-Roman leadership in individual cities, which in turn may shed further light on the leadership and organizational structure of the early churches of Paul.

Paul and His Companions

It is clear that Paul and a group of companions traveled widely through the eastern half of the Mediterranean, planting new churches and visiting existing churches. Paul almost never traveled alone. The composition of this team varied over time, but Banks has identified three different groups. The smallest group included his immediate colleagues: Timothy, Titus, Barnabas, or Silas. These were the ones Paul often sent off on

⁷⁵Bengt Holmberg, *Paul and Power. The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as Reflected in the Pauline Epistles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 193-204.

⁷⁶Andrew D. Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical Study of I Corinthians 1-6* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 132-33.

his behalf. The second group included representatives from churches founded by Paul who came to spend time with him (1 Cor. 16:15-18; Col. 4:7-13). The third group consisted of “key figures in local churches founded by Paul, indeed sometimes whole churches, with whom he spent time on his journeys (e.g. Acts 20:17ff.).”⁷⁷

Banks believes the relationship between Paul and his colleagues was one in which Paul “did not place himself ‘over’ but ‘alongside’ them, as partners rather than disciples....Though they undertook responsibilities on his behalf, he looked for their agreement with what he asked them to do.”⁷⁸ The nature of the relationship was based on their joint mission to which they had all been called by Christ. Everything else flowed out of that commitment. “Within that framework, however, spiritual growth and practical development, as well as substantial learning, also took place. Such learning was often in-service and nonformal in character; at other times it was more extensive and systematic.”⁷⁹

What Happened to Discipleship?

Though Luke uses the term *mathetes* to refer to Christian believers in Acts, the term is absent from Paul’s letters. The recent renewed interest in discipleship has resulted in the writing of several books and articles on the subject.⁸⁰ While some have focused on Jesus and the Twelve in the Gospels, others have sought to explore how discipleship

⁷⁷Robert Banks, *Reenvisioning Theological Education: Exploring Missional Alternatives to Current Models* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1999), 115.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 116.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 123.

⁸⁰See Richard N. Longenecker, ed. *Patterns of Discipleship in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 1996) and Fernando F. Segovia, ed., *Discipleship in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985).

influenced the rest of the New Testament. In one such article Linda Belleville explores the impact the concept of discipleship had on the Corinthian letters, even though the term “discipleship” is missing:

Yet while the language is scarce, the idea of discipleship is very much present. In virtually every letter, Paul devotes a major segment to spelling out for his readers what it means to live a life worthy of the gospel. He also presents Jesus, himself, and other colleagues—even other churches—as models of discipleship....The *imitatio* theme of 1 Corinthians and the examples that are highlighted as models of the Christian life and ministry throughout 2 Corinthians make an important contribution to our understanding of discipleship in Paul’s thought.⁸¹

Such studies are showing how the Master-Disciple Pattern relationship established by Jesus with the Twelve continued on throughout the New Testament period, though in a modified form. For instance, now that the Master has returned to the Father, the goal of becoming like the master has shifted as believers are encouraged to be like Christ.⁸²

The senior partner of the Master-Disciple relationship, the *didaskalos*, continues to play a leading role in the churches of Paul. Paul saw himself as a teacher (1 Tim. 2:7) and expected overseers to be able to teach. “So highly does he [Paul] rate teaching that he places it alongside prophecy as one of the two basic gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor.14:6; cf. 12:28).”⁸³ Modern Bibles routinely translate the word “teacher,” but to most people today this implies a situation where a Teacher-Student Pattern relationship existed, while that was probably not the normal case in New Testament times. As overseer, the *episkopos* may teach the church as a whole on occasion, in a setting similar to that of a modern day

⁸¹Linda L. Belleville, “‘Imitate Me, Just as I Imitate Christ’: Discipleship in the Corinthian Correspondence,” in *Patterns of Discipleship in the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996), 120.

⁸²See L. Ann Jervis, “Becoming Like God Through Christ: Discipleship in Romans,” in *Patterns of Discipleship in the New Testament*, ed. Richard N. Longenecker (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996), 143-162.

⁸³Banks, *Reenvisioning Theological Education*, 117.

pastor in a congregational worship service. But the *episkopos* may have done more teaching on a one-on-one and small group basis, especially when dealing with new believers. Thus, the teachers of the Early Church should be seen as involved in both Teacher-Student and Master-Disciple Pattern relationships.

Local Church Leadership Terminology

Paul followed the pattern established at Jerusalem and Antioch in avoiding the use of the common synagogue titles. In Acts and the Epistles of Paul, the primary terms used to refer to local church leadership are elder (*presbyteros*), overseer (*episkopos*), and deacon (*diakonos*). In addition to these terms, in 1 Thessalonians 5:12 Paul refers to those “who are over you” and in Ephesians 4:11 Paul speaks of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors and teachers. This section will seek to examine how these terms were used by Paul and what they can tell us about local church leadership.

In Acts

There are two passages in the Book of Acts that speak about elders as leaders in churches established by Paul. In Acts 14:23 Luke writes that Paul and Barnabas retraced their steps during their first missionary journey and “appointed elders for them in each church and, with prayer and fasting, committed them to the Lord...” The word translated “appointed” is *cheirotoneantes*, a word that appears only here and in 2 Corinthians 8:19, where it refers to the action of the Corinthian church in choosing a man to accompany Titus and Paul with the collection for the Jerusalem church. The word originally meant “to elect by a show of hands,” but, “In Hellenistic times it became a general word for

selection or appointment, however the choice was made.”⁸⁴ While Paul and Barnabas may have arbitrarily chose who should lead without consulting with the believers in each place, this would not be in keeping with the pattern Luke had so far described in Acts (Acts 1:23; 6:1-6). It is much more likely that Paul and Barnabas made this choice after consultation with, and in full agreement with, the believers in each place.⁸⁵ The reference to elders in the plural, as elsewhere in the New Testament, indicating more than one elder was appointed.

In Acts 20:17-38 Paul called for the elders (*presbyteroi*) of the church in Ephesus who came down to meet him at Miletus. Luke says nothing concerning how they were chosen, but Paul described their role as “overseers” and also as “shepherds of the church of God.”

In 1 Thessalonians

In 1 Thessalonians 5:12, Paul exhorted the believers there to “respect those who work hard among you, who are over you in the Lord.” Since Paul spent less than a month in the city (Acts 17:2), thus allowing little time to train anyone to shoulder responsibility for the community, the reference to leaders is interesting. Paul used to the word *hoi proistamenoι* to describe these leaders, which literally means “those who stand in front of you.” Perhaps some of the Jews who became believers had previously served as leaders in the synagogue and now performed that role in the church. Paul did not use any particular term to designate or describe these leaders, thus making it difficult to say more

⁸⁴Everett Ferguson, *The Church of Christ: A Biblical Ecclesiology for Today* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996), 311.

⁸⁵“But probably all that is meant by it is that they presided in the assembly when the choice was made.” Albert Barnes, *Notes on the New Testament*, vol.3 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1953), 223.

about leadership in Thessalonica, except that again these leaders were a group and not a single individual.

Paul also used this general term in Romans 12:8, where it appears as one of the gifts exercised in the local church. He used the word three times in 1 Timothy; in 3:5 and 12 the ability of a person to “manage” his household well serves as a qualification for consideration as an overseer or a deacon, and in 5:17 those elders “who direct the affairs of the church well” should receive double honor.

In Philippians

The Book of Philippians is addressed, “To all the saints in Christ Jesus at Philippi, together with the overseers and deacons” (Phil. 1:1), thus making this book the only one of Paul’s letters addressed at least partially to church leaders as a group. Behind the word translated “overseer” lies the Greek word *episkopos*, traditionally rendered “bishop.” By the middle of the second century the churches of the Roman Empire developed a three-tiered pattern of church leadership; the three church offices consisted of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, in descending order. The Roman Catholic Church had traditionally argued that this pattern was originally instituted by the Apostles and thus was divinely ordained. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, J. B. Lightfoot successfully argued that the terms *presbyteros* and *episkopos* were identical in meaning in the New Testament,⁸⁶ a view which overturned the traditional Roman Catholic and Anglican view, and has been widely accepted since.

The word *episkopos* received widespread use in classical Greek where it was used of both men and gods. The LXX uses the term to describe leaders or officials in

⁸⁶See J. B. Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry* (London: Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis, Ltd., 1927).

Nehemiah 11:9 and Isaiah 60:7. All this variety of usage makes the word difficult to render in English.

The koine word *episkopos* is a noun which has been translated variously as “overseer,” “guardian,” “superintendent,” and “bishop.” Each of these English nouns represents elements within the Greek word, although none of them fully captures the rich meaning of *episkopos* as it is used in secular Greek literature.⁸⁷

G.F. Hawthorne summarizes the usage of *episkopos* as follows, “Although this single word could describe so many different offices and functions, the one idea of ‘oversight’ consistently ran as a common thread through all these various titles.”⁸⁸ Fee writes regarding the term *episkopos*:

The nature of this designation, together with the fact that it occurs in first position, makes it reasonably certain that those who bore this title held the primary leadership roles in the local church. They were probably responsible for “caring for the people” in most senses of that term, including administration, hospitality, and pastoral care.⁸⁹

Fee does not believe *episkopoi* were identical to *presbyteroi*, but that “the elders” refers to all those in leadership in a local church, including *episkopoi* and *diakonoi*.⁹⁰ This is in line with the position of R. A. Campbell⁹¹ and is also probably correct.

The English word “deacon” derives from the Greek noun *diakonos*. “Basically, *diakonos* is a servant, and often a table-servant, or waiter....The more general sense is common in NT, whether for royal servants (Mt. 22:13) or for a servant of God

⁸⁷Walter C. Jackson, “The Minister as Overseer,” *Review and Expositor* 83, no. 4 (1986): 560.

⁸⁸Gerald F. Hawthorne, *Philippians: Word Biblical Commentary*, rev. and expanded by Ralph P. Martin (Nashville, Tenn.: Nelson Reference & Electronic, 2004), 9.

⁸⁹Fee, *Paul’s Letter to the Philippians*, 68.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 68 n. 52.

⁹¹See R. Alastair Campbell, *The Elders: Seniority Within Earliest Christianity* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd., 1994).

(1 Thes. 3:2, TR).”⁹² The word and its cognate forms occur frequently in the New Testament. Jesus described himself as one who “did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many” (Matt. 20:28). The service offered by Jesus became an example which His followers were expected to copy. As Beyer writes, “And what is true of Christ Himself is made a command for all His disciples in Jn. 12:26....To serve neighbour, Christ, or God is one and the same thing.”⁹³ The leaders of the Early Church chose to refer to themselves as Christ’s servants (Phil. 1:1). Hess describes how the New Testament frequently refers to the concept of service, especially in the writings of Paul:

He [Paul] saw the whole of salvation, God’s *diakonia* in Christ for and among men, expressed in the *diakonia* of the apostles....In Christ, however, the service of the Spirit, or righteousness, of reconciliation has begun (2 Cor. 3:8 f.), and this service has been entrusted to the apostle, who as Christ’s ambassador proclaims, “Be reconciled to God” (2 Cor. 5:18 ff.). Hence the term *diakonia* can be used as a technical term for the work of proclaiming the gospel (Rom. 11;13; 2 Cor. 4:1; cf. 2 Tim. 4:5). Even more, the whole church becomes a body for service to the world (Eph. 4:1-16).⁹⁴

Passages such as these provide the context of service in which the term *diakonos* should be understood. Though it seems obvious that the position of deacon involved service to the local church, little can be said for certain concerning the nature of that service. Beyer writes as follows concerning the role of deacons in the church:

...that the primary task of the deacons was one of administration and practical service may be deduced a. from the use of the term for table waiters and more generally for servants; b. from the qualities demanded of them; c. from their

⁹²A. F. Walls, “Deacon,” in *The New Bible Dictionary*, 3d ed., ed. D. R. W. Wood and I. H. Marshall (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 297.

⁹³H. W. Beyer, “*Diakonia*,” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 2, ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1967), 86.

⁹⁴Colin Brown, ed., *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub. House, 1978), 547-48.

relationship to the bishop; and d. from what we read elsewhere in the NT concerning the gift and task of diakonia.⁹⁵

If the [Greek] inscriptions [of New Testament times] teach us anything, it is that the original meaning of *diakonein* (“to wait at table”) persisted. In accordance with the saying and example of Jesus, early Christianity made this the symbol of all loving care for others. Here is the root of the loving connexion between ethical reflection on service in the community and the actual diaconate. Again, the persistent sense of waiting at table is reflected in the fact that the Christian office had its origin in the common meal at the heart of the life of the community, namely, the Lord's Supper. Only in this way can we understand the later history of the diaconate, which has always consisted in assistance at divine service as well as in the external service of the community.⁹⁶

In summary, while the church in Philippi had two kinds of leaders—overseers and deacons—very little can be said about the nature of the leadership they provided for that church. Paul never mentions either group elsewhere in the letter, nor does he name any particular individuals who belonged to either group. Holmberg summarizes the situation well when he writes, “we have no indication of what their functions were, except what can be inferred from the meaning of the titles themselves.”⁹⁷

In Ephesians

It is interesting that Ephesians,⁹⁸ widely seen as a statement of Paul's theology of the Church,⁹⁹ does not refer to the local church leaders that appear in Philippians and the Pastoral Epistles—elders, overseers, and deacons—but instead makes reference to other

⁹⁵Beyer, “*Diakonia*,” 90.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 92.

⁹⁷Holmberg, 100.

⁹⁸Though many doubt Pauline authorship of this epistle, it was most likely written by Paul during his Roman imprisonment at the same time as Colossians. For a discussion of this position, see Walter L. Liefeld, *Ephesians* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1996), 13-20.

⁹⁹John R. W. Stott, *God's New Society: The Message of Ephesians* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1979), 24-26.

church leaders. In Ephesians 2:20 apostles and prophets have a place of primacy as the foundation for the Church, with Jesus as the chief cornerstone. In Ephesians 3:5 Paul describes the apostles and prophets as the recipients of the mystery of Christ, which he then goes on to describe as the revelation “that through the gospel the Gentiles are heirs together with Israel, members together of one body, and sharers together in the promise in Christ Jesus” (Eph. 3:6). In Ephesians chapter 4 Paul describes five gifts to the church, given by Christ to equip the rest of the body so that they may perform “works of service” (Eph. 4:12).¹⁰⁰ The picture presented here resembles that in 1 Corinthians 12 and Romans 12 where Paul describes various spiritual gifts which have been given to the church for the common good. In the case of Ephesians 4, however, Christ is said to “not just give grace to people, but he gives specific people to people. In Rom 12 gifts were ministries or functions and this is the way the term had been employed in 1 Cor 12.”¹⁰¹ The next few paragraphs will seek to determine which of these were local church leaders versus which were itinerants, visiting various local churches for periods of time, and how these persons related to the elders, overseers, and deacons mentioned elsewhere.

There is general agreement that the three references to apostles in Ephesians describe their ministry to the church at large and not to ministry in individual congregations. For example, Holmberg writes, “The work of apostles is obviously not a function within the local church, in the meaning that we find one or more apostles as resident leaders of every local church.”¹⁰² Concerning the identity of the apostles in

¹⁰⁰The gifts to the church are to equip all believers to perform ministry and not to do the entire ministry themselves. For a discussion of this view see Stott, 166-168.

¹⁰¹Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians: Word Biblical Commentary* (Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1990), 249.

¹⁰²Holmberg, 96.

question, Liefeld writes, “Apostles here probably refers to the initial group of Jesus’ disciples, possibly with Paul added, though others were thought of as apostles in a secondary way.”¹⁰³

There is less agreement concerning the references to prophets. Though prophets appear frequently in the pages of the New Testament and Paul describes prophecy as a spiritual gift which all should highly desire (1 Cor. 14:39), these three references to prophets in Ephesians (2:20, 3:5, and 4:11) appear to refer to a select group rather than just anyone who may prophesy. Most scholars¹⁰⁴ assume prophets in all three verses refer to the prophets who assisted the Apostles in mediating the gospel to the Church. For example, Lincoln writes, “The apostles provided a foundational link with the risen Christ and, together with the prophets, gave foundational interpretation of what God has done in Christ for the edification of the Church.”¹⁰⁵ In a contrasting view, Holmberg sees prophets as operating locally where they were, “the most important function within any local church.”¹⁰⁶ Based upon their close association with the Apostles in all three passages, the argument that the prophets referred to in Ephesians do not appear to be local church leaders seems most likely.

The reference to evangelists is even more problematic. While the verb for “evangelize” occurs frequently, there are only three references to evangelists in the New Testament. Besides Ephesians 4:11, Luke describes Philip as described as an evangelist in Acts 21:8, and Paul instructs Timothy to “do the work of an evangelist” in 2 Timothy

¹⁰³Liefeld, 75.

¹⁰⁴ Besides Lincoln, others include Gordon Fee, F. F. Bruce, and Francis Foulkes.

¹⁰⁵Lincoln, 153.

¹⁰⁶Holmberg, 96.

4:5. The context implies a person who has been given a special gift that enables him or her to bring others to Christ in an extraordinary way. Concerning the relationship of evangelists to the preceding two groups Liefeld writes, “It is probable that evangelists extended the work of the apostles. Paul, for example, took the gospel to Ephesus; Timothy continued that ministry. The inclusion of evangelists in Ephesians 4:11 makes the important point that the function of the evangelist is to help in the building of the church.”¹⁰⁷ O’Brien sees evangelists as both itinerant and local, with Paul’s instructions to Timothy occurring in the context of a local congregation.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the context gives little help in determining whether or not evangelists, as described by Paul in Ephesians 4:11, were local church leaders.

The next two persons, pastors and teachers, are joined by one definite article. This causes most commentators to conclude that Paul intended them to be closely associated in the minds of his readers.¹⁰⁹ Lincoln comments that, while Barth holds that the two were identical and translates the phrase as “teaching shepherds,” it is doubtful that the same persons always exercised both ministries. He goes on to write, “It is more likely that they were overlapping functions, but that while almost all pastors were also teachers, not all teachers were also pastors.”¹¹⁰ This is the only place where the word *poimen* or pastor/shepherd refers to church leadership in the New Testament. However, the cognate verb does appear in Acts 20:28 and 1 Peter 5:1-4. The action of caring for God’s people

¹⁰⁷Liefeld, 104.

¹⁰⁸Peter T. O’Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999), 299.

¹⁰⁹For a discussion see Liefeld, 104-105.

¹¹⁰Lincoln, 250.

closely resembles the meaning of the word “overseer” and thus may refer to a person who would be so described elsewhere by Paul.¹¹¹ Concerning teachers, Liefeld notes that Paul considered them of great importance in the work of the church, and that importance only grew during the subapostolic period. He then states, “...the church needed a more settled ministry of those who would repeat the traditions and then teach the Scriptures as they became available and accepted....Teaching became the repetition of accepted truth; teachers were rarely itinerant.”¹¹² The position that the two terms—pastors and teachers—describe two functions which may or may not overlap in the same person seems the best way to understand the phrase.

Concerning which of the five are itinerant and which are local, Paul seems to have arranged them on a scale, with apostles on the itinerant end and pastor-teachers on the local leadership end. Prophets and evangelists fall somewhere in between. Fee grapples with this issue:

In light of 2:20 and 3:5...the first three designations refer primarily, though in the case of prophets and evangelists not exclusively, to *itinerant ministries* [italics in original] among the early churches. Itinerant workers founded churches by evangelizing and built them up through prophetic utterances....This is not to say, of course, that either prophets or evangelists were not local ministries as well, since such is clearly so in the matter of prophecy. At issue finally, in terms of this ad hoc enumeration, is whether Paul is thinking first in terms of a local congregation or of the church in its broader sense. One cannot be certain here; my sense is that Paul is thinking first of the church in the broader sense of the many churches that make up the church. But by the very fact he would also be thinking of its local expression—which is what makes any fine distinctions lie beyond Paul’s own point....The final two designations, in any case, almost certainly reflect the nature of leadership at the local level, when itinerants are no longer

¹¹¹Ibid., 251.

¹¹²Liefeld, 105.

present....Such a view makes sense of the varied nature of our data; but of course none of it can be proved.¹¹³

The reference to pastors and teachers, as the local component of this list, probably can be taken as equivalent to *episkopos*, but the first three do not seem to relate to local church leadership as depicted elsewhere in Paul's writings.

In the Pastoral Epistles

Many conservative scholars consider the Pastoral Epistles as Paul's last letters, depicting the situation towards the close of his ministry.¹¹⁴ Paul addressed these letters to Timothy and Titus, two of his closest associates. While many commentators have seen Timothy and Titus as pastors of these two churches, it seems much more likely that they were sent by Paul to take care of local church matters as Paul's emissaries.¹¹⁵ Once the difficulties had been satisfactorily resolved, they were expected to leave.

In Titus 1:5 Paul writes, "The reason I left you in Crete was that you might straighten out what was left unfinished and appoint elders in every town, as I directed you." Paul's directions to Titus are fascinating. Basically, Titus was to finish organizing the communities that had been previously started, including the setting up of local church leadership. "...the phrase *what was left unfinished* [italics in original] (lit., 'what is

¹¹³Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 707-08.

¹¹⁴This author assumes the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles. A discussion of the whole question of Deutero-Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is beyond the scope of this paper. For a good discussion of this issue see Gordon D. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988).

¹¹⁵William D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2000), lviii.

lacking’) makes it clear that the ‘correcting’ is not so much reformation as it is formation.”¹¹⁶

The word used for “to appoint” is *katasteseis*, the same verb used in Acts 6:3 of the appointment of the Seven to assist the Apostles. Paul may therefore have had in mind a process similar to what was described as taking place in Jerusalem in Acts 6, in which case the community of believers would bring forth the names of those whom they considered fit to serve as leaders. Titus was to examine them and, if they were fit, install them as elders of the local groups. Paul’s standards, as outlined in Titus 1:6-9, amount to the yardstick against which their fitness would be measured, thereby filling the same role as the requirements set by the Apostles in Acts 6:3.

In 1 Timothy 3, Paul writes to Timothy and instructs him concerning the qualifications a person should meet before being appointed as an *episkopos* or a *diakonos*. Apparently some of the elders in Ephesus, who had strayed from the truth and begun teaching false doctrine (1 Tim. 1:3-4), were removed from their positions and from the church (1:20),¹¹⁷ necessitating the appointment of replacements by Timothy. In Titus 1 Paul lists requirements for *presbyteroi* while in this text he mentions *diakonoi* and *episkopoi*. Fee’s argument that this implies Paul saw the two as synonymous, “that both ‘overseers’ and ‘deacons’ come under the larger category *presbyteroi* (‘elders’),”¹¹⁸ is likely correct. In this case, “elders” serves as the generic term used for those recognized as leaders of the church in any given location.

¹¹⁶Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy*, 172.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, 59.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, 78.

The pastoral epistles provide three lists of similar qualifications for church leadership. Fee has made the following three summary observations concerning the list of qualifications in 1 Timothy 3: “(1) It gives qualifications, not duties; (2) most of the items reflect outward, observable behavior; and (3) none of the items is distinctively Christian...rather they reflect the highest ideals of Hellenistic moral philosophy.”¹¹⁹

Mounce makes the following comments regarding these lists:

The similarities among the three lists of qualities for church leadership in the PE are remarkable. The overall concern is that church leaders be above reproach in their daily lives....Often there is a word-for-word equivalence in the lists, other times there are conceptual parallels, and other times the parallels are broader but still related (e.g., a requirement to be clear-minded would rule out someone who is quick tempered).¹²⁰

Mounce concludes that the lists were ad hoc and crafted by Paul to address the individual needs of the churches in Ephesus and Crete. He concludes a little later:

...these lists are not primarily vocational qualifications and duties. First and foremost—and this is understood in light of the Ephesian situation—Paul is concerned that the right *type* [italics in original] of person be appointed to leadership, a person whose personal qualities set him apart.¹²¹

In general, the lists describe the kind of behaviors expected of a person who serves as a church leader. A leader must be someone whom people, both inside and outside the church, can look up to. These behaviors provide evidence that the person has the right kind of character, and character seems to be the primary issue.

Offices or Ministry Functions?

Overseers, elders, and deacons were clearly offices in the church by the second century. But should these terms in Acts and the Pauline epistles be so understood? There

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰Mounce, 155.

¹²¹Ibid., 159.

are basically two approaches to this question. The most common one down through most of church history has been that offices developed very quickly in local churches and that the references by Paul in his letters are to proper offices. G. F. Hawthorne subscribes to this view. He describes the *episkopoi* as “specific individuals who were appointed by the Apostle and his companions (cf. Acts 14:23) and whose duties were fairly well defined. They were in some sense to govern, to administer, to oversee the affairs, both material and spiritual, of the community (cf. Acts 20:28).”¹²² He describes the *diakonoï* as people who “would quite likely be assistants to the overseers, people primarily responsible for the more menial tasks, such as taking care of the needs of the poor and the sick in the community, and those in prison.”¹²³

Holmberg also argues these were offices. He states, “At the local level I have argued that we can observe a functional differentiation which within a short time becomes institutionalized, i.e. develops into offices.”¹²⁴ Holmberg bases his conclusions on the work of Brockhaus, who developed a definition of office based on five elements: permanency, recognition by the church, a position apart from that of others, a commission, and the legal securing of the function in question.¹²⁵ After examining the biblical texts, Holmberg concludes that in many situations there is clear evidence for leaders who meet Brockhaus’ criteria. For instance, concerning Philippi and Cenchrea, Holmberg writes, “there are function-bearers with established titles of office. The mere

¹²²Hawthorne, 10.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Holmberg, 195.

¹²⁵Ibid., 109.

existence of titles is in itself an indication of the permanency and general acknowledgement of a function, and its position apart in relation to the church.”¹²⁶

The second approach is to understand elders, overseers, and deacons as leaders, but not in the formalized way in which the terms saw use later. Thus, these represent functional categories of leadership, rather than offices in the way such terms are understood today. G. D. Fee points to the description of these two groups, as well as the lack of any further reference to them in the letter, as indicative of this understanding:

The language use for this addition, “together with/along with,” is the sure giveaway as to the role of leadership in the Pauline churches. The community as a whole is addressed, and in most cases therefore the “overseers and deacons” are simply reckoned as being within the community. When they are singled out, as here, the leaders are not “over” the church, but are addressed “alongside of” the church, as a *distinguishable* part of the whole, but as a *part of the whole* [italics in original], not above or outside it.¹²⁷

Lincoln attempts to find some middle ground between these two positions.

According to him neither offices nor functions correctly describe local church leadership:

The writer talks about groups of persons, not about either activities or their positions.....Do these persons receive the name they have been given simply because they perform certain functions from time to time or also because they occupy some clearly defined position within their communities? The discussion of this question has often been plagued by imposing on the evidence false dichotomies between “dynamic” and “static” categories, between charisma and institution, between ministry as event and ministry as office. The answers given are highly disputed, and it may simply be the case that a question is being asked of the text for which there is neither enough data in the text nor sufficient knowledge of church organization at this time and in this area to provide a convincing answer.¹²⁸

But Lincoln then goes on later in the same paragraph to conclude that “if the ordered regular nature of a ministry and its recognition by a local church makes it an office...then

¹²⁶Ibid., 110.

¹²⁷Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians*, 67.

¹²⁸Lincoln, 252.

in this writer's theological perspective the ministers he lists [Eph. 4:11] fall into this category."¹²⁹

The reference by Lincoln above to "false dichotomies" refers to a common approach to understanding the nature of Early Church leadership. Since the late nineteenth century a number of scholars have postulated a conflict between two styles of leadership during the Church's first century of existence.¹³⁰ They believe that James and certain Jews advocated an institutionalized leadership based on the pattern used in the synagogue at that time, while Paul and his companions advocated a looser charismatic style of leadership with little formal structure. According to this scenario, eventually those favoring institutionalization won out, resulting in the hierarchical pattern of bishop, elder and deacon found in the churches of the second century. Campbell has demonstrated the weakness of this view, as the presuppositions of the scholars have largely determined the outcome.¹³¹ In a review of Campbell's book, John H. Elliott agrees with Campbell's criticism of this dialectical approach. Elliott then offers the following insights into the office-function debate:

"Offices," in contrast to less formally defined roles and functions, involve clearly delineated positions and accompanying responsibilities in a hierarchically organized administrative system, positions and responsibilities for which one qualifies by prescribed training and qualifications.... While the church in later centuries, under the pressures of increased population and geographical dissemination, and diversity of teaching and practice, eventually assumed the form of a centralized and hierarchically organized structure, this was hardly the case in the first two centuries, which were marked by a diversity of leadership roles and functions, little homogeneity, and no centralization of authority. Thus,

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Rudolph Sohm first suggested this approach in *Kirchenrecht* (Leipzig: Duncker und Humbolt, 1892). A recent proponent of this view is Hans von Campenhausen.

¹³¹See Campbell, 1-19.

talk of “offices” with reference to the New Testament period is sociologically inaccurate and historically anachronistic.¹³²

Leadership in the Pauline Churches

Despite the questionable merits of Weberian sociological analysis, the arguments advanced by Campbell and Elliott concerning the nature of Early Church leadership seem very convincing. There are no compelling reasons for the belief that at the time he wrote his epistles the churches started by Paul had formal offices, such as existed later in churches of the second century. Perhaps further studies, such as those recently undertaken by Clarke, may provide answers to this question that everyone can accept.

Probably Paul’s ideal of church leadership differed greatly from what was actually happening in some churches, thus creating a tension reflected in 1 Corinthians¹³³ and perhaps elsewhere in his letters. This section explores Paul’s view of leadership, Greco-Roman society’s view of leadership, and how the conflict between these two may have played out in the churches established by Paul.

Paul’s Understanding of Leadership

For Paul, leadership was an issue of secondary, not primary, concern; a means to an end and not an end in itself. Though Paul focused on evangelism and church planting, his letters do provide insight into how he understood the relationship between the church and its leadership. Some of those key points include the following:

¹³² John H. Elliott, review of *The Elders: Seniority Within Earliest Christianity*, by R. Alastair Campbell. London: T&T Clark, 1994. “Elders as Honored Household Heads and Not Holders of ‘Office’ in Earliest Christianity.” *Seton Hall University* Web site; available from <http://academic.shu.edu/btb/pdfs/04Elliott.pdf>; accessed 11 May 2006, 6.

¹³³ Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth: A Socio-Historical and Exegetical Study of I Corinthians 1-6*, 129.

First, the real leader of the church is Jesus Christ (Eph. 5:23), who is present in each community. Lawrence O. Richards and Clyde Hoeldtke write:

*The basic reality that Scripture presents is that the church is a living organism with Jesus Christ Himself functioning as head. In seeing Jesus as head, we must take seriously the notion that He is not head “emeritus.” He is not some titular “chairman of the board” who is given nodding acknowledgement while others are running His organization. He is not the retired founder of the firm. No, God has appointed Jesus “to be the head over everything for the church, which is his body” (Eph. 1:22-23; emphasis added) [italics in original].*¹³⁴

As the head, Jesus directs the community through the Holy Spirit (Phil 1:19).

Second, leadership is a form of service, or *diakonia*. Following the teachings of Jesus (Mark 10:42-45), Paul saw himself as a servant and even used the term *doulos*, or “slave” to refer to himself (Phil. 1:1; Titus 1:1). Paul wanted leaders to see themselves as servants of Christ, given by Jesus to the Church to build up His body and equip other believers for works of service (Eph. 4:11-13). Leadership is about serving others in humility; it is not about honor, status, and reputation. As service, leadership remains something potentially open to everyone (Gal. 5:13). In keeping with this understanding Banks writes, “Pastoral responsibility can never remain the reserve of a select few but always exists as an obligation upon every member of the community.”¹³⁵ In 1 Corinthians 14:26 Paul instructs, “When you come together, everyone has a hymn, or a word of instruction, a revelation, a tongue or an interpretation. All these must be done for the strengthening of the church.” The way Paul addressed his letters reflects this view of leadership. With the single exception of Philippians, all Paul’s letters addressed to a

¹³⁴Lawrence O. Richards and Clyde Hoeldtke, *A Theology of Church Leadership* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1980), 14.

¹³⁵Robert Banks, *Paul’s Idea of Community* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1994), 145.

church refer to the body of believers corporately, with the leaders never being singled out for special mention.

Third, leadership and the exercise of certain spiritual gifts are closely tied. A word of prophecy can help give direction to the church (Acts 13:2). Paul identifies administration as a spiritual gift (1 Cor. 12:28). Jesus is the head of the church, and the Holy Spirit might choose to use anyone to provide direction to the community at a given time, and thus perform an act of service or leadership.

Fourth, the Church's understanding of itself is crucial. The Church must see itself as a family, as brothers and sisters in God's new family (Eph. 2:19). In this family neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female exist (Gal. 3:28). Paul frequently uses oneness and unity in this new family as themes (Eph. 4; Phil. 2). As a body in which "individual Christians come together as a church to share gifts with one another....each member of the gathering has his or her particular contribution to make....There are no mere spectators in church but only active participants."¹³⁶ No believer is more or less important than any other (Rom. 12:3-8; 1 Cor. 12).

Fifth, the Church has been placed in the world to continue the mission of Christ. The role of leadership consists in both carrying out this mission and in training and equipping others to carry it out (Eph. 4:12). As William Barclay writes, "The *work* [italics in original] of Christ was completed once and for all upon the Cross....but the *task* [italics in original] of Christ remains, and the task is to make known that saving act and all its benefits to all mankind. And it is the task of Christ which the Church must

¹³⁶Banks, 109.

complete.”¹³⁷ All people everywhere should respond to the Spirit’s call to repent of their sins, seek forgiveness through faith in Jesus, and become reconciled to God (Rom. 1-5; 2 Cor. 5:17-21)

As these five points show, Paul recognized that each community needed leadership, and so he appointed elders (overseers and deacons) in the various churches as they grew (Acts 14:23). It may be that some new churches did not have officially appointed leaders, as Paul seemed to wait a while before doing so. Paul personally modeled his ideal of leadership while he was with the churches. He also modeled this view of leadership in his relationships with the members of his team by treating Titus, Timothy, and his other co-workers as fellow servants of the churches. To use contemporary terminology, Paul probably viewed the role of leadership as similar to that of a team leader.¹³⁸

Society’s Understanding of Leadership

Paul’s understanding of the nature of church leadership was in serious conflict with the understanding of leadership in Greco-Roman society, where one’s leadership potential was derived from the class and family into which a person was born. Those born to the wealthy upper class received the best education and had access to the wealth necessary to maintain and further cultivate their standing in society.

It has become apparent that leadership in the Graeco-Roman world was extremely expensive and therefore also elitist—the tall order expected of such leaders could only be fulfilled by a narrowly defined group. In order to be involved in high positions of responsibility, it was a necessary pre-requisite to be among the wise,

¹³⁷William Barclay, *The Mind of St. Paul* (London: Clear-Type Press, 1958), 250-51.

¹³⁸See, for instance, chapter 7 in Jon R. Katzenbach, *The Wisdom of Teams: Creating the High Performance Organization* (New York: HarperBusiness, 1994).

well-born and powerful. Leadership, and even prospective leadership, was very much on show and had to prove itself (principally in financial terms). Leaders had to make an impact on those they led in order to be elected by them, and this could only be done by making a good impact, often through benefaction.¹³⁹

As people were saved, it would be natural that Greco-Roman views of leadership would have infiltrated the church.

How Paul Dealt with the Differences

Paul's ideal of Christian leadership was vastly different from that of Greco-Roman society. Probably at any point in time the churches started by Paul could be arranged along a line between Paul's ideal of leadership and society's ideal of leadership. As a church grew, bringing within its ranks a steady flow of new believers who reflected the values of the day, the church would be pulled in the direction of the Greco-Roman ideal. New believers from the lower classes would expect to find strong church leadership, and there would be a natural tendency for church leadership to accommodate these expectations. Paul's attempts to correct this situation faced a quandary in that it is hard to enforce a non-authoritarian view of leadership without being authoritarian. He sought to teach believers about the Christian view of leadership by exhorting them to follow the examples set by both him and others. The conflict between these two contrasting views of leadership created at least two kinds of problems for the church.

First, there would be cases where new believers wanted to treat church leaders in the same way leaders in society would expect to be treated. A. D. Clarke has shown how this attitude was probably behind Paul's discussion of the factions in the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 3:1-4). The believers were seeking to align themselves with certain

¹³⁹Clarke, *Secular and Christian Leadership in Corinth*, 39.

personalities (for example Paul and Apollos), a trend which Clarke sees as being copied from society: “Such personality-centred politics within the church were characteristic of the surrounding Graeco-Roman society.”¹⁴⁰ These believers hoped to personally benefit by becoming associated with an outstanding church personality, thereby enhancing the believer’s own status. “Plutarch describes the well-known advantage of establishing one’s own reputation by initially attaching oneself to a greater man’s reputation.”¹⁴¹

Second, as noted earlier in this chapter, sometimes those serving as church leaders had been leaders in society before their conversion. These leaders would have a natural tendency to act in a way that was socially acceptable in society-at-large but inappropriate within the Christian community. Clarke has shown how this perhaps lay behind Paul’s condemnation of the practice of taking a fellow-believer to court.¹⁴² Also in this category, a number of potential problems could arise when a man of substance with a large house was asked if his house could be used as a meeting place. As a *paterfamilias*, with considerable leadership abilities and with deeply ingrained ideas of honor and respect, such a person would find it difficult to become the Christian ideal of a servant-leader. Clarke makes reference to the complications such a situation could create:

It might, therefore, be asked to what extent the context of the household influenced the dynamic of leadership within these early churches. For instance, was the authority which was customarily invested within the head of the household also dominant in the Christian congregation which met in his house?¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 92.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 93.

¹⁴²Ibid., 59-71.

¹⁴³Andrew D. Clarke, *Serve the Community of the Church: Christians as Leaders* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), 162.

Clarke's question has no clear answer, and the answer probably also varied from church to church and from time to time. But it does seem likely that many of these Christian leaders perhaps treated the believers meeting in their homes as members of their extended household, and some new believers of the lower classes would have welcomed this identity.

A Possible Four-Step Approach to Leadership Development Used by Paul

What follows is a hypothetical, four-step model of church planting and leadership development that fits the New Testament evidence for the Pauline churches as examined in the preceding sections of this chapter.

The first step began with the planting of the church. Immediately Paul and his associates sought to ground the new believers in their new-found faith in Christ, bring them to maturity, and help them find their place of service in the local body of believers. Master-Disciple Pattern relationships were used to bring all this about. All believers received instruction in the traditions of the Apostles concerning Jesus, with the Old Testament serving as the primary textbook. Training in Christlike character consisted of teachings regarding the way believers should live their lives. Paul and his colleagues served as models which the new believers were expected to imitate. Training in ministry skills consisted in helping individuals discover and develop the spiritual gifts given them by the Holy Spirit. Believers were encouraged to serve each other, as brothers and sisters in God's household.

Paul probably watched for those with leadership potential and made sure they received special attention from himself or one of his companions using either Tutor/Mentor or Master-Disciple Pattern relationships. Paul impressed on everyone the

differences between Christian servant-leadership and leadership as it was practiced in society. Apparently Paul deliberately attempted to reach the wealthy upper class with some success. Having even two or three individuals with houses large enough for meetings would have been a major help in establishing the church on a permanent footing. Most believers would see these individuals, with their previous leadership experience, as the natural leaders of the groups meeting in their homes. Paul did not automatically name them as church elders, however. He wanted to see who would surface as the ones with a heart to expand the church into the community and also to render “service to the saints” (1 Cor. 16:15).

At some point in time, Paul or one of his colleagues took the second step and named elders to a church. These would not be leaders in the well-developed sense that occurs in churches today. There were no official offices with precise job descriptions. Presumably this selection was a joint process, with Paul and his colleagues receiving input from the believers, but exercising the right of veto over those they felt unqualified. The right of those being led to have a say in their leaders is reflected both in Acts 6 and in Greco-Roman society at large. On his first missionary journey, Paul and Barnabas named elders in the newly-established congregations on their way back to Antioch. Ephesus, after three years of Paul’s successful ministry, had elders, as did Philippi. But apparently Thessalonica had none when Paul wrote his two letters to that church, and there is no mention of elders in Corinth. Those churches without elders would have still had some sort of functional leadership, as Paul’s reference to “those who work hard among you” (1 Thess. 5:12) implies. It seems Paul wanted to ensure that individuals were of sufficient maturity in the Lord and also would be accepted as leaders before naming them as such.

It could be that some who Paul felt were suitable to lead were not accepted by everyone, which may be behind the encouragement for the church in Corinth to submit to Stephanas (1 Cor. 16:16).

The third step involved further leadership training in the company of Paul and his band of associates using various patterns of relationships. Paul frequently refers in his letters to individuals who had traveled from their churches to spend time with Paul and his team. Because Paul did not usually identify people with titles, what capacity these individuals played in their respective churches cannot be known with certainty. It seems likely that many of them played leadership roles in Paul's eyes, even though they might not officially serve as elders of a local church. During these times together there would have been informal and perhaps nonformal opportunities to develop the leadership ability of these individuals using Master-Disciple or Tutor/Mentor Patterns. Banks describes what likely took place during these times as follows:

The associates' spiritual and character formation had already previously begun in their homes and local communities, but was enhanced through engaging in service alongside a key figure. To the extent that they are with the central figure, it takes place as they prepare for, participate in, and evaluate their common tasks and as they observe and learn from the way that person operates....By these means associates learned how to obey and relate to God, to deal with tendencies towards pride, ambition, and failure, to operate as a community under God, and to serve others in word and deed.¹⁴⁴

1 Corinthians 16:15-18 provides an example of where some kind of advanced leadership training may have taken place. Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus traveled to Paul with news and a letter from the church in Corinth. Stephanas, held up by Paul as a leadership role model (1 Cor. 16:15), probably spent considerable time with Paul discussing the

¹⁴⁴Banks, *Reenvisioning Theological Education*, 124.

situation in Corinth. Paul would have had a good chance to do some one-on-one mentoring before sending him back to Corinth.

Paul's core group of co-workers should probably be seen as a fourth step of leadership development. The New Testament pictures Paul as having Peer/Team Pattern relationships with people like Timothy and Titus. Grassi describes Paul's group as follows: "His roving little community of apostles was at once a training school, a miniature Church, and a mutual source of support in a very difficult vocation."¹⁴⁵

Concerning the same relationship, Banks has the following comments:

As the prevalence of compounds formed from the prefix *sun-* indicates, especially the term *sunergoi*, "workers," Paul viewed these people as partners or colleagues, not as servants or even apprentices, even though they might from time to time have made arrangements for him or undertaken things on his behalf.¹⁴⁶

Thus, while Paul and his associates made major adaptations to the simple Master-Disciple Pattern used by Jesus to train His disciples, the basic aim remained intact. The mission of spreading the gospel and establishing Christ's kingdom had priority, with leadership being seen as a necessary function to the accomplishment of that goal. To Paul and his colleagues, leadership meant service to the Lord and to His church, and as such, played a background role. Leadership was not about positions of preeminence or being known as the best speaker or the one with the greatest honor.

To Paul, all were called to serve. Those who served well were given more to do, and thus eventually came to assume a leadership role in the church. All were called to live their lives in conformity to the teachings of Jesus. Those who did this well, by

¹⁴⁵Joseph A. Grassi, *A World to Win: The Missionary Methods of Paul the Apostle* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Maryknoll Publications, 1965), 81.

¹⁴⁶Banks, *Reenvisioning Theological Education*, 115.

servicing as examples that others could follow, became leaders. All were called to know the teachings of the Apostles. Those who knew the teachings well and were able to teach others were seen as leaders.

Leadership Development in the Early Church: Summary and Implications

Answers to the questions raised in chapter 2 are arranged below under five points to summarize the nature of leadership training in the Early Church. In many places, these conclusions amount to "connecting the dots" provided by the New Testament. They also represent the ideal rather than what was necessarily happening in every church.

(1) Church leadership was part of a bigger picture and was not thought of in isolation from the nature of the local church and its mission. This statement explains why more was not said concerning leadership and its development in the New Testament. The focus of Paul, Peter, James, and the others was on the mission of the church. Leadership was not an abstract concept to be dealt with independently, but was always looked at in this context.

(2) Church leaders did not picture themselves as individuals but as a part of the body of believers: their identity was tied to the community they led and to the other leaders of the church. If a young man or woman from Ephesus had spoken to the Apostle Paul and shared with him that the Lord was speaking to his heart about going to a nearby town and starting a church, Paul would have probably asked him or her a number of pointed questions. Since Paul valued teamwork and always traveled with a group of colleagues, he would have asked what the rest of the church thought about this young person's idea. For someone to come up with such a plan on his own, without confirmation from others in his community, would have elicited a negative reaction from

Paul. He would also have wanted to know what forms of service the young person was presently engaged in, and how that ministry was being received by the community.

Having a good reputation with other believers was crucial to Paul. If Timothy had not been well spoken of by the brothers in Lystra (Acts 16:2), Paul would have never invited him to accompany him.

(3) The Early Church did not maintain any schools, nor was there any such thing as training “for” ministry. Leaders who surfaced were apparently trained “in” ministry by more mature leaders using Master-Disciple and Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships, with further leadership development taking place in Peer/Team Pattern relationships. The Early Church had no program to train future leaders. The modern sequence of receiving a call from God, being trained “for” ministry, and then engaging “in” ministry was foreign to them. Everyone was expected to receive teaching and training concerning the way a Christian should act and think. All Christians were expected to serve the other members of the body through the manifestation of their spiritual gifts and in other ways. Out of this service to others, leadership for the community began to develop and came to be recognized by the rest of the body. Though Paul and the writers of the other New Testament epistles did not use the term *mathetes*, most of this training was probably along the lines of Jesus’ training of the Twelve and used Master-Disciple Pattern relationships. Those who could serve as good examples of the Christian life, who were willing and able to serve others, and who were able to teach others how to do these things, were seen as leaders.

As these leaders developed, they eventually became a body of elders that served the church in a more formal capacity. Exactly how formal this became in Paul’s lifetime

is not clear, but probably the group of elders resembled a team, with no formalized offices and the relationships between the individuals determining the way they interacted together. These leaders would have spurred each other on in their leadership growth using Peer/Team Pattern relationships, as together they faced the challenges of evangelism and spreading the church throughout their city.

The team led by Paul seems to have also served as an advanced leadership training school, if Grassi and Banks¹⁴⁷ are correct. Paul mentions numerous individuals from various churches as spending extended periods of time with him, and it is reasonable to assume that Paul took advantage of such situations to do further Master-Disciple Pattern leadership training.

All of this leadership training was likely geared to meeting current needs or resolving current problems. Together the leadership of the church dreamed about doing “great things for God.” As they met and shared their needs and challenges, the leaders found help and strength from each other.

(4) Training new leaders was seen as the responsibility of current church leadership, and not the job of a few specialists. Leadership training was a part of the ongoing discipleship process of the local church, and must therefore have been carried out by those presently in leadership. There was no school to which potential leaders could be sent to receive training. Paul stressed the need for those in leadership to “prepare God’s people for works of service” (Eph. 4:12). Paul had experienced significant input from Barnabas in his life and had in turn been of tremendous help to Timothy’s

¹⁴⁷See Grassi, *A World to Win* and Banks, *Reenvisioning Theological Education*.

leadership development. Paul's last words to Timothy included an encouragement to entrust his teachings to those who would be able to teach others (2 Tim. 2:2).

(5) The Early Church was in constant danger of having society's concept of leadership influence the local church in unhealthy ways. Those in the church who had well-developed leadership abilities, thanks to their upbringing and place in society, appear to have often served as leaders in the church. The wealthy upper class many times provided the homes in which believers worshipped and may have met other church needs as well. But the servant-leadership of the church was vastly different from leadership in Greco-Roman society, and there was a constant danger that the "world's view" of leadership would corrupt the Christian community. In the Greco-Roman world, competition between leaders over their status and reputation in a city resulted in fights which spilled over into the courts. The system of patronage encouraged the wealthy to attempt to buy honor and public acclaim from the poor. Many of the problems Paul had to address in 1Corinthians were related to such influences.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL LITERATURE REVIEW (PART 1): THE ROLE OF RELATIONSHIPS IN LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT: ZAMBIAN SOCIETY

The previous chapter examined the relational contexts in which the Early Church sought to develop its leaders. While all five relational patterns played some role, existing church leaders primarily used Master-Disciple and Tutor-Mentor Pattern relationships to develop new leaders, with Peer/Team Pattern being used to further develop those already recognized as such. Familial and Teacher-Student Pattern relationships appear to have played the significant foundational roles in the development of Early Church leaders, but the Early Church itself did not use either relational pattern in any significant way for the development of its leadership. This chapter seeks to examine the roles these five relational patterns have played in Zambia over the past 120 years in the development of leadership in society.

Zambia: An Introduction

Zambia, a land-locked country in southern Africa, with an area of 290,568 square miles or 752,614 square kilometers, closely matches the size of the state of Texas. Until 1500 this part of Africa remained largely uninhabited. Today the country has a population of about 12 million people, a tremendous increase from a population of less than one

million at the time of its occupation by the British in the 1890s.¹ The boundaries of the modern nation of Zambia have virtually no natural geographical or ancient historical roots but resulted from treaties made between the European colonial powers during the late nineteenth century. Today Zambia has over seventy Bantu-speaking kin groups,² the largest being the Bemba. Almost all of these kin groups arrived in Zambia from the Democratic Republic of Congo. These Congolese kin groups broke off from the Luba and Lunda kingdoms and settled in Zambia in a succession of waves.³

The Portuguese frequently ventured up the Zambezi River along the southeastern edge of Zambia in search of gold and ivory, but the explorations of David Livingstone really opened the region to European interest during the late nineteenth century.⁴ Livingstone reached Sesheke on the Zambezi River in 1851 and proceeded to cross into what is now Zambia. Over the next twenty-two years, until his death in Zambia in 1873, Livingstone traveled back and forth across Zambia several times. Accounts of his travels excited many in Europe concerning the need to stop the slave trade and bring Christianity to the peoples of central Africa. Frederick Stanley Arnot, who became the first missionary to settle among one of Zambia's kin groups, lived among the Lozis between

¹L. H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia. Early Days to 1953* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969), 4.

²The exact number is a matter of definition, depending upon how certain language groups are divided.

³*Ibid*, 14-16.

⁴Irving Kaplan, *Area Handbook for Zambia* (Washington, DC: The American University, 1969), 37.

1882 and 1884. By 1890 five different missions operated within what today comprises the nation of Zambia's boundaries.⁵

In 1889 Cecil Rhodes received a Royal Charter for his British South Africa Company to operate in the area north of Botswana. He had already negotiated agreements for mineral exploration with Chief Lobengula of Matebeleland.⁶ In 1890 Chief Lewanika of the Lozis, who ruled over most of western Zambia, negotiated a similar treaty with the British South Africa Company, hoping this would stop the encroachment upon his territory by Lobengula and the Portuguese.⁷ This treaty marked the beginning of British control over Zambia's territory, an occupation that ended with the granting of the nation's independence in 1964.⁸

Zambia today exhibits both homogeneity and at the same times a rich diversity of cultures. Irving Kaplan describes this paradox as follows:

Zambia is at once a homogeneous and a heterogeneous country. Its borders were drawn with no regard to existing human organizations or logic....Yet in comparison with many other African nations, there are few sharp cultural boundaries in Zambia, and the various ethnic groups share cultural elements diffused throughout vast areas....Differences are real, but these units are defined by lines that the colonial government drew for administrative convenience. At times Zambians behave with great unity, with a commonality born of shared culture rather than merely adherence to an official ideology. At times Zambians fragment into myriad small communities, and leaders struggle to find ways to articulate them all in order to build a nation.⁹

⁵Max Ward Randall, *Profile for Victory. New Proposals for Missions in Zambia* (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1970), 27.

⁶Kaplan, 38.

⁷Ibid., 39.

⁸For a comprehensive account of the development of Zambia under the British South Africa Company, see L. H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society. The Development of Northern Rhodesia Under the British South Africa Company 1894–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958)

⁹Irving Kaplan, *Zambia. A Country Study*. 3d ed. (Washington, DC: The American University, 1979), 48.

Leadership in Pre-Colonial Zambia

Any study of traditional leadership in Zambian culture during the 1880s, such as this chapter attempts, faces several challenges. First, the fact that Zambia has approximately seventy kin groups, each with its own traditions, makes such a study hard. Second, colonization and over a century of Western influence have introduced numerous cultural changes in all these groups, including their views on leadership, making an analysis of pre-colonial leadership difficult. Last, serious anthropological studies have not been done on all the groups of Zambia, and those studies which have been done rarely touch upon the relational patterns used by those societies to prepare people for positions of leadership.

However, the great similarities between the various ethnic groups in Zambia, alluded to by Kaplan above, and the similarities between the thousands of cultures across the continent of Africa, show that African societies have certain deeply held cultural beliefs that cannot be easily changed. Lawrence S. Cunningham writes, “Although African culture was never unified, certain characteristics were shared by many early African societies.”¹⁰ Igor Kopytoff describes the commonality of African societies as follows:

A structured distribution of cultural patterns, some being very widely distributed and others being more locally confined, with common traits being sometimes derived from a common historical past, sometimes from diffusion among kindred societies receptive to the same ideas, and sometimes from the convergence that occurs when kindred societies respond in similar ways to similar recurrent conditions....The existence in African societies of this common pan-African

¹⁰Lawrence S. Cunningham and John J. Reich, *Culture and Values: A Survey of the Humanities. Fifth Edition* (Fort Worth: Harcourt College Publishers, 2002), 553.

cultural base insured a relatively easy spread of local elaborations of these traits within the African cultural ecumene.¹¹

When a group broke off and established a new kin group, they brought with them “pre-existing conceptions of social order”¹² which became the model or pattern followed by the new group. This commonality helps offset the challenges noted above and makes an effort to understand the relational patterns by which Zambian kin groups developed their leaders before colonization possible.

Five Common African Cultural Elements

The following list of common cultural elements, with relevance for understanding traditional African leadership development in Central and Southern Africa, derives primarily from Kopytoff’s research¹³ with some modifications by the present writer.

1. The Centrality of the Family or Kin Group

The concept of family permeated every aspect of African culture. Family relationships defined an individual’s identity as well as their status in society. Family relationships served as the pattern through which Africans viewed all interpersonal relationships, including leadership positions in established societies. “When, for example, the founder of a new segment of a polity was in a certain relationship—say that of brother or son or nephew—to the head of the polity, their respective successors continued to

¹¹Igor Kopytoff, “The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture,” in *The African Frontier. The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, ed. Igor Kopytoff (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 15.

¹²*Ibid.*, 33.

¹³*Ibid.*, 32-61.

stand in that relationship to one another. In effect, the original kin relationship subsequently defined the relationship between the two offices.”¹⁴ Survival depended upon numbers. Smaller kin groups often actively sought out others to join them and added such individuals to their kin group, giving them some form of kin recognition metaphorically.¹⁵

2. The Importance of People Over Land

The vast African continent remained relatively sparsely populated until the last few decades. “African societies have usually faced a shortage of people amidst an abundance of land.”¹⁶ Thus, land did not concern a leader nearly as much as securing additional people to lead. “The drive to acquire relatives, adherents, dependents, retainers, and subjects, and to keep them attached to oneself as a kind of social and political ‘capital,’ has often been remarked as a characteristic of African societies.”¹⁷

3. Corporate Ownership of Everything

Unlike the individualism found in Western societies, Africans conceived their personal identity in terms of the group to which they belonged. The group owned not only all land and property, but also all the individuals who made up the group. Group members saw themselves as part of a community in which each individual had few personal rights, but instead had numerous rights through relational ties to other members of the group.

¹⁴Ibid., 38.

¹⁵Ibid., 40-43.

¹⁶Ibid., 41.

¹⁷Ibid., 40.

One of the fundamental characteristics of African kinship systems lies precisely in the great variety of means by which rights-in-persons can be acquired and in the great proliferation in the variety of these rights...These rights have, at various times and places, been rights to people's domestic labor, to their agricultural labor, to portions of hunting produce, to residence, to exclusive or partial or transient sexual services, to sexual exclusion of others, to fertility, to total or sequential progeny, to marriageability of the progeny.¹⁸

Africans viewed a kin relationship with an individual as a right to that individual and anything that they may produce. For example, this became the basis for payments a kin group expected to receive if a man desired to marry one of their women and take her to his family's kin group in a patrilineal society. Her kin expected to be compensated for the loss of production in food and offspring that she would have contributed to the kin group.

4. Descent Groups

Since a person's kin group provided a person with their sense of identity, deciding to which kin group a child belonged became a crucial issue. African culture almost universally uses unilineal descent, which means that a person belongs to the family of only one of their parents.¹⁹ Descent group identity not only defined who had rights to a child but also whose positions that child had rights to inherit once he or she grew up. It played an important role in one's status in the kin group and their future leadership potential. In patrilineal kin groups, which comprise the majority of African societies, the husband compensated his in-laws for the loss of his wife and she became a part of his family. All children therefore belong to the father's family. But a number of kin groups,

¹⁸Ibid., 44.

¹⁹For a comprehensive discussion, see Harold K. Schneider, *The Africans. An Ethnological Account* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981), 83-140.

including a majority of those in Zambia, followed a matrilineal approach to tracing descent. In such societies a person belonged to the family of one's mother and a son usually stood to inherit positions, status, and belongings of his mother's brother, not those of his father.

5. Hierarchy, Power, and Authority

While the corporate ownership of everything tended to create an element of egalitarianism in African culture, most societies developed strong hierarchical systems. About one third of African cultures lacked chiefs or any form of hierarchy,²⁰ but the rest developed chiefs, headmen, or kings. Schneider believes economics played the crucial role in the development of such authority figures:

Power in traditional African society came with control of wealth, just as in any other society, and the search for power was universal and persistent. Power can come in two ways. First, it can come from gaining control of or access to some critical resource which is in short or monopolizable supply. Clients give support to its possessor, who translates this support into authority and chiefship. The majority of African societies were shaped by this process although they varied greatly in the degree of complexity to which stateship evolved, varying from petty chiefships based on petty wealth, to great kingdoms based on great resources.²¹

Africans had a common idea of what hierarchical leadership should look like, and wherever conditions existed, similar forms of leadership developed. African political units resembled a nested pile of building block kin units, each unit structurally similar to the units above and below it. Each block came with a leader who constantly sought to gather other blocks under his authority. If a leader managed to control enough blocks, he declared himself a leader of the next highest level. George Peter Murdock writes:

²⁰Ibid., 167.

²¹Ibid., 143.

As contrasted with the diversity of complex political structures in aboriginal North America...the states of Negro Africa appear essentially as similar as the peas in a single pod....political forms seem everywhere to conform to a single fundamental pattern. Nor does the size of a state seem to make any essential difference. Even a petty paramount chief...seems invariably to institute...in so far as he can on a small scale, the forms prevailing in larger states in the vicinity or even at some distance. It is almost as though all of Africa south of the Sahara were permeated, as it were, by a mental blueprint of a despotic political structure, transmitted from generation to generation as a part of traditional verbal culture, and always available to be transmuted into reality whenever some individual arises with the imagination, enterprise, strength, and luck to establish, with the aid of his kinsmen, an authoritarian regime.²²

Kopytoff prefers to think of hierarchy in terms of firstcomers over latecomers. “In Africa, the principle of precedence—which ties firstcomers to latercomers to lastcomers into a chain of hierarchy—is intimately intertwined with the legitimacy of authority. It does not determine authority, but authority must accommodate to it in some way.”²³ A person could be first in a number of ways, including “age, achievement, length of residence, precedence in initiation, etc.”²⁴ Often the firstcomer’s priority came packaged in terms of kinship and family terms such as “father,” “mother,” or “mother’s brother” found use in describing other relationships.²⁵ To Kopytoff, authority and hierarchy became tightly bound. “The principle meant that, once one has managed to achieve actual authority, one sought to legitimize it by claiming on the public stage that one was in some significant sense, a ‘senior.’”²⁶ And once accepted by others, the claim of seniority in one area led to further declarations of seniority in other areas.

²²George Peter Murdock, *Africa. Its Peoples and Their Culture History* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), 37.

²³Kopytoff, 53.

²⁴Ibid., 58.

²⁵Ibid., 58-59.

²⁶Ibid., 59-60.

Categories of Leadership in African Society

Leadership in pre-colonial African culture fell primarily into two categories: the first consisted of leaders within each lineage group, while the second consisted of institutionalized positions that developed as a lineage group sought to extend its authority beyond the border of its lineage.

Leadership within a Lineage Group

Members of a lineage group saw the other members of their lineage as divisible into two categories: their seniors (or elders) and their juniors. Juniors must always respect their elders as those in authority over them. Kopytoff writes, “It is the generation above me that represents to me the full authority of the lineage.”²⁷ Members of approximately the same age in a lineage exhibit certain solidarity and relate as a group to the generations above and below them.

To the junior, then, lineage authority is most directly embodied in the generation immediately above him, and it is presumptuous for him to go over the heads, so to speak, to yet more senior generations....To those on the outside, a lineage is represented by the oldest member present. Within the lineage, the lineage is represented to any one member by any older member present and, collectively, by all older members living and dead.²⁸

Thus, over time all members of a lineage who lived long enough could look forward to serving as one of the collective group of elders that exercised authority over that lineage. Most lineage groups also recognized a certain person as the lineage headman based upon his status as the eldest son of the most prominent branch of the lineage. This person served along with the other elders as a first among equals. Certain individuals in a

²⁷Igor Kopytoff, “Ancestors as Elders in Africa,” in *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation*, Christopher Burghard Steiner and Roy Richard Grinker (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1997), 414.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 415.

lineage might also gain prestige or status due to certain skills they possessed—such as an ability in fighting or hunting—or due to certain characteristics—such as their generosity with their possessions towards other members of the lineage. Their increased status gave them influence with the rest of the lineage, but these “big men” exercised no leadership capable of being passed to someone else.

Many African societies, such as the Tonga of Zambia, had no leadership other than that of its lineage group as described above. Concerning the Tonga Kaplan writes:

The Tonga are one of the handful of Zambian tribes who had no form of corporate political or social organization above the village level. Common adherence to a local rain shrine united five or six villages for ritual purposes once a year....The elements of traditional Tonga organization were the matrilineal clan, the lineage, the village, and the district. The dispersed matrilineal clan had no political, economic, or legal functions and no leaders....Clans were divided into small lineages....These lineages, however, were small and commonly included no more than the descendants of a common grandmother.²⁹

The village headman, recognized as such by the colonial authorities, had little effective authority....A village headman who could not get along with his people would find them moving away. The village was an informal social group which lasted as long as its residents got along well with each other and with the headman.³⁰

Institutionalized Leadership

Over time a lineage group grew in size until the local village lineage became unmanageable. The lineage then usually divided over some irresolvable issue and a portion of the lineage members left to establish their own village. Sometimes those who left interacted with other lineage groups, asserting their superiority over the others, and in the process developed a more complex form of society. Kopytoff identifies four stages a

²⁹Kaplan, *Area Handbook for Zambia*, 107.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 108.

new settlement might go through as it evolved from a lineage group with a headman into a kingdom with a king.

Our analysis contends that there are, roughly speaking, four stages in the growth of frontier settlements that develop into chieftancies and kingdoms: (1) The initial immigrant settlement... (2) The growth of the latter into a chieftancy that incorporated new subjects and neighboring settlements into an integrated polity built on the recognition of the separateness and interdependence of rulers and subjects... (3) The maturing of the preceding chieftancy into a “kingdom.” And (4) the further expansion of the kingdom through open conquest and frank domination of peripheral areas; this created an outer circle of vassal polities and subordinate allies.³¹

According to Kopytoff, the crucial step involved the shift from leadership by a village headman to the chieftancy. At that point those governed no longer viewed their leader as a normal member of their lineage group, but as someone special and set apart from the rest.³² Once separated from the natural flow of junior lineage members becoming lineage elders, leadership became an institution, a position in which a person served while they lived, and for which a successor must be named upon their death. In a smaller polity, such as Kopytoff's second category above, there might be only one or at the most a few such institutionalized positions. But in kingdoms there might be a large number of such positions, each belonging to a lineage. Usually the elders of that lineage, as the living authority of the lineage, held ultimate responsibility for choosing a successor for a deceased leader from his living descendants.

A Look at Some Zambian Kin Groups

The next few pages seek to examine what can be reconstructed concerning the way leadership functioned in several Zambian kin groups and how each society

³¹Kopytoff, “The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture,” 69–70.

³²See Igor Kopytoff, “The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture,” 62–75 for further discussion.

developed its leaders. These groups may then serve as representatives of the many other kin groups of Zambia.

The Goba

This Shona-speaking group numbered about 100,000 people in 1981, scattered along both sides of the Zambezi River for a distance of about 300 miles below Lake Kariba. Chet S. Lancaster carried out a study of one Goba chieftainship, the BanaMainga, from 1967 to 1969. The Goba originally came from western Zimbabwe, at least as early as the fifteenth century.³³ Portuguese exploration and the rising slave trade kept the area politically turbulent from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. During this time the original Shona population absorbed a great number of immigrants from all directions.

Tradition says the original Goba fled the Shona king in Zimbabwe. The original group arrived without a king, though it contained many descent group heads, great warriors, and magicians.³⁴ Lancaster describes the pre-British leadership situation as follows:

In the precolonial Middle Zambezi Valley, the legitimacy of rulership was embodied in a line of royal succession, and ethnically disparate immigrant groups were attached to the royal line as accessory lines. This allowed assimilated groups to proclaim their legitimate pretensions to the kingship whenever they captured actual power by force and intrigue. The pattern created a dynamic regional political system in which various immigrant groups and local factions founded or appropriated chiefdoms, petty kingdoms, kingdoms, and segmentary states. Externally, these polities continuously combined, recombined, broke up, expanded, contracted, shifted their boundaries, and were absorbed by others. Internally, various factions within them succeeded one another in holding at various times the chiefly and royal positions. The larger kingdoms were

³³Chet S. Lancaster, *The Goba of the Zambezi* (Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 15.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 16.

confederacies of such adjacent kingdoms that were tributary to a central kingdom and they too were shaped by the same dynamic.

In this kaleidoscope, the political units at each level tended to replicate, structurally and ideologically, the units at the levels above and below them. To be sure, the central kingdoms had longer king lists and more evolved political charters, but they followed the same structural model as the smaller and more recently formed units. Many kings were themselves subordinate “king’s men” in a yet larger chain of authority whose links at times extended eastward toward Mwene Mutapa’s home kingdom and southward toward the realms on the Zimbabwe goldfields.³⁵

Local village leadership consisted of both men and women, one of whose primary roles consisted in the oversight of the local earth-spirit shrines. “Both males and females attain key positions in the cult through processes of positional succession, which are considered extremely important.”³⁶ As a matrilineal society, the leading women played a clearly important role.

Age-graded sorority groups, together with their guardian brothers...are thought of as the heart of the village and as the living representatives of the original founding core of village women. These women—grandmothers, mothers, sisters, daughters, and granddaughters to one another—prefer to remain together, as they believe their ancestors did.³⁷

In summary, leadership among the women of the village came about by being one of the oldest surviving women of the leading family. This collective leadership came through inheritance, with no action being required on the part of the women to achieve such a position.

For Goba men, the path to leadership required considerable personal effort. While originally a patrilineal people, the heavy tsetse-fly infestation of the Zambezi Valley

³⁵Chet S. Lancaster, “Political Structure and Ethnicity in an Immigrant Society: The Goba of the Zambezi,” in *The African Frontier. The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, ed. Igor Kopytoff (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 117.

³⁶Lancaster, *The Goba of the Zambezi*, 155.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 164.

made it impossible to raise cattle in any number. Thus, men had to perform bride-service³⁸ in order to secure their wives, meaning that the Goba over time shifted to a basically matrilineal descent system. “As a solution, the Goba have developed a system of dual descent lines by giving preference to ‘brother-sister’ marriages—actually marriages between cousins and half-siblings from the often polygynous marriages of elders.”³⁹ Without the ability to trace one’s descent from former leaders through one’s mother, or preferably through both one’s mother and father, a man had no chance of becoming a leader among the Goba.

The first step toward leadership for a man with the right lineage consisted in marrying the right woman. His wife preferably should also have the ability to trace her descent back to the royal Goba lines. When Lancaster studied the Goba, young men usually married in their mid-twenties and lived with their in-laws until they were in their late thirties, during which time they performed bride-service for their wives.⁴⁰ Presumably men in pre-colonial days did the same. By the time the couple reached their forties the husband should have worked off his debt to his in-laws, which enabled him to move out and establish his own independent household. At this point the man qualified as a village elder and could begin working to establish his leadership position in the village.

Though matrilineal, women in Goba society usually chose a man, known as their *dundumuntuli*, to serve as a guardian and represent them in legal, political, and spiritual

³⁸Bride-service is work provided by the husband to his in-laws in lieu of some kind of payment for their daughter.

³⁹Lancaster, “Political Structure and Ethnicity in an Immigrant Society: The Goba of the Zambezi,” 105.

⁴⁰Lancaster, *The Goba of the Zambezi*, 160.

matters.⁴¹ Usually a woman chose her father, her mother's brother, or her brother to serve as this representative. After a man became accepted as an adult elder of the village, he sought to become the *dundumuntuli* for as many of his female relatives as possible. The more women he represented, the higher his rank in the village.

His public role as representative of family dependents centers on ancestral-cult responsibilities connected with a wide range of important life-crisis activities for each family dependent....These time-consuming activities...keeps adult male elders in large extended-family settlements constantly on the move. In the meantime, their female compound associates—their grandmothers, mothers, aunts, wives, sisters, and daughters—usually stay closer to home to manage the domestic sphere and subsistence cultivation pretty much on their own.⁴²

As his sphere of influence grew, he might be asked to represent the village in councils held by sub-chiefs and eventually the chief. These prestigious duties became a legacy his male relatives and potential successors would seek.

As a male elder ages, the prestige of his responsible position as senior male compound representative is a legacy his brothers, sons, and sister's sons usually fight for, especially if the settlement is an important one and the elder has occupied an important position in a large descent group.⁴³

Only a few males in each generation had the opportunity to act as *dundumuntuli*, and it is this designation for which those men desirous of leadership strove.

Upon the death of an important male leader, a number of changes occurred among the members of the kin group. The women represented by the deceased needed to choose a new *dundumuntuli*. If the male leader left children behind, the lineage group to which he belonged needed to select a main heir.

The main heir is the person who has been selected to succeed to the social positions previously occupied by the deceased. What is of paramount importance here is always the bundle of (*social positions*) [italics in original] vacated by death. The changes primarily involve the domestic household of spouse and

⁴¹Ibid., 166.

⁴²Ibid., 166–67.

⁴³Ibid., 167.

children, though the main heir's activities also influence the deceased's ongoing relationships. These include marital, affinal, and parental ties together with the deceased's positions as a member of descent groups and kinship networks.⁴⁴

The person chosen as the main heir was "a full brother, a half-brother, a first parallel male cousin, or another male kinsman resident in the village or nearby, in that order of preference [however]...he must be an acceptable male to the widow."⁴⁵

In conclusion, among the Goba leadership ability developed primarily in the context of Familial Pattern relationships. Leaders-to-be, both men and women, learned by observing their elders in various leadership positions. Leadership among women resulted from one's ancestry, by being the eldest daughter of one of the present leading women. Leadership for men proved much more challenging, but again Familial Pattern relationships provided the strongest influence upon the development of a person's future leadership potential. A man not born of the right mother had no chance for leadership and influence in Goba society. Those born of the right lineage needed to negotiate a series of challenges. Those who successfully positioned themselves as the *dundumuntuli* for a sizable number of the females on his mother's side of the family achieved leadership status. Further status came with being chosen as the successor for any male relatives of the older generation.

The Ngoni

The Ngoni today inhabit a large area of eastern Zambia, Malawi, and Tanzania. They look back to an Nguni⁴⁶ chief named Zwangendaba as their ancestral founder.

⁴⁴Ibid., 262.

⁴⁵Ibid., 263.

⁴⁶The term Nguni is used of the original kin groups in South Africa and Natal province, while Ngoni is used of those kin groups who settled in Zambia and Malawi.

Zwangendaba, chief of the small Nguni-speaking Jere tribe, was one of the most remarkable leaders in African history....he led his people on a successful migration over thousands of miles, preserved them from innumerable encounters and presided over the development of a system of socio-political organization of great ingenuity.⁴⁷

The Ngoni originated in South Africa along the Natal coast. In the late eighteenth century population pressure led to a consolidation among the Nguni-speaking peoples of that area.⁴⁸ Using new battle tactics and weapons, Shaka became the dominant ruler in Natal and created a new military state, based upon the continuing conquest of surrounding peoples.

Shaka constructed a new type of state. Its primary purpose was to maintain and expand an efficient fighting force completely loyal to its leader. The normal method of incorporating new elements in an expanding tribe was employed....Conquered tribes were simply grafted onto the territorial hierarchy, their chiefs becoming territorial sub-chiefs....In Shaka's System, however, the territorial chiefs lacked the power and importance which they had in the traditional system....their authority was restricted to the older men and women....All young men were drafted into the army and it was in the army that all power resided.⁴⁹

Zwangendaba, the leader of an Nguni group called the Jere, fled from Shaka into southern Mozambique. There the Jere regrouped and adopted the military techniques developed by Shaka.

The lessons of the Zulu war were not lost on the defeated and Zwangendaba together with other Nguni leaders drilled their followers in Zulu fighting tactics. With these they were more than a match for the Thonga and other peoples of Southern Mozambique and though their numbers were small they met with no effective opposition. As they advanced, Thonga captives were incorporated into the regiments and the host grew more formidable with every victory.⁵⁰

⁴⁷J. D. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath. A Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1966), 64.

⁴⁸See Omer-Cooper, 9-23 on the background and various factors that led to the formation of the Zulu people under Shaka.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 33-34.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 64.

Other Nguni groups had also fled into southern Mozambique to escape Shaka. After fighting with them in 1831, Zwangendaba decided to move westward up the Zambezi River. He traveled across Zimbabwe, destroying the Rozwi empire of the Shona and incorporating the conquered into his army as he went “until they became a significant element in the composite group.”⁵¹

In 1835 the Ngoni crossed into Zambia and settled among the Nsenga.

For about four years their regiments ravaged the neighbourhood bringing large numbers of captive Nsenga to swell their ranks. Then, like a swarm of locusts forced to continue advancing as it destroys its own livelihood, the Ngoni moved off again to the north....until he reached the small lakes of Mawiri. There the Ngoni halted again for another period of about four years.⁵²

Here the Ngoni preyed on the various Chewa and Tumbuka peoples nearby, incorporating them into their group. After a period of time, little was left in the area to prey upon, and the Ngoni moved north into Tanzania where Zwangendaba died about 1848.⁵³ A struggle over which of Zwangendaba’s two eligible sons should succeed him, neither of whom had reached manhood, split the Ngoni people into five separate Ngoni groups. Another group of Nguni-speaking peoples from Natal also settled in the area, making for a total of six groups who eventually settled over a large area of Tanzania, Zambia, and Malawi, all known today as the Ngoni.

They combined with the effects of the expanding Arab Slave Trade to bring a long era of peaceful peasant existence to a violent end. Almost every people in the whole vast area between Lake Bangweolu and the Indian Ocean was affected. Villages were destroyed and burned. Thousands were massacred and others dragged away to join the Ngoni ranks. The terror of Ngoni raids prevented normal cultivation and famine was widespread.⁵⁴

⁵¹Ibid., 65.

⁵²Ibid., 67.

⁵³Ibid., 68.

⁵⁴Ibid., 83-84.

The onslaught did not stop until the British seized control of the area in 1898, bringing to an end the Ngoni raids and their travels that had started almost seventy years before.

Margaret Read conducted studies of several Ngoni groups during the 1930s. Many of those she interviewed had taken active part in the Ngoni raids of the previous century. The Ngoni practiced patrilineal marriage, unlike most of the people they conquered. In describing the pattern of Ngoni family life, she writes:

The father, as the biological parent and also the symbol of authority, was the focus of honour and respect, and the one who helped his children when they were in need. The relation between the father and his children among the Ngoni was always a balance between affection and care, and respect and authority. The ideal pattern of a father, as described by informants, included all these elements and also wisdom....The mother, on the other hand, had a more limited relationship within the family circle. To her own children and to the children of her co-wives, especially of her house, she was the provider of food, and the affectionate 'cherisher' of young children; but she was also treated with respect and, when she reached some seniority, she had considerable authority over her daughters and her younger co-wives. She could never compete, however, with the sisters of her husband or with his mothers, who expected to exercise authority over her children and to arrange for the ceremonies connected with birth, puberty, and marriage.⁵⁵

Provision for the training of children, adolescents and young adults in correct behaviour...fell on the women as far as young children and girls were concerned, and on the men for the boys and young men, so long as they were in the village. Ngoni men insisted that their children should be correctly trained, and they were contemptuous of Cewa and other tribal groups who left it 'all to the women'.⁵⁶

Thus, Familial Pattern relationships provided the foundation for future leadership development, with the father especially involved in the moral and character development of his young sons.

Peer/Team Pattern relationships played a significant role in the development of leadership among the Ngoni. Boys from the age of about seven to seventeen lived in a *laweni*, or a boys' dormitory, while taking care of their fathers' cattle. Read describes life

⁵⁵Margaret Read, *The Ngoni of Nyasaland* (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1970), 134.

⁵⁶Ibid., 142-143.

there as, “rigorous and was dominated by the senior boys.”⁵⁷ All boys, including the sons of chiefs, lived in the *laweni*. “There was no respecting of clan status in the *laweni* and young boys of high-ranking families had to wait on and obey older boys of lower rank. *Laweni* life was therefore a democratizing influence among the boys of the village.”⁵⁸ During this period a boy showed his leadership potential under the watchful eyes of the village elders as he interacted with his age mates. “This was the formative period when a boy’s capacity to succeed his father in a position of authority was carefully observed and judged.”⁵⁹

In pre-colonial times, the chief would periodically form the older boys of the *laweni* into an age regiment, the basic military unit of Ngoni society.

Every few years, all the boys of a certain age-group would be recruited to form a new regiment. They would train and go to war together, fighting hand-to-hand in Zulu style with a short stabbing spear. Each regiment formed an avenue for promotion on the basis of military skill rather than birth. This ‘meritocracy’ reflected the fact that the Ngoni were continually swelling their numbers by incorporating war-captives in their regiments. Such men obviously could gain no promotion among the Ngoni on a hereditary basis, but they were free to compete for positions of military leadership according to their ability. For most purposes such ex-captives became Ngoni, and they had good reason to stay in a successful Ngoni group rather than risk the hazards of life back among their own people.⁶⁰

Eventually the king disbanded the age regiment and the young men settled down and raised families. But men continued to relate together as an age group right through old age. Thus the relations and friendship formed by men during their youth continued

⁵⁷Ibid., 144.

⁵⁸Ibid., 145.

⁵⁹Ibid., 146.

⁶⁰Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1976), 119.

throughout their lives. The group of village elders, both men and women, played an influential role in the preservation of the Ngoni way of life.

The maintenance of Ngoni standards of behaviour in young people was in the hands of this older group, who could and did exercise authority over and above that of the family and house. There were no more ardent supporters of Ngoni behaviour patterns than some of the older men and women...recognized as *manina* and *madoda* [italics in original] in their villages.⁶¹

Status among the Ngoni primarily depended upon the clan to which a person belonged. Each clan had their leaders, with the head of the ruling royal clan being the *inkhosi*, or paramount chief. When a man succeeded to headship of a clan, the rest of the clan provided the bride price and secured a new wife, known as the Great Wife, for their chief from another clan. The clan established a new village with a royal residence called the Great House as its focus. Here the Great Wife resided.⁶² The first born sons of the Great Wife usually succeed the chief when he died, though such succession did not occur automatically. Upon the death of an important chief, such as the *inkhosi*, a regent served as leader during an interregnum period. After consultation with all the appropriate Ngoni leaders concerning which of the male relatives of the deceased best qualified to assume leadership, the regent named the new leader.

In conclusion, leadership among the Ngoni depended largely upon one's birth, with Familial Pattern relationships providing the important foundation for a leader's claim to a position in the clan. But the crucial period of leadership development came as the boy grew to be a man and participated as a warrior with others of his age-regiment, during which time Peer/Team relationships predominated. Only if a man showed himself

⁶¹Read, 152.

⁶²Ibid., 13.

to have the qualities of leadership that the Ngoni admired did he have a chance of being chosen by the regent as his father's successor.

The Bemba

Today the Bemba dominate Zambia as the country's largest ethnic group. According to the 2000 census, Bemba is either the first or second language in the homes of two-thirds of all Zambians. The writings of Audrey Richards, who carried out extensive research among the Bemba in the 1930s, serve as the basis for much of what follows.

When the British began their colonization of Zambia, the Bemba controlled much of the northeastern plateau. Along with many of their neighboring kin groups, the Bemba had come from the Congo River Basin by the early seventeenth century.

According to their own traditions, and those of the surrounding peoples, the Bemba were originally an offshoot of the great Luba tribe which inhabited the Katanga area of the Congo east of the Kasai river, and their invasion of their present territory seems to have been one of a series of immigrations.⁶³

The Bemba settled in a wooded area plagued by tsetse flies, and therefore unsuitable for raising cattle. While the land easily supported scattered villages, the area did not produce anything suitable for trading with other kin groups.

The Bemba, like most of their neighbours, had a matrilineal system of succession. They made their living by slash-and-burn agriculture, but their country was poor and they did not produce a surplus for trade. They were thus unable to exchange goods with the neighbouring Tabwa salt makers, Fipa iron makers, or Mambwe cattle breeders, instead they raided them. Unlike the Ngoni, however, they did not assimilate the majority of their captives into the tribe. Instead they sold their

⁶³Audrey I. Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia. An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 16.

captives to Arab slave traders for muskets, a policy that may have been connected with the infertile nature of their country.⁶⁴

During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the other tribes of northern Zambia greatly feared the Bemba. The Bemba only met their match with the invasion of the Ngoni.

The Bemba had a well-developed political system, at the top of which was the *Chitimukulu*, or paramount chief.

As the Bemba spread, a number of chieftanships with specific titles were formed. Their chiefs were usually remote kin of the *Chitimukulu*...and retained allegiance to the office, acknowledging the ritual and spiritual superiority of the incumbent. They maintained, however, a substantial degree of autonomy in secular matters and were not administratively answerable to the *Chitimukulu*.⁶⁵

A person's lineage determined their leadership potential above the level of headman in Bemba society; all chiefs and the *Chitimukulu* belonged to the crocodile clan.

The *Chitimukulu* rules over his own district, the centre of the Bemba country—Lubemba—but also acts as overlord to a number of territorial chiefs, who govern districts similar in size, succeed to fixed titles, and are drawn from the same clan, and in fact the same lineage group, as the Paramount himself. Each of these territorial chiefs has one or two sub-chiefs under him, these again being drawn from the royal clan, but in some cases from more distant branches of the family which have become localized in one particular area. Sisters and maternal nieces of the chiefs are reckoned as chieftainesses, *Banamfumu*.... Beneath the chiefs come the heads of villages (*mwine mushi*, plur. *bene mushi*) appointed by them. A particular feature of this political system is the hierarchy of the 40-50 officials, *Bakabilo*, many of them also of royal descent, who succeed to fixed titles, and perform ritual duties at the court, take charge of the chief's complex mortuary and accession ceremonies, and act as a council for the whole tribe. Besides these hereditary priests and councillors attached to the Paramount's court, though not resident at it, each chief and sub-chief has his own councillors (*bafilolo*), with legal and executive functions, living at his court and appointed by him, and in the old days had captains of his army, executioners, and other court dignitaries as well. The complexity of this political organization form an interesting contrast to

⁶⁴L. H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, 6-7.

⁶⁵Kaplan, *Area Handbook for Zambia*, 34-35.

the simplicity of the people's economic system. Such a centralized form of government is not found among the surrounding tribes.⁶⁶

As in other African societies, acceptance as a leader in Bemba society started with one's birth. As Roberts writes, "The most important political idea was their belief that the ability to rule was essentially an inborn quality, which could only be transmitted through a single line descent, whether male or female."⁶⁷ Descent from the earlier kings and chiefs put the leader in a position to control the guardian spirits of the land and the clan and thereby ensure the prosperity of the Bemba people.

The power of the chief rests ultimately on his people's belief in his supernatural powers over the prosperity of the land and the welfare of his individual subjects. By his inheritance of the guardian spirits (*umupashi*, plur. *imipashi*) of the line of dead chiefs, and his possession of the sacred relics (*babenye*) of the tribe, he has power of approach to the tribal deities and he is responsible for the economic rites on which the food-production of these people is thought to depend.⁶⁸

The Bemba traditionally practiced matrilineal and matrilineal marriage. Mothers cared for their children until the time for weaning. Following weaning, small children divided their time between their parents and their grandparents, who frequently assume a major portion of the responsibility for child rearing. While at home, the mother gave oversight of daughters, but the father and the mother's brother shared oversight of the sons. The role of the mother's brother in the life of a young boy usually had greater importance than that of the father, except in cases where the father had an important position in society. In matrilineal societies, the mother, her brother, and her children all belong to the same clan, while the father belongs to a different clan. Eventually the young

⁶⁶Richards, 24–25.

⁶⁷Roberts, 84.

⁶⁸Richards, 25.

sons of a man's sister inherited any positions and possessions he may have, so he had a great interest in the upbringing of his nephews. Young boys lived and slept together in their own hut near that of their parents, while daughters often slept with older female relatives. Unlike the Ngoni, the Bemba had no cattle to care for and no age regiments for the teenage boys. Instead, a young teenage boy's thoughts focused on marriage and he began the process of looking for a wife at a relatively young age.

In pre-colonial times, a young man chose his future wife from another clan, both the boy and the girl typically still being in their early teens. Richards found that in the 1930s the young man chose to marry his cross cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, about one third of the time.⁶⁹ The young man then moved to his in-laws and built a hut near theirs. The new husband served his father-in-law for a number of years, tending his gardens and performing other similar services. If he pleased his in-laws with his work and his treatment of their daughter, the father-in-law eventually gave the husband the right to leave with his wife and children. But the wife's emotional ties often prevented her from leaving her mother. In such cases the husband could divorce her and leave, however many husbands capitulated and remained with their in-laws. If the husband had many daughters and his wife agreed to leave her mother, he could begin thinking about establishing his own village and becoming a prominent man in Bemba society.

Bemba society consisted of a great number of scattered villages, each largely self-sufficient, and each attached to a chief. The typical village consisted of an older man with his wife, daughters, their husbands and grandchildren, and a few other relatives. Very

⁶⁹Ibid., 114–16.

rarely did anyone live in a village without some kind of relationship to the headman.⁷⁰ A typical village contained thirty to fifty huts, though the villages of a sub-chief or a chief attained greater size. The *Chitimukulu* maintained his own large village, in keeping with his status as the paramount chief of the Bemba. A man blessed with many daughters and with a wife who agreed to leave her family could make plans for the establishment his own village. His many daughters would attract young men to work for him. As they settled down and grandchildren were born, the size of the village grew, increasing the social position of its founder.

These heads of matrilineal family groups are the most influential members of the community and are known as the ‘great ones’ of the village (*bakalamba*), and the household of a man who has several married daughters living under his care is known as a ‘big house’ (*inyanda ikalamba*). Of the headman of one village who had seven married daughters and their husbands and children—some of the latter also married—living with him, natives exclaimed with rapture: ‘Truly that is a big house! My word! That is luck indeed!’⁷¹

When a village headman died, the son of the headman’s sister usually assumed leadership of it. However, the village elders exercised the final right to decide on a successor, and in a village Richards closely observed, the elders chose the former headman’s brother, who inherited, “the name, the spirit, and the hereditary bow of the dead man (*ukupyanika*), and finally, one of his widows.”⁷² The Bemba looked for certain qualities in their leaders. Leaders must be generous, elegant of speech, of good judgment, and self-controlled.⁷³ Succession to one’s uncle did not happen automatically, and the

⁷⁰Ibid., 111.

⁷¹Ibid., 113.

⁷²Ibid., 156.

⁷³Audrey Richards, *Chisungu. Girl's Initiation Ceremony Among the Bemba* (New York: Routledge, 1982), 47–48.

elders responsible for choosing a headman's successor usually passed over someone who lacked the expected qualities of a leader.

Again, the relationships that prepared someone for leadership in Bemba society consisted primarily of those of the Familial Pattern. Peer/Team Pattern relationships played a less important role among the Bemba than for the Ngoni. One's lineage provided the primary qualification for leadership in Bemba society, though those responsible for choosing a leader's successor usually passed over anyone lacking the expected qualities of a leader.

The Peoples of the Luapula Valley

Not far to the west of the Bemba lies the Luapula River. This today forms the border between Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. For over two hundred years the Lunda ruled over the area with its multitude of different tribes.

It is a wealthy area of fertile fisheries occupied by a great mixture of some 19 tribes, often referred to as the Luapula Peoples....The Luapula peoples are part of the Bemba-speaking group and share many cultural features with them. They differ from the group in the complexity of the political organization under which they live....Another important differentiating factor is that, instead of having been integrated into a single tribe, the Luapula people built up in a long series of immigrations, have each retained the tribal designations of the districts from which they originally came, despite their subjection to one king....The Lunda did not assimilate their subjects as did the Bemba, but instead established themselves as a separate governing class historically and culturally distinct from other tribes.⁷⁴

The original heartland of the Lunda Empire lies to the northwest of the Luapula Valley in southern Congo. Mwata Yamvwa, the Lunda king, sent out several armies to conquer the surrounding areas in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One of his generals, Kanyembe Mutanda, conquered the peoples of the Luapula Valley, who

⁷⁴Kaplan, *Area Handbook for Zambia*, 82–83.

until then had been subject to a kin group known as the Shila, and became the first *Kazembe*. A series of Lunda kings reigned over the Luapula valley from its initial conquest about 1740 until today.⁷⁵ All the kin groups in this region are matrilineal with the exception of, “the kingship and the descent of most of the important, aristocratic Lunda names and offices [which] are patrilineal.”⁷⁶

Ian Cunnison carried out research among the peoples of the Luapula Valley between 1948 and 1951. His research sheds interesting light on leadership and its succession among these peoples, which in many cases probably resembled the practices of many other peoples of Zambia before British colonization.

Among the matrilineal peoples of the Luapula Valley, the process of choosing a successor to an important person took place in the following manner. After a period of time following a leader’s death, which might be up to a year, important elder members of the lineage met and decided which relative of the deceased should be chosen. “Those with the right of choosing are known as the owners (*abene*) of the name.”⁷⁷ Finding a suitable successor often proved difficult and sometimes they chose a distant relative.⁷⁸

Concerning the nature of the inheritance, Cunnison writes:

The name is inherited along with the kinship relationships and the status position within the lineage which had belonged to the deceased. The successor takes the wives or husband, and some outward token of the dead person’s identity such as belt (for a man) or beads (for a woman).⁷⁹

⁷⁵A. J. Wills, *The History of Central Africa*. 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 54-55.

⁷⁶Kaplan, *Area Handbook for Zambia*, 83.

⁷⁷Ian Cunnison, *The Luapula Peoples of Northern Rhodesia. Custom and History in Tribal Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 98.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 101-03.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 86.

The inheritance of names in this way, and of the social statuses connected with them, enables perpetual kinship to exist between social positions....It is a fixed relationship between hereditary names which remains constant through the generations.⁸⁰

Only those names with significance required a successor and many lesser names soon disappeared in favor of the more important ones. Cunnison explains the reason for this approach to succession as follows:

Each man has a name. On his death, the name subsists as an attribute or possession of the lineage. After a while the lineage finds a member to succeed to the name. This member is then the embodiment of two positions, and holds two names, his own original one and the one he inherits. Of these the inherited overrides the original name and position, because it is either of a senior generation, or else is senior in the same generation (a senior never succeeds a junior). Children, in these terms, are children of a position rather than of an individual.⁸¹

Concerning the nature of villages in the Luapula Valley Cunnison writes, "One of the important features which emerges from our short analysis is the extent of the mobility of individual households."⁸² The core of a village consisted of people who claimed a close relationship to the headman. These relatives could count on preferential treatment from the headman and in return the headman could count on their loyalty to him. But a sizable proportion of a village's inhabitants usually had only a tenuous relationship with the headman, and these inhabitants might leave as easily as they came. A headman's status in society depended upon the size of his village, and headmen engaged in a certain amount of competition with other headmen for those people who might consider moving to a new village. One of the key factors in attracting new inhabitants involved the ability

⁸⁰Ibid., 105.

⁸¹Ibid., 98.

⁸²Ibid., 145.

of a headman's rituals to ward off evil and ensure prosperity and success for his followers. Concerning this religious aspect of headship, Cunnison writes:

The headman for his part has cause to look after his villagers well. He has to intervene wisely in those disputes which come to his notice, and carry out other practical tasks which make for the well-being of his village. A headman can lose followers through his own bad character, but if in spite of his general efficiency and common sense his village is troubled, it is said he has bad medicines or is not looking after them properly. His interest is not only to keep his villagers contented with him; it is also to attract others to his village....He takes steps to effect both of these by his ritual....All headmen are sorcerers: this is the common estimation. Success in all spheres is obtainable only through sorcery. The higher in political rank, the greater a sorcerer one is. A headman must have got his office through sorcery: this means that he has used his sorcery to kill off a previous incumbent or to kill rivals; or else it means that he is known to be a sorcerer, and this may act as a threat that if he is not appointed, then the one who is will die.⁸³

These comments by Cunnison shed some interesting light on the kind of religious qualities required of a headman in a competitive environment like the Luapula Valley.

As in the pattern outlined above, responsibility for finding the successor for a village headman fell to a select group of clan elders. The headman always belonged to a clan and the village belonged to the same clan. Upon the death of a headman, the elders of that clan lineage gathered and chose a successor from among his descendants.

“Succession to the name of a headman includes succession at the same time to the headmanship itself. Thus to seek an heir to a headmanship is like seeking a successor to a name, but in this case special qualities may be desired.”⁸⁴ Though a headman needed the right lineage, the character qualities and personal skills necessary to hold a village together and make it prosper meant not everyone could perform the job. If the village and its new headman belonged to a Lunda clan, once the lineage elders decided on a

⁸³Ibid., 141–42.

⁸⁴Ibid., 122–23.

successor, the *Kazembe* officially installed him in his office with a special investiture ceremony.⁸⁵ If the village and the new headman belonged to another kin group, the responsibility for installing the headman belonged to his clan and the neighboring headmen.

Finding a successor to the king required an approach similar to that of a headman, except that the kingship required a patrilineal connection to the former king. “A Kazembe should be the son of a Kazembe and of a woman given as *ntombo* [wife] by a Lunda aristocrat.”⁸⁶ Upon the death of the present *Kazembe*, a group of the Lunda aristocracy met and decided which one of his descendants should serve as the next *Kazembe*.

Cunnison’s focus on succession and the rituals involved throw considerable light on certain aspects of the culture of the Luapula peoples, but he does not address other aspects, such as how those qualified to succeed deceased kinsmen became so qualified. This precludes the possibility of saying more than that Familial Pattern relationship must have played the decisive role in developing leadership among the peoples of the Luapula Valley. The absence of a significant role for age-set organization among the Luapula Peoples, such as the Ngoni had, makes it likely that Peer/Team Pattern relationships played a minor role in leadership development.

The Nature of Leadership in Pre-Colonial Zambia

The preceding survey demonstrates the considerable differences among the kin groups of Zambia prior to the period of British colonization. Some, like the Bemba, had a well developed organizational structure and sought to dominate neighboring groups.

⁸⁵See Cunnison, 174-178 for details.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 159.

Others, like the Tonga, lacked any organization above that of a local headman. Some domineering groups, such as the Lunda, contented themselves with maintaining a position of superiority over those they conquered, while others, such as the Ngoni, sought to incorporate the conquered into their kin group. All had some form of lineage eldership and most had some level of formalized leadership as well. In spite of the differences, all Zambian kin groups shared a basic concept of leadership and how a person became a leader, as the following pages seek to illustrate.

The Leader as Ancestral Mediator

All kin groups used the family as the metaphor to symbolize all relationships, including those of leadership. “In the prevalent metaphor of kinship, the adherents were like relatives, the polity like a kin group, authority relations like those in a family.”⁸⁷ The leader fulfilled many functions, including protection of the kin group from outside hostile forces, provision of needed resources, and preservation of the group's identity and ideals. But one of the key roles of all leaders involved serving as a mediator between the living members of the lineage and the ancestral spirits of those who had lived previously. “Kin group elders, village head, chief, and kings were all in some sense ‘priests’ ritually bound to the group they headed.”⁸⁸ In the case of formalized leadership, part of the installation ceremonies involved conferring upon the successor supernatural qualities. Once installed as a leader, these supernatural qualities could not be undone. Though the leader was still living on earth, his followers now viewed him as no longer an ordinary human, but in a sense, like a living ancestor. “Once embroidered with culturally powerful symbols, the

⁸⁷Kopytoff, “The Internal African Frontier: The Making of African Political Culture,” 62.

⁸⁸Ibid., 67.

pragmatic proposition underlying ‘sacred chieftancy’ ...endowed rulership with a special ritual potency”⁸⁹

The Leader’s Character

A kin group expected its leader to be a certain kind of person. Kin groups in pre-colonial Zambia shaped their future leaders by means of the same processes used to shape all other children. Parents and other relatives sought to inculcate into a child the values of his or her kin group through instruction, through informal means, such as the telling of stories, and through personal modeling. Children who misbehaved faced the wrath of their parents and elders. As the child grew to maturity, the elders observed those in the line of leadership succession who exhibited the traditional values of the group and those who did not. Those who did not faced the likelihood of being passed over for consideration as a leader of the kin group by those same elders. A kin group could not afford someone as leader who did not reflect the values of the group.

The Leader’s Knowledge

Until colonization, all Central and Southern African societies depended upon oral traditions to pass on the knowledge necessary for the functioning of that society from one generation to the next. As J. P. Occiti has written, “It was largely orally that the elders transmitted to the young ones the customs, beliefs, and expectations of the clan, chiefdom, and tribe.”⁹⁰ This included the knowledge needed by society’s leaders. Unlike the forward-looking stance of Western societies today, African societies looked backward

⁸⁹Ibid., 69.

⁹⁰J. P. Ocitti, *African Indigenous Education. As Practiced by the Acholi of Uganda* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1973), 63.

to the past. Occiti's description of the Acholi holds true in general for the African societies of Zambia:

The Acholi outlook on life seems also to explain why children were brought up according to rigid patterns.... The chief function of each generation was not to change or modify the indigenous education whose goodness had withstood the test of time; it was, as it were, to maintain the status quo and to hand it over to the following generation, which, in turn, should do likewise.⁹¹

The past served as the guide in decision-making and the model against which the kin group measured itself. In most kin groups the responsibility for preserving the knowledge of the old ways belonged to the village elders. They functioned to remind everyone of the proper way things must be done. In most groups, while the village headman or chief officiated over the life of the kin group, the leader depended on the knowledge and wisdom of the elders. As Cunnison noted concerning the peoples of the Luapula Valley, "A village headman cannot form a village without the help of *bacilolo* elders."⁹² In more complex societies with kingship, a more formalized body of elders usually carried out the task of preserving the group's knowledge of its history and the rites necessary for the maintenance of the kin group's life. This group of elders often served as a check on the king or chief and his power. Among the Lunda, this role belonged to the Lunda aristocracy.

The aristocrats are the guardians of the kingship. At the same time they are excluded from its office. They are the owners (*bene*) of the kingship but yet they are under the authority of the king. Briefly, to them the customs of kingship are sacrosanct....If the king errs, then the aristocrats fear for the kingship because of the king in office. In the kingship, it is the aristocrats who have the work of 'giving the law' to the king.⁹³

⁹¹Ibid., 95.

⁹²Cunnison, 169-70.

⁹³Ibid., 169.

Thus, a leader usually depended upon a body of elders for the knowledge he needed to function as a leader. They served both to advise and correct the leader who sought to ignore the wisdom of the past.

Leadership Skills

A kin group expected its leaders to possess certain skills. While some leadership skills, such as interpersonal skills, easily transfer from one leadership situation to another, others do not. Some skills can only be obtained by actually serving as leader in a given situation. This created a problem, for in Zambia's kin groups with formalized leadership, a person either functioned as a leader or he did not. People could not serve as "interim" or "trial" leaders. In some societies, such as ancient Israel, the king often installed his son as king once he was old enough, and the two kings reigned together. Thus, the young king gained valuable on-the-job skills before his father died. But the structure of Zambian society prevented potential successors from serving as assistants to the leader. A potential successor could observe the leader in action, but the present leader had no right to pick his successor, nor could he turn over some leadership responsibilities to a son or nephew, with the intent of helping him prepare for a future role as his successor. Once a person went through the proper installation rites he was leader, whether he functioned well in that role or not. If a leader failed to manifest the necessary skills, adherents could leave and join another group, but those belonging to the core of the kin group lineage did not have that option. In such situations, some kin groups resorted to killing the king or chief and going through the process of choosing another leader.

The Choosing of Formalized Leadership

While most Zambians could look forward to serving as a lineage elder, if they lived long enough, only a few could potentially succeed to a position of formalized leadership. The primary qualification consisted of having a close lineage relationship to someone already in leadership. But the eldest son had no guarantee of succession to leadership since in virtually all situations involving formalized leadership the kin group did not allow the present leader to choose which of his descendants would succeed him. As Murdock noted, “Succession to the throne is almost never automatic. The decision usually rests in the hands of a committee of ministers...who are free to follow or ignore the late king’s wishes. Not infrequently the succession shifts regularly from one to another branch of the royal lineage.”⁹⁴ As insurance against inept or inexperienced leaders, lineage leaders often needed to seek the advice and consent of a group of elders.

Leadership Development and the
Five Relational Patterns

In considering the five relational patterns defined in this study and their influence on leadership development, three played no significant role in pre-colonial Zambian culture. Formal education, the hallmark of modern Western civilization, did not exist in Zambian societies, and therefore neither did Teacher-Student Pattern relationships. Almost all education was of an informal nature and took place within the context of the family. Master-Disciple and Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships, though playing a role in certain trades such as metalworking and the training of “traditional doctors,” exercised little or no role in leadership development.

⁹⁴Murdock, 39.

Familial Pattern relationships so dominated village life that such relationships provided for all training needs. P. D. Snelson describes this training as follows:

Traditional or tribal education had five main components. First, there was instruction in the history and traditions of the clan and of the tribe, the heroic deeds of the ancestors, the myths, rites and ceremonies; the songs and wise sayings and their hidden meanings; the dances and games, customs and beliefs. This instruction, largely conducted by the elders, developed the sense of loyalty and pride in membership of the tribe. Well-loved and often repeated stories told around the fire in the evening, and repeated by youngsters among themselves, ensured the continuity of the language and took the place of grammar books and written comprehension exercises.⁹⁵

This education shaped a child's worldview and also shaped the child's understanding of his or her role in society. By watching their older siblings and the grownups around them, children learned the basic skills they needed to live, such as hunting and making a house. In a similar way those in line for the formalized leadership positions of Zambian kin groups gained all the needed experience by observing their relatives functioning as leaders.

For many kin groups, Peer/Team Pattern relationships supplemented these Familial Pattern relationships once a child became a youth. Around the ages of ten to twelve, most youth went through some form of peer group experience. Many groups held initiation rites for boys and/or for girls. After spending a period of time apart from everyone else, during which time they received instruction in the ways of adulthood, they returned to their village as adults. In other kin groups, like the Ngoni, teenaged boys lived apart by themselves, separated from their parents. As a group they cared for the family cattle until an age regiment formed and they became warriors. These group experiences with one's peers formed strong bonds that lasted throughout a person's life. They also

⁹⁵P. D. Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945*. (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1974), 1.

provided the children of leaders with the opportunity to prove their leadership potential, a key to their being later chosen by the lineage elders as a leader.

Leadership in Colonial and Post-Colonial Zambia

Colonization brought urbanization and the influence of Western civilization. While traditional leadership carried on in the rural areas of Zambia, a new pattern of leadership arose among those Africans who moved to the cities and the mines and there adopted Western ways. Formal education, with its use of Teacher-Student Patterns of relationships, had played no significant role in leadership development in the societies of Zambia prior to the colonization. Yet today most Zambians see formal education as the critical key to “the high road to success in life.”⁹⁶ The following pages examine how this change came about.

Britain’s Colonization and Its Effects

In 1890 less than one million people lived widely scattered over the land that today comprises the nation of Zambia. These people lived in villages that for the most part existed as self-contained kin groups, with very little friendly contact with other groups or the rest of the world. A. J. Wills writes, “These groups were socially exclusive and self-contained, differing sometimes to a marked degree in custom and language, and intermarriage rarely took place except as a result of conquest.”⁹⁷ Military expansion by a handful of groups and the continued aggression of slave traders came close to annihilating a number of the kin groups living in Zambia during the latter half of the

⁹⁶Brendan Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 2004), 151.

⁹⁷Wills, 226.

eighteenth century. British colonial expansion and missionary involvement brought about changes in this situation. Warfare and slavery quickly ceased,⁹⁸ and exposure to the outside world through the European missionaries and settlers started a slow but steady change in the culture of these Zambian kin groups. At first very few outsiders moved into Zambia, except for missionaries. Wills writes, “The total number of white men in Northern Rhodesia in 1898 cannot have exceeded a hundred.”⁹⁹ But the coming of the railroad, which crossed Zambia from south to north between 1898 and 1909, and the exploitation of Zambia's copper deposits in the 1920s and 1930s brought an influx of European settlers and precipitated the economic development of Zambia.¹⁰⁰ Change also came from the large numbers of African men who went to the gold mines of South Africa and the copper mines of Zambia in search of work.¹⁰¹ Most of these men worked for a season and then returned to their villages with goods as gifts for their relatives and stories of the different lives people lived in the booming towns and cities.

While life in the villages for most Africans continued on much as it had before the arrival of the Europeans, colonization did have an impact on the leadership of more developed kin groups. Harold Schneider notes that, “In the first place, the colonial powers would not allow former chiefs and kings to exercise much authority in competition with them. At the same time, the economic basis for kingly and chiefly

⁹⁸Ibid., 224.

⁹⁹Ibid., 210.

¹⁰⁰Lewis H. Gann, *Central Africa. The Former British States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), 107.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 112–23.

power was undermined or destroyed.”¹⁰² The British gained mastery of all of Zambia during the 1890s. Large portions of the country, designated as tribal lands, were administered indirectly by the British through the various chiefs and kings. Selection of kin group leaders continued largely as it had prior to the coming of the British South Africa Company. While the importance of the headmen, chiefs, and kings today does not approach that of the pre-1890 period, they continue to play an important role in the lives of those who live in the rural areas of Zambia.

Some Europeans established large farms in the more fertile areas of Zambia,¹⁰³ but the majority settled in urban areas along the railroad and near the mining areas. The Bantu peoples of Zambia came to the urban areas in search of work and a new way of life. In some other parts of Africa kin groups brought their traditional methods of authority and governance when they moved to the cities. For instance, Sandra T. Barnes describes how the Yoruba of Mushin, a part of Lagos, Nigeria, brought traditional authority figures into the District Council.¹⁰⁴ This did not occur in Zambia, however, perhaps because the great number of kin groups made it impossible for any one group to dominate an urban area. Thus, when people moved from a rural area to an urban one, they left the old kin group authority structures behind and instead found themselves in a culture dominated at least on the surface by Western values and ideals. This new environment created the opportunity for those at the bottom of traditional African society to better their status.

¹⁰²Schneider, 235.

¹⁰³Wills, 202.

¹⁰⁴See Sandra T. Barnes, “The Urban Frontier in West Africa: Mushin, Nigeria,” in *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, ed. Igor Kopytoff (Bloomington, IN.: Indiana University Press, 1987), 257-81.

Formal Education in Zambia

Formal education did not exist in Zambia prior to the coming of missionaries and British colonists, yet today it plays a key role in the development of leaders in the nation of Zambia. This section seeks to trace how formal education helped shape the modern nation of Zambia and its present leadership.

Mission Schools and the Introduction of Formal Education

The introduction of formal education began with the first missionary to officially reside in Zambia. Frederick S. Arnot, who worked with the Plymouth Brethren, became the first missionary to settle in Zambia when he arrived in Lealui, the Lozi capital, in December 1882.¹⁰⁵ Lewanika, the Lozi king, invited him to stay because he wanted someone to teach his people European skills. Arnot started a school where he taught some children the alphabet, numbers, and the New Testament, but after two months he developed an eye infection and had to stop teaching.¹⁰⁶ Bouts of malaria forced Arnot to leave the Lozis early in 1884, but Francois Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society arrived two years later and immediately began construction of a mission station, which included a school.

Lewanika was interested in having the missionaries teach his children. He particularly wanted them to learn European skills. In March 1887, the Sefula school was opened and was immediately patronized by the court. So many students were of the Barotse elite that surrounding villagers thought the school was exclusively for Lewanika's children. At first they refused to send their children to school. Lewanika emphasized that his interest was in technical skills and that he did not want the children to receive religious teaching, which was the

¹⁰⁵John P. Ragsdale, *Protestant Mission Education in Zambia, 1880–1954* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1986), 19.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 20.

primary purpose of the early missionaries in opening the schools, although they included instruction in the trades as part of the curriculum.¹⁰⁷

As other missionaries arrived in Zambia, almost all of them made the establishment of a school a top priority.

Common to all the missionary societies was the prevailing concept that education was the primary method for evangelizing the people....By introducing Christianity through a comprehensive educational system, the missions were attempting to bring about a drastic change in both the faith and behavior of the people....In addition to Bible teaching, the missionaries generally recognized a need for training people in industry, agriculture, and hygiene. These areas of education were considered necessary to the process of 'civilization,' as understood by the missionary and colonialist.¹⁰⁸

As a group missionaries believed their culture superior to that of the African.

Missionaries were not slow to damn the habits, the customs, and the beliefs of the indigenous peoples of what later became Northern Rhodesia. In their own eyes, and in the eyes of their committees at home, they had, after all, gone to Central Africa to offer a backward people the benefits of a European Christian civilization.¹⁰⁹

Their attempts to win Africans to Christ proved unsuccessful because they failed to package the gospel in a way that was both understandable and appealing to people of an African culture. When very few people accepted the gospel, missionaries decided the solution lay in first changing the African culture, and the classroom provided the best method of doing that. They believed that schools broke the hard ground of the African heart, eradicated superstition, and generally prepared the students to receive the gospel.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 21.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 28–29.

¹⁰⁹Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880–1924* (Princeton, N.J, 1965), 39.

¹¹⁰Ragsdale, 40.

Initially missionaries struggled to get Africans to attend classes. Africans generally saw no reason for memorizing and reciting subjects that had no relevance to their daily lives.

As an indirect means of spreading the Gospel, missionaries opened schools and urged young men and boys to enroll in large numbers. Initially, however, Africans did not desire a Western education; true utilitarians all, they were reluctant to read or to write without clearly seeing the need or the use of such education. Moreover, the concept of sitting or squatting in the hot sun in order to listen to a foreign tutor was generally thought by Africans to be wasteful of time and essentially frivolous. Frederick Stanley Arnot, Francois Coillard, the London missionaries, the Primitive Methodists, and the White Fathers all found the gathering and instruction of Africans an almost impossible task. To overcome this reluctance, some tried to use coercion and others offered financial and material blandishments along lines later described by a missionary pioneer: 'As for the school, for the first year or two the only way we could get pupils was to hire them to work about the place and then give them an hour each day in the schoolroom.'¹¹¹

Ragsdale describes a day in these schools as follows:

A somewhat typical school day began with early morning work followed by a wash at the river. At nine o'clock an assembly and inspection of personal cleanliness preceded the start of classes. The school day began with the singing of a hymn and religious instruction. Ordinary lessons followed in reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. In the afternoon, agriculture and industrial work occupied the students' time. After work there were some physical activities or games, and then the evening meal was prepared. The day concluded with prayers. The schoolboys retired to their mats on the floor of a large hut, just as they would have done in their own villages.¹¹²

Over time missionaries trained African teachers who became employees of the mission and ran the outstations, which served as both churches and schools. Eventually most missions established a central mission school where future teachers received their education. "These central schools covered a range of six to eight years of primary

¹¹¹Rotberg, 42–43.

¹¹²Ragsdale, 32.

schooling and conducted their teacher training.”¹¹³ These schools provided the most advanced education available to Africans in Zambia at that time, an education which Ragsdale summarizes as follows:

The program of the central mission school was considerably more demanding than that of the lower village school. A typical day in the school began at between six-thirty and seven, with preparation for the school day, cleaning, and prayers. From about eight to eight-thirty the students had breakfast, followed by lessons until twelve-thirty. The afternoon session, beginning at one-thirty, was for practice teaching or specialized instruction. After a short mid-afternoon break, the students were engaged in industrial work until six o'clock. Following supper, lesson preparations occupied the time until “lights out” at nine.¹¹⁴

Formal Education 1890-1924

For the period during which the British South Africa Company governed Northern Rhodesia—from 1890 to 1924—missionary organizations established and maintained virtually all schools.¹¹⁵ Concerning the educational situation in 1924, Brendan Carmody quotes from the Phelps-Stokes Commission’s report as follows:

The educational responsibility of Northern Rhodesia is the provision of educational facilities for about 200,000 native children very widely distributed throughout the great Protectorate. The most liberal estimate of those in any kind of school is about 50,000, of whom all but 600 are in mission schools. According to European standards it is probable that less than 10,000 children are in schools of a satisfactory grade...The 15 mission societies report 72 mission stations, 1,500 schools, 47,600 pupils, 205 European workers, 1,600 native teachers.¹¹⁶

During this period, while Lewanika sent many of the children from his court to the local mission school,¹¹⁷ the leaders of most kin groups in Zambia apparently made little effort

¹¹³Ibid., 35.

¹¹⁴Ibid., 37–38.

¹¹⁵Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, 3.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 5.

¹¹⁷Ragsdale, 21.

to send their children. Thus, while the traditional leaders in a few kin groups encouraged their children to learn Western ways, most did not. As a result, the leaders of the urbanized Africans in the mid-twentieth century did not come from the traditional ruling classes.

Formal Education 1924-1964 and the Rise of Nationalist Leaders

From 1924 to 1964 Britain ruled Northern Rhodesia directly as a colony. The colonial government partnered with the missions to expand and strengthen the country's educational system, which included the establishment of several secondary schools after 1940. As educational opportunities for Africans increased, a small but crucial number of them received an education roughly on par with that of their colonizers. This group, which soon began to agitate for change in the political system, became the leaders and forerunners of the modern nation of Zambia, leaders who achieved their status by reason of their education and their consequent ability to stand toe-to-toe with the Europeans.

Carmody writes:

As in other African countries, however, the nationalist leaders were products of the school system. They acquired the skills to negotiate with the white man. So the schools not only reproduced colonial society but also challenged it through the leadership of the new schoolmen and women.¹¹⁸

Those who received secondary education pushed for further educational opportunities for Africans. Control of the educational system became a point of contention by all interested parties. "Increasingly government attempted to take control of the system from the missionaries....At the same time, the aspirations of growing numbers of locally-educated

¹¹⁸Carmody, *The Evolution of Education in Zambia*, 149.

young people could not be met in either missionary or state structures.”¹¹⁹ Education for the African masses became one of the issues that stimulated a desire for self-rule by the African political parties.

Formal Education after Independence in 1964

In 1964 Britain gave Northern Rhodesia its independence and Kenneth Kaunda, the leader of UNIP, became Zambia’s first prime minister. Concerning UNIP’s educational policies Carmody writes:

One of the key policies of UNIP was the accelerated expansion of educational facilities. A pivotal goal for UNIP thus was to have a system of universal primary education so that all seven-year old children could enter Grade One. In its manifesto of 1962, it had declared that education would be compulsory, free, and in no way subject to the individual’s creed, colour, or sex.¹²⁰

The early missionaries had tried everything conceivable to encourage Africans to attend school, with little success. How amazing that in less than eighty years, at the time of Zambia’s Independence, the nation’s new leaders set universal compulsory formal education as a national priority!

Once in power, UNIP pushed to make dramatic changes in the nation’s educational system, including a dramatic expansion of the primary and secondary educational system, establishment of a tertiary university, desegregation of the schools, and abolition of tuition and boarding fees. Through the Education Act of 1966, the government acquired a virtual monopoly over the entire formal education system.¹²¹ Zambia’s new government believed that by educating the masses, economic development

¹¹⁹Ibid., 20.

¹²⁰Ibid., 23.

¹²¹Ibid., 24.

and prosperity for all would follow. Instead, the late 1960s brought worsening economic conditions and by 1969 President Kaunda called for reform of the educational system. A growing number of school leavers found no place in the labor market and “some questions were raised about the relevance of schooling.”¹²² The government found itself unable to provide the good life enjoyed by those early adopters of formal education for the masses who had voted UNIP into office. Though formal education failed to deliver the hoped for economic prosperity, the vast majority of Zambians still believed that it provided their children with the best hope of a better life. “For the majority of students and parents, formal education was seen as a route to better paid jobs outside subsistence agriculture. They valued such knowledge and skills that they thought would help them to achieve this objective.”¹²³ The next section explores how this shift in attitude towards formal education has also affected modern attitudes toward the development of leadership in Zambian society.

Formal Education and a New National Leadership

In the new cities of the 1920s and 1930s, a person’s birth in a certain family no longer automatically assigned them their lot in life. Instead, schooling and formal education provided another path of opportunity for anyone to rise to the top of the newly formed urban African society. Gann describes life for the educated African during the early twentieth century as follows:

The bulk of educated Africans—junior civil servants, telegraphists, teachers, clerks, court interpreters, and detectives—mainly depended on jobs in the

¹²²Ibid., 31.

¹²³Ingemar Gustafsson, “Basic Education—Management of an Extremely Complex System,” in *Institution Building and Leadership in Africa*, ed. Henock Kifle, Jerker Carlsson, and Lennart Wohlgenuth (Stockholm: Elanders Gotab, 1998), 137.

European administration, the churches, and the larger firms. They [the educated Africans] generally had no desire openly to challenge their employers, especially at a period when paid positions were not easy to get. The elite did, however...wish to be treated in a fashion different from that applied to the common people. (Clerks, for instance, objected to serving jail sentences under the same conditions as those meted out to ordinary laborers.) The 'new Africans' gradually became conscious of their special position.¹²⁴

Martin Carnoy writes, "Formal schooling produces a new elite who could deal with the European. This elite acquired the leadership of the masses of people already opposed to European occupation and jurisdiction."¹²⁵ This new elite, with their largely Western perspective and values, laid the foundation of a new society with new types of leaders that today manifests itself in Zambia and other nations of Africa.

Kenneth Kaunda, the first president of Zambia, typifies the leaders of this new society and its break with the kin groups of the past. Schneider writes:

Kenneth Kaunda, the leader of Zambia since independence in 1964, is typical of many African leaders in that his whole life has been extensively detached from the indigenous ways that characterized the [traditional] types of Africans....His father served as the headmaster of the mission school and later became an ordained minister. Although his father died when he was eight, and the family was very poor, Kaunda's commitment to education, one of the main roads to success before independence, sustained him. He managed to continue his education through middle school and he attended the first secondary school in the country for two years....By the time he left secondary school to become a teacher, he was thoroughly Anglicized. Nyerere of Tanzania was much the same.¹²⁶

In an address in 1967, President Kaunda alluded to the importance of mission schools and formal education in general in preparing those who eventually assumed the leadership of Zambia. He said:

¹²⁴Gann, *Central Africa*, 119.

¹²⁵Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Longman, 1977), 143.

¹²⁶Schneider, 246-47.

In the past, as of now, we have been grateful for the work that missionaries did in the field of education. This is exemplified by the fact that most, if not all, members of my Central committee and indeed the Cabinet, have gone through missions schools at some stage during the course of their schooling.¹²⁷

The British colonists had established their superiority to the leaders of traditional African society at the time of Zambia's colonization, and the Africans who assumed leadership of the nation at Independence merely stepped in where their European predecessors had stood. These new Zambian national leaders had achieved their status in society predominantly by means of formal education, following the pattern established by the British. And formal education relies almost exclusively on Teacher-Student Pattern relationships. Especially for the first generation of new African leadership, Familial Pattern relationships may have shaped certain core values and beliefs, with Peer/Team Pattern relationships playing a supportive role, but formal education clearly shaped these leaders and made them what they were.

Society and Leadership Development in Zambia Since 1964

By the time of Zambia's Independence, colonization had created a totally new society in the urban areas of Zambia, a society heavily influenced by European values and ideals. For many rural Zambians life continued on much as it had before, but for those Africans who became involved in the new Western-oriented life of the cities, for which formal education played an important role, their identity, values, and goals began to resemble those of the Europeans. The two ways of life—traditional kinship-based society and the new European-style life in the urban areas—went on side-by-side.

¹²⁷Randall, 99.

Today Zambians live somewhere along a continuum. At one end, many Zambians live in rural villages where life, though affected by Westernization, continues on basically as it did in the 1880s. At the other end of the continuum lie those Zambians who live in modern urban areas, drive cars, work for the government or for a large company, and generally resemble their counterparts in Europe. The majority of Zambians today live somewhere in between. They live their lives in urban areas next to those successful Westernized Zambians and aspire to be like them, but live instead in the poorer sections of the cities on less than one U.S. dollar per day. Though affected by the rest of the world, the traditions and values of their family and kin group continue to circumscribe their perspective on life. These Zambians in the middle have two sets of leaders in their lives: the traditional leaders of their kin group in the rural areas and the leaders of the modern nation of Zambia. The two poles of the continuum have totally different views on leadership and different ways of approaching leadership development. As long as the majority of Zambians continue to look in the direction of the affluent, urbanized Zambians in government, business, and professional circles, the influence of traditional leaders on Zambian society will continue to wane.

Leadership Development and Changing Relational Patterns

In pre-colonial Zambia leadership only functioned within the context of kin groups. A person's chances at becoming a formalized leader, such as a chief, depended upon his or her relationship to those already recognized as leaders. Familial Pattern relationships played the dominant role in developing kin group leaders. These relationships, which included a large number of family members, shaped the child's character and gave a child his or her identity. They also communicated the values and

ideals of the group. For a significant number of kin groups Peer/Team Pattern relationships, such as the age regiments of the Ngoni, complemented this by providing a chance for a youth to prove himself or herself as someone others would follow. Among all the kin groups of Zambia, Master-Disciple and Tutor/Mentor pattern relationships served no significant role in the development of leadership. And, except for the brief periods of initiation rites in some kin groups, perhaps, nothing that could be described as formal education existed among the peoples of Zambia before 1880. Thus Teacher-Student Pattern relationships played no significant role in leadership development.

With colonization came the missionaries, who introduced formal schooling and its Teacher-Student Pattern relationships. Master-Disciple and Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships, the primary methods used by the Early Church to train its leaders, played no significant role in church leadership development in the West at the time. Missionaries therefore largely ignored these relational patterns, except in the context of teaching various trades.

Eventually colonization set the stage for the development of an entirely different form of leadership, one based not in a person's localized kin group, but on a national Westernized Zambian culture. Those Africans who received formal education and found a job in one of the towns saw themselves as living on a different level from their relatives back in the village. In this new setting, how well a person learned Western ways and functioned in this new society played a much more important role than their family or kin group background. Formal education became the key that opened the door to this new way of life, and a growing number of Africans took it. By the middle of the twentieth century, a number of African political leaders arose and agitated for freedom from British

rule, leading to Zambia's Independence in 1964. These politicians, all the product of the formal education introduced by the missionaries, became the new national leaders. And those leaders set making formal education available for all Zambians a high national priority.

In the cities of Zambia today, Familial Pattern and Peer/Team Pattern relationships still play a significant role in leadership development. But in the eyes of many Zambians, formal education has surpassed the role of the family in determining a child's leadership potential. Africans value their families, and family relationships significantly influence every child as they grow up. But formal education with its Teacher-Student Pattern relationships has become the primary determiner of an individual's leadership potential and status in society. Thus, parents try to send their children to the best schools they can afford; even it means sending them to a boarding school and thereby lessening their ability to influence their children in the home. Peer/Team Pattern relationships continue to play a significant role in a child's leadership development, but now in a school environment. Master-Disciple and Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships, the dominant patterns used by the Early Church to train its leaders, play only a minor role in developing the leaders of Zambia's society today. The next chapter explores the way that the churches of Zambia today predominantly seek to use Teacher-Student Pattern relationships in the development of church leadership, following the lead of society and the examples set by the early missionaries.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL LITERATURE REVIEW (PART 2): CHURCH LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT: HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS AND OPTIONS FOR ZAMBIA TODAY

Formal Education and Church Leadership Development

European missionaries brought with them the idea that church leaders should undergo a period of intensive formal education prior to their entry into Christian service. By the late 1800s this view had so dominated everyone's thinking in Europe and North America that few considered any other option. This section seeks to examine how this dominance arose.

The Reformation and a Learned Ministry

The Reformers Set the Pattern

The modern understanding that pastoral church leadership requires formal higher education traces back to the Reformation. Glen T. Miller links the Reformers' views on theological education further back to Augustine's teachings:

Augustine taught more than doctrine: his works suggested a method of study. In such works as "On Christian Doctrine" and his massive commentaries on various biblical books, he set forth a paradigm for theological education. Since the heart of theological study was exegesis, Augustine reasoned, the prospective minister had to be prepared for that exercise. The literary character of the Bible provided clues to the nature of a truly Christian "*paideia*" (a Greek word that described education as the formation of a moral or civil personality). As in other systems of hermeneutics, the basic studies were the liberal arts that developed skills in

language, literature, rhetoric, science, and mathematics. Once the candidate had acquired this knowledge, the student was ready to interpret the biblical text.¹

Martin Luther's position as master of theology at the university in Wittenberg gave him the platform he needed to successfully challenge the pope.² The Reformation, born in the university classrooms of northern Europe, placed a great emphasis on education for all the population, and especially for its clergy. "The first Protestant leaders, Martin Luther (1483-1546) and Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), were humanistic university professors who believed that their ecclesiastical vocation was an extension of their teaching office."³ Gordon E. Rupp has made the following comments concerning Luther's teaching career:

We shall never understand Luther unless we remember that he was by trade a Theological Professor, that year in, year out (the exceptions can be counted on the fingers), twice a week at the appointed hour, he walked into the lecture-room and addressed successive generations of students, and this for thirty years until he was old and feeble and could only croak his last lecture.⁴

The early leaders of the Reformed branch of Protestantism held a similar view. Calvin received training as both a lawyer and a literary scholar.⁵ Both he and Zwingli were "humanists who believed that classical learning was prerequisite to ecclesiastical

¹Glen T. Miller, *Piety and Intellect. The Aims and Purposes of Ante-Bellum Theological Education* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 14.

²John Van Engen, "Christianity and the University: The Medieval and Reformation Legacies," in *Making Higher Education Christian: The History and Mission of Evangelical Colleges in America*, ed. Joel A. Carpenter and Kenneth W. Shipps (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987), 30.

³Miller, 13.

⁴Gordon E. Rupp, *Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 24-25.

⁵E. H. Gwynne-Thomas, *A Concise History of Education to 1900 A. D.* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981), 100.

reform.”⁶ Both Luther and Calvin agreed that education provided the key to a successful transformation of society.

The Minister as a Member of Society's Elite

Every congregation has expectations concerning what their leaders should be like, act like, and know. Joseph C. Hough and John B. Cobb, based upon the work of Ronald Osborn, suggest that most Protestants of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries expected their pastor to serve the church as the Master.

Who was the Master? Essentially, he was the authoritative teacher whose roots are in the history of the sages of the orient and the rabbis of ancient Judaism....He had something to say, and the people listened as he spoke about the authoritative teaching given to his care. The Master's authority rested on an existing authoritative body of literature and a personal knowledge of that literature.⁷

Preparation for a person to assume the role of the Master involved study at the university.

Divinity education consisted simply of the study in the university, crowned by the study of the things of God. The master, therefore, was a learned person, one who spoke with authority in general....The study of ancient languages, scripture, history, philosophy, logic, and so on, all were, therefore, for the sake of understanding authoritative texts, and piety was identical with the understanding of and love for those texts.⁸

The Reformation minister-to-be usually received a liberal arts degree level education following his grammar school and secondary school education. Concerning the influence education had on the Reformers, George M. Marsden writes:

Protestantism promoted a well-educated clergy, which quickly became the backbone of the international revolutionary movement. Very early in the Reformation, Zwingli and Luther began wearing the scholar's gown for preaching and, although not all Protestant clergy had university training, "the scholar's

⁶Miller, 13.

⁷Joseph C. Hough and Jr. John B. Cobb, *Christian Identity and Theological Education* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 6.

⁸Ibid., 7.

gown was *the* [italics in original] garment of the Protestant minister.” In villages throughout Protestant lands for centuries to come, the clergyman would be the best educated citizen and education would be a key to his authority.⁹

As a result of all this education, the Protestant clergy became seen as a part of the educated elite of society. For example, Glen T. Miller notes that in England:

A minister ought to be a “learned gentleman,” who received the same education as other members of the nation’s elite....By the beginning of the seventeenth century, ninety percent of the clergy had attended university for at least a period, and most of these completed the Bachelor of Arts degree that was almost automatically followed by the Master of Arts three years later....University students were members of the ruling class who formed a pool of potential leaders for church and state....Those who wanted to be ministers were the same students, who might in different circumstances, read law or inherit a manor.¹⁰

The Pattern Continues in America

The colonists who settled America founded Harvard six years after the establishment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony so that this ideal of a learned ministry might continue on in the New World. George M. Marsden writes, “Higher education was for them a high priority in civilization building.”¹¹ Harvard’s education, though aimed at producing the ministers of the colony, did not resemble that provided by the seminary of the nineteenth century, but rather the liberal arts common in Europe of that day. “While the founders emphasized that spiritual principles should pervade the life of the college, most of the actual curriculum inevitably followed the rather traditional lines of the liberal arts.”¹² The curriculum of Harvard in the seventeenth century focused on rhetoric, logic,

⁹George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 37.

¹⁰Miller, 123-25.

¹¹Marsden, 33.

¹²Ibid., 41-42.

biblical languages (including Latin), and the study of ancient literature. Samuel Eliot

Morison describes how the study of rhetoric contributed to the ability to preach:

An admirable training for sermon writing and delivery was provided by the rhetorical discipline in the college, where each of the four classes spent an entire day on rhetoric every week, every student gave a Latin oration once a month, and “publike Exercises of oratory” in the “mother-tongue” are mentioned in the college laws of 1642-1646. Rhetoric was defined in one of the commencement theses as “the art of speaking and writing with elegance” (*ornate*) [italics in original].¹³

Leland Ryken has noted how the Bible and the Christian religion provided a permeating influence in the daily activities at Harvard, although not a part of the official curriculum:

The rule at Harvard was... “Every one shall so exercise himself in reading the Scriptures twice a day that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein...as his tutor shall require...” Students at Harvard “read lectures” in ethics twice a week, had “practice in the Bible” one afternoon each week, and “divinity catechall” once a week....At Harvard, students were required to be in their tutor’s chambers at seven in the morning and five in the evening for “opening the Scripture and prayer.”¹⁴

All of this contributed to the spiritual formation of the future minister. The founders of Harvard rejected the idea that a proper education could occur in anything but a college setting. In college the students lived in close proximity to their tutors as well as other students. This setting provided plenty of opportunity for Tutor/Mentor and Peer/Team Pattern relationships to develop.

To the English mind, university learning apart from college life was not worth having; and the humblest resident tutor was accounted a more suitable teacher than the most talented community lecturer. Book learning alone might be got by lectures and reading; but it was only by living as members of the same collegiate

¹³Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960), 163-64.

¹⁴Leland Ryken, “Reformation and Puritan Ideals of Education,” in *Making Higher Education Christian: The History and Mission of Evangelical Colleges in America*, ed. Joel A. Carpenter and Kenneth W. Shipps (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987), 42-43.

community, in constant association with one another and their tutors, that the young men could really be educated.¹⁵

Thus, while formal education involved considerable Teacher-Student Pattern relationships, the common residential life in college sought to create situations in which informal learning might take place, including the shaping of each student's values and attitudes. At the end of this educational process, the future minister knew Greek and Hebrew well enough to read the Bible in its original languages and could speak proficiently in public. Even during the Antebellum period this pattern continued and a classical liberal arts education remained the key foundation for those wishing to serve as a church leader. Concerning this, James W. Fraser comments:

Prior to the Civil War, with a few notable exceptions, the college curriculum did not change significantly in America. The curriculum of a classical liberal education had been set in the universities of Europe. The American pattern was copied from that, first at Harvard and William & Mary, and later across the nation. A liberal, classical education was seen as the best training for leadership, whether that leadership was to be in church, politics, or another profession.¹⁶

Having proved his ability to preach—the primary duty of a Protestant minister of the day—the graduate qualified to serve in any church that might call him.

The Learned Ministry and Piety

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a learned ministry without piety accounted for nothing in the eyes of many. According to Richard Russell Dunn, the famed English minister Richard Baxter closely linked piety and practice of the ministry

¹⁵Morison, 33-34.

¹⁶James W. Fraser, *Schooling the Preachers: The Development of Protestant Theological Education in the United States, 1740-1875* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), 114-15.

with academic learning.¹⁷ As further examples Dunn cites John Arndt (1555-1621) and Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) who both reacted strongly “against all intellectual learning not concomitant with spiritual formation.”¹⁸ As the Age of Enlightenment gained strength during the eighteenth century, a number of Pietist Christian leaders came to believe that any strong emphasis on academic learning could only stifle a young minister’s spiritual formation. Dunn writes:

This historical era was characterized by unresolved tensions concerning the nature of ministry and spiritual formation, particularly as such growth related to the preparation of pastors. The stress was particularly pronounced among the Presbyterians who were wrangling between Old Side and New Side understandings of conversion. While the ideal was an environment in which learning and piety were nurtured in the shared contexts of the Christian community as expressed in the Church and in the school, theological emphases upon conversion and work of the Spirit had called into question the value of academic learning.¹⁹

Thus, some became very suspicious of anyone who had only received an academic preparation for ministry without additional spiritual training.

By the end of the eighteenth century this suspicion led to the split of theological education into two traditions.²⁰ One tradition, seeking to keep up with the changes in society-at-large, promoted higher education as the preferred method of training church leadership. This focus on the academic side of ministerial preparation resulted in the building of seminaries. Those in this tradition came to see the goal of theological education as the preparation of a professional class of ministers to serve the needs of

¹⁷Richard Russell Dunn, “Theological Education: Presuppositions Regarding Learning and the Task of Ministry,” (PhD diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1994), 28-30.

¹⁸Ibid., 31.

¹⁹Ibid., 32-33.

²⁰Ibid., 38-39.

church and society. The other tradition saw much about this emphasis on higher education as inimical to the Church. Focusing instead on winning the masses to Christ through revivals, this tradition exalted preaching as the goal of ministerial training. To those of this tradition, the call of God on a person's life, spiritual enablement, and the evidence of these in successful ministry counted for much more than graduation from a theological training institution. Eventually Bible schools became the theological training institutions of this tradition.²¹ This split in theological education separated the spiritual and practical aspects of theological education from the academic ones. To focus on one tradition meant to belittle the other. For the past two centuries, both traditions have been struggling with how to successfully reincorporate the elements of leadership development missing from their way of training ministers.

Reading Divinity

Though not required, many college graduates of the eighteenth century intending to become ministers sought to “read divinity” or “read theology” under the tutelage of an experienced minister for a period of time prior to answering the call to a church. This became especially common among those connected with the Great Revival.

Those students who believed that they needed theological instruction after college—whether with a divinity professor or a pastor—were a distinct minority, although their numbers significantly increased after the Great Revival. Most students believed that their degree was sufficient evidence of their learning and sought a church as rapidly as possible....Although one did not necessarily have to have a mentor to study theology privately, many students elected to live with a settled pastor so that they would have access to his library and to his counsels. The length of time in residence varied from two or three months to two to three years. No standard existed for reading programs, and they varied with the skill of the pastor, the interest of the student, and the availability of books....Teachers required particular readings, posed questions for research, and assigned and corrected essays. As their resources increased, the teacher-pastors acquired larger

²¹Ibid., 48, 54.

and more comprehensive libraries. In short, the NeoEdwardseans gradually transformed the custom of an older minister guiding the reading of a younger into a one-teacher school. By the time of Emmons, the best clerical educators had several students in residence at the same time.²²

This experience developed into a fairly set form by the end of the eighteenth century. Usually the young graduate wrote dissertations on a series of questions prepared by the experienced minister, who then went over these with the young man and offered his critique. The future minister also gained valuable insights by observing the experienced minister in his day-to-day activities. This experience, in a Master-Disciple Pattern relationship, provided a bridge between the academic environment and the “real world.” Miller feels that such reading programs were a clear step towards the establishment of theological schools and the founding of America’s seminaries:

The leaders of these programs had already begun to think seriously about appropriate standards for theological training. Especially in New England, the schools provided their teachers with invaluable experience in educating college graduates for ministry and gave some impression of what these students might achieve. Most important, they indicated that a market for advanced theological study existed. Students were studying with trusted pastors, and some churches were seeking their pastors from among those who had studied with this or that beloved patriarch.²³

Nineteenth-Century Developments: Seminary and Bible School

The nineteenth century brought two major developments to church leadership training: seminaries and Bible schools. Both made significant contributions to the development of formal education as the dominant paradigm of church leadership development today. As noted earlier, the two institutions grew out of the two streams of theological education; seminaries originated in the more mainline churches, while Bible

²²Miller, 54-55.

²³Ibid., 56.

schools originated in the revivalist churches. Though the expectation in America that all ministers should receive extensive theological education grew greatly during the nineteenth century, one must remember that a sizeable percentage of ministers received no such training. William Adams Brown and Mark A. May report that:

In the seventeen largest white Protestant denominations in the United States two-fifths of the ministers had, in 1926, received neither college nor seminary training. Only one-third had attended both college and seminary, while one-seventh had attended college only and one-tenth had attended seminary only....[W]ere figures available for the whole of the Protestant ministry of the United States, the proportion of college or seminary graduates would be found to be even smaller.²⁴

Thus, while some kind of formal theological education has become widely accepted as the ideal, many church leaders have been unable to meet that ideal for various reasons.

The Seminary

The first of these, the seminary, originated in New England around the turn of the nineteenth century when a number of influential church leaders began questioning the wisdom of entrusting all the ministerial training of a future pastor to one minister.

As teachers and students acquired more experience, many came to see that sound theological education required more resources than any individual pastor might possess, including classrooms, a significant number of students, large libraries, and a defined curriculum. The one-teacher school proved to be dangerous. Students who were not exposed to more than one teacher tended to think in the ruts carved out by their mentor.²⁵

Between 1806 and 1808 several individuals worked to bring about the formation of a new ministerial training school in Andover, Massachusetts. Wealthy donors stepped forward, ready to provide substantial funding. By the spring of 1808 those involved decided that this new school should be a new form of institution, one that would serve as a

²⁴William Adams Brown and Mark A. May, *The Education of American Ministers*, 4 Vols. (New York: Institute of Religious and Social Research, 1934), 1:65.

²⁵Miller, 56.

professional training school for those who had already completed the B.A. in liberal arts. Jedediah Morse suggested the school should be called a theological seminary and not a college.

Andover would not compete with Harvard at the baccalaureate level—there were enough trusted colleges to do that—but would rather provide post-baccalaureate education for those entering the ministry. Morse’s letter represents the first known use of the term ‘*theological seminary*’ [italics in original] among American Protestants to denote theological school at this level. It was also one of the first attempts to plan a truly post-graduate professional school in the nation.²⁶

This new form of institution sought, “to be a place of specialized learning in which professional scholars transmitted the results of their investigations to a numerous student body.”²⁷ For those who chose this new path of training, the Master-Disciple Pattern relationship earlier ministers enjoyed by reading theology with an experienced minister was replaced by an additional three years of academic, Teacher-Student Pattern relationships. The concept caught on quickly with various denominations and rapidly became accepted as the preferred approach to providing training for those preparing for the ministry. Thus, in mainline denominations by the latter half of the nineteenth century, ministers were expected to complete seven years of post-secondary schooling before assuming a position at a church. This consisted of four years at a liberal arts college, leading to a B.A. degree, followed by three years of specialized training at a seminary.

Spiritual formation of the student body should always be a concern of any theological training institution. As David S. Dockery and David P. Gushee write, “It is no overstatement to assert that a continually growing spiritual life is the single most significant prerequisite for faithful conduct of the Christian ministry.... Your level of

²⁶Fraser, 34.

²⁷Miller, 69.

spiritual health and well-being will affect every aspect of your character and every aspect of the conduct of your ministry.”²⁸ But Dockery and Gushee go on to note that unfortunately many entering theological educational institutions today wither spiritually. The seminaries of the nineteenth century sought to provide moral formation by enforcing a strictly enforced moral code, regular chapel services, frequent prayer meetings, and lectures on morality. E. Brooks Holifield writes:

Seminary faculties conveyed clear expectations about the cultivation of piety and morality. At Bangor Seminary, for example, Enoch Pond gave his students precise instructions for cultivating the religious and moral affections. His lectures in pastoral theology encouraged devotional study of the Bible, sacramental piety, frequent religious meetings, spiritual conversation, and secret prayer. The faculty at other seminaries made similar efforts to create nurseries of piety.²⁹

In terms of the five relational patterns, nineteenth century seminaries followed the pattern established by other Christian educational institutions in using a multi-pronged approach to ensure spiritual formation. Teacher-Student Pattern relationships in the classroom taught about the behavior expected of those who sought to enter the ministry. Chapel services and special times of prayer provided times for further instruction and the opportunity for God to work in the lives of the students. The expectation that all students should read the Bible and pray privately created additional chances for the student to cultivate a relationship with God and for God to shape the character of the future minister. Living in a communal situation with other students allowed many opportunities for Peer/Team Pattern relationships to develop, enforcing the expected behavior and

²⁸David S. Dockery and David P. Gushee, “Spirituality and Spiritual Growth,” in *Preparing for Christian Ministry. An Evangelical Approach*, ed. David P. and Walter C. Jackson Gushee (Wheaton, IL: Victor Books, 1996), 81.

²⁹E. Brooks Holifield, “Class, Profession, and Morality: Moral Formation in American Protestant Seminaries, 1808–1934,” in *Theological Education and Moral Formation*, ed. Richard John Neuhaus (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992), 58.

providing mutual encouragement for further spiritual formation to take place. Teachers and mature ministers set examples that students could emulate, thus allowing the possibility for passive mentoring to take place. The institutional environment also created opportunities for Master-Disciple Pattern relationships to develop outside of the classroom between motivated teachers and interested pupils. Thus, ideally, a network of relationships existed which together fostered the spiritual formation of many who attended these formal educational institutions.

But a century later many of these same institutions had given up any attempt to foster spiritual formation among the student body. Holifield writes:

As early as 1903, laments could be heard that the devotional life of the seminary was dying. By 1934, only 17 of the 63 seminaries discussed in the May-Brown report required chapel attendance, and in some schools only about 30 percent of the students bothered to attend. Equally telling about the changing ethos were student assertions that the programs provided by the seminaries offered little help with "personal problems such as sex, or the more complex matters of social duty....Although the schools encouraged faculty members to offer counsel and conversation, students said that they saw faculty members as unapproachable or uninterested in their moral problems.³⁰

What brought about this dramatic change? Holifield notes that Brown and May, in their 1934 study of American ministerial training,³¹ identified the perception of ministry as a career rather than a divine calling as one cause. The continued specialization of seminary faculty also contributed since no one felt responsible for the oversight of the student's religious life.

Moreover, the schools assumed that their students already had a firm religious and moral grounding, so that they could be largely trusted to look after these matters for themselves. The report noted one modest change that serves as a symbol of the transitions: courses in pastoral theology now placed the emphasis on theories of

³⁰Ibid., 74.

³¹Brown and May, vol. 3, 435.

pastoral skill and practice, ignoring the earlier traditions of guidance in the cultivation of the religious and moral life.³²

In addition to the causes Brown and May identified, Holifield identifies a shift in society's norms of behavior concerning ministers. The schools of the nineteenth century depicted the ideal minister as a member of the upper class—a gentleman with social graces and a certain set of upright behaviors. The identification of ministerial behavior with society's standards went unquestioned. But when society's standards of morality shifted at the turn of the twentieth century, this left theological educational institutions unsure as to how they should respond. During the nineteenth century, “the church had, in H. Richard Niebuhr's phrase, ‘adjusted itself too much rather than too little to the world in which it lives.’...When that warning took hold in the seminaries, the older synthesis of ethics and etiquette seemed suspect.”³³ Unsure about how to respond, many mainline Protestant schools abandoned any attempt at spiritual formation.

Dennis M. Campbell identifies two reasons as to why many seminaries have abandoned any effort to attempt moral or spiritual formation. First, the seminaries have adopted the academic framework in which the modern secular universities operate. As evidence, Campbell points to “the almost universal affirmation of ‘academic freedom’ as an absolute value within the theological-education establishment.”³⁴ This has in turn greatly limited the teaching authority of the seminary on all issues, including morality. The second is the effect society's liberalized morality has had on the churches, which in

³²Holifield, 76.

³³Ibid., 77-78.

³⁴Dennis M. Campbell, “Theological Education and Moral Formation: What's Going on in Seminaries Today?” in *Theological Education and Moral Formation*, ed. Richard John Neuhaus (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992), 9.

turn has affected the seminary. “The fact that the churches themselves find it difficult or impossible to be clear about moral teaching means that seminaries—which precisely mirror the churches on this point...—also find it difficult or impossible to be clear about moral teaching.”³⁵ Thus, many mainline seminaries have given up seeking to inculcate any spiritually related affective domain goals, and instead leave this matter in the hands of the individual student.

The area of ministerial skills has also been a troublesome one for seminaries. While originally established with the aim of preparing individuals for full-time ministerial service, seminaries have historically focused on imparting knowledge rather than the practical skills a minister needs. In an attempt to address this, many seminaries have moved towards making a period of field experience or internship a requirement for graduation. Placed in a church situation for a set period of time students have a chance to actually perform the skills they have previously only learned about in the classroom. Doran McCarty notes that successful internship rests with the intern’s understanding of themselves and their role:

The role of the students in supervision is the role of the learner....The role of a learner is not one of a passive person but of a person actively engaged in the process of seeking and learning. Students may be tempted to be ministers rather than learners during their supervisory process. While it is true that they should exercise both gifts, their primary role is that of being a learner for the sake of being more effective ministers in the future.³⁶

J. Robert Clinton notes that internships may fail for a variety of reasons. There may be different expectation on the part of the intern, the supervisor, and the intern’s host. Many times, “supervisors are not trained in skills necessary to work profitably with

³⁵Ibid., 15.

³⁶Doran McCarty, *The Supervision of Ministry Students* (Atlanta: Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, 1978), 132-33.

interns....The structured programs are usually weak; periodic times for dynamic reflection and spiritual formation are not usually carried out.”³⁷ But in a healthy internship the supervisor, “facilitates; helps the intern dynamically reflect on what he/she is learning; puts the learning in context of spiritual formation; as a mentor, links intern to helpful resources.”³⁸

A number of evangelical seminaries have sought creative ways to make sure spiritual formation and ministerial skills development are not left out of leadership training. In *Renewal in Theological Education. Strategies for Change*, Robert W. Ferris describes how several schools have sought to accomplish this task. Towards the end of the book he describes several characteristics common to all the schools he visited. One of these characteristics was:

Conscious effort is directed towards spiritual formation and ministry skills development, sometimes with deliberate attenuation of academic stress.... Although none of the schools in this study has discounted the need for sound academic training, the relative emphasis on spiritual and ministerial skills development in some cases gives that impression. This stems from realistic recognition of the limits of developmental stress. The principal source of stress in traditional theological education is academic. When spiritual and ministry skills development are accorded higher priority, new sources of stress are introduced. To avoid student overload and burnout, some schools have taken the bold (but reasonable) step of deliberately reapportioning stress.³⁹

As an example, concerning Columbia Bible College and Seminary Ferris writes:

...the administration of CBCS speaks of programmatic “triad.” The expression refers to three elements of training identified in the institution’s missions statement—“spiritual maturity, Bible knowledge, and ministry skills.” The

³⁷J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Training Models* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Publishers, 1984), 173.

³⁸Ibid., 194.

³⁹Robert W. Ferris, *Renewal in Theological Education: Strategies for Change* (Wheaton, IL: Billy Graham Center, 1990), 130-31.

administration of the institution has recently been restructured to place these functions on more equal footing.⁴⁰

Judith E. and Sherwood G. Lingenfelter briefly describe a similar approach at a seminary in the Philippines:

In an excellent study of a seminary in the Philippines, Tjoh Dju Ng (2000) demonstrates how faculty members shape the character and ministry of their students through community relationships, accountability, and experiential training for ministry. Following the pattern of Jesus and his disciples described in the Gospels, the professors take students with them to do ministry together, and then they send them out two by two.⁴¹

Incorporating spiritual formation and ministerial skills development in residential formal educational programs, though difficult, is not impossible.

The Development of the Bible School

This chapter will use the term “Bible school” to refer to a diverse group of institutions—Bible Institutes, Bible Colleges, Missionary Training Schools, etc.—that arose over the last two hundred years and have certain common key characteristics. C. B. Eavey, in commenting on this diversity, notes that the programs offered range from, “teacher training classes conducted by a local church to accredited colleges carrying on work through academic years.”⁴² Most Bible schools initially aimed at training the numerous potential Christian workers who felt they could not or should not pursue the lengthy training process designed for the professional, ordained ministry. These lay

⁴⁰Ibid., 73.

⁴¹Judith E. Lingenfelter and Sherwood G. Lingenfelter, *Teaching Cross-Culturally: An Incarnational Model for Learning and Teaching* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003), 36-37.

⁴²C. B. Eavey, *History of Christian Education* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1964), 332.

leaders,⁴³ or “gap men” as Moody called them,⁴⁴ figure primarily as Type A and Type B leaders in Clinton’s terminology.⁴⁵ Bible schools also sought to equip graduates for practical ministry in home and foreign missions,⁴⁶ but the initial goals of these schools did not include training for pastoral ministry. Bible schools were further characterized by the aim at providing a specialized form of training, one that made study of the Bible and its teachings the focus of its curriculum. In so doing these schools differed from both the Christian liberal arts college and the seminary. The liberal arts college sought to prepare a person for a variety of vocations through a general educational program at a tertiary level, while a seminary provided post-graduate preparation for pastoral ministry.⁴⁷ Some of these Bible schools arose out of the vision of an individual while others developed out of the perceived needs of a denomination. Some lasted only a brief time while others, such as Moody Bible Institute, have thrived for over a century. Most of those that succeeded achieved this by adapting to the changing situation in the churches of America. Some have dramatically changed in the process and can no longer be described as Bible schools, but rather Christian liberal arts colleges, universities, and seminaries. Formal

⁴³Virginia Lieson Brereton, “The Bible Schools and Conservative Evangelical Higher Education, 1880–1940,” in *Making Higher Education Christian: The History and Mission of Evangelical Colleges in America*, ed. Joel A. Carpenter and Kenneth W. Shipps (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987), 114.

⁴⁴Eavey, 340.

⁴⁵J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Emergence Theory* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Resources, 1989), 46-53.

⁴⁶Virginia Lieson Brereton, *Training God’s Army: The American Bible School Movement, 1880-1940* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana Press, 1990), 63.

⁴⁷S. A. Witmer, *The Bible College Story: Education with Dimension* (Manhasset, NY: Channel Press, Inc., 1962), 25.

leadership training in Zambia today rests more on the paradigm of the Bible school than the seminary.

Nineteenth-century Europe provided the seed bed for the American Bible school movement. In several different nations, Christian worker training programs of various sorts developed during that century.⁴⁸ Charles H. Spurgeon, for example, opened a college for deserving pastors unable to meet the normal educational requirements for a minister.

He designed his college for dedicated and devout young men who had been preaching for at least two years, but who had not had adequate opportunities for schooling or sufficient money to make up their educational deficiencies....even the semi-literate and the indigent found welcome at Spurgeon's College.⁴⁹

S.A. Witmer identifies Johannes Gossner and H. Grattan Guinness as having great influence on the development of Bible schools in America. Gossner operated a missionary training program in Germany in the early part of the nineteenth century that trained 141 missionaries for foreign service. Guinness founded the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions in 1872, which trained five hundred workers for service in its first sixteen years.⁵⁰ Concerning the influence of Guinness, Virginia Lieson Brereton writes:

Guinness, through his trips to the United States and through the visits of Americans to England, wielded great influence upon Bible school founders such as A. B. Simpson, A. J. Gordon, and others....Simpson as a young man had heard Guinness preach and had been much impressed by his activities.⁵¹

⁴⁸Eavey, 337-38.

⁴⁹Brereton, *Training God's Army: The American Bible School Movement, 1880-1940*, 56.

⁵⁰Witmer, 33.

⁵¹Brereton, *Training God's Army: The American Bible School Movement, 1880-1940*, 56.

Though Europe began such schools first, the Bible school movement really developed in America. “They did not thrive in Europe; today there are few Bible schools of any size in England or on the Continent. It was in modern America that these schools multiplied in number. The movement has been carried from America to various mission fields.”⁵²

The European examples encouraged some Americans, such as A. B. Simpson, A. J. Gordon, and Dwight L. Moody, to consider opening similar institutions. These three men, actively involved in leading the revival movements of the day, felt the need for some form of training for the vast army of Christian workers they believed the church required in order to spread the gospel at home and around the world. They saw numerous adult men and women saved and called into the ministry, but many of these lacked a good secondary education, much less a B.A. degree, and therefore could not avail themselves of a seminary education. Why not establish special training schools to prepare these individuals for Christian service—not to replace or compete with the professional clergy—but to complement them? Simpson opened such a school in New York City in 1882, Moody in Chicago in 1886, and Gordon in Boston in 1889. Both Gordon and Simpson sought to train missionaries for foreign service while Moody sought to train workers to reach the masses who moved to the booming cities of America and Europe in search of work. Once established, these three schools provided a pattern that encouraged the development of similar Bible schools across America and Canada. Witmer found that 248 such schools had been established in North America by 1962.⁵³

⁵²Eavey, 338.

⁵³Witmer, 49.

Brereton has attempted a typology of Bible schools, which she divides into three stages. These stages roughly correspond to three periods in the development of the oldest schools. The first stage, “Foundings,” lasted from 1882 to 1915. During this stage Bible schools operated out of various rented facilities and frequently moved location. With no residence halls, students lived at home or found their own accommodation nearby.

Witmer notes that during the early days Moody and Simpson took different approaches to curriculum. While Simpson sought to provide a more general education, and included subjects such as logic, geography, and philosophy, Moody stuck to a more specialized, Bible-focused program.⁵⁴ Originally both Simpson and Moody envisioned their schools as vocational training institutions, places where men and women could receive training in knowledge of the Bible, basic doctrine, and communication skills. Virginia L. Brereton describes the usual one- or two-year training these schools offered as abbreviated, practical, and efficient. She writes:

All these elements—brevity, practicality, efficiency—were summed up in the word “training.” What “training” involved in part was a revolt against the older classical learning, a revolt which was in progress elsewhere in education. Nothing was inherently wrong with learning Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and with reading classical literature; many of the training school founders had themselves received classical educations. But it was not appropriate for recruits to the mission fields; it took too long and sometimes dulled their zeal. A. B. Simpson in 1897 described what he considered the older kinds of education: “How often it is merely intellectual, scholastic, traditional and many of us have found by sad experience that God has to put us to school again to unlearn what man had crammed into our brains.” Pierson also spoke against it. On the mission field, he said, “Men who have no college diploma, and could not furnish that supreme test of scholarship, the ‘Latin essay,’ if found capable, willing, and winning are licensed and ordained. . . . Facts show that scholastic training is not necessary for effective service. There are scores of heroic men doing valiant battle for the Lord and the faith, who never were in college or seminary.” And Moody warned that “ministers are educated away from” the people they should be attempting to reach.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Ibid., 35-37.

⁵⁵Brereton, *Training God’s Army: The American Bible School Movement, 1880-1940*, 62-63.

The small student body of most schools, composed of, “relatively mature men and women, usually in their early or mid twenties, or even older,”⁵⁶ had already made their way in the world for some time. Almost all had held jobs of some sort, and some supported themselves while attending classes. The faculty consisted of a handful of men and women who often volunteered their time.

Generally, faculty were admired for their piety and their experience and zeal as Christian workers and leaders rather than for academic degrees and achievements....Even as late as 1914-15, the Gordon Bible Institute’s catalog read, “The true teacher, in a school which fits men and women to deal with life and affairs, and to think in terms of reality, is one who is himself in active life, is doing the things which he teaches and is living in the world of men as well as of books.”⁵⁷

Practical training, covering various forms of witnessing and community service, made up a large portion of the program in the earliest Bible schools. Brereton writes that, “Bible school students typically spent several hours a week in actual religious work outside the school. So important was this practical-work experience in some schools that it might be argued that classroom learning was the supplement rather than the core.”⁵⁸ Witmer notes that, “Moody’s idea of training was for students to spend their morning hours in the classroom and their afternoon and evening hours in practical Christian service.”⁵⁹ Brereton concludes that such training allowed the students to learn by doing and it further allowed teachers to evaluate their students’ weaknesses and strengths outside of the classroom.

⁵⁶Ibid., 79.

⁵⁷Ibid., 81.

⁵⁸Brereton, “The Bible Schools and Conservative Evangelical Higher Education, 1880-1940,” 121.

⁵⁹Witmer, 135.

Practical ministry also provided an outlet for a student's zeal for Christ. "Many eagerly regarded it as the core of their training, the most challenging part; such students would likely have engaged in some form of personal evangelism even if it had not been part of the school's program."⁶⁰ Surprisingly little of this ministry took place in a local church context. Most of it involved street witnessing, visiting prisons and old folk's homes, and performing social service work.⁶¹ This emphasis on practical ministry provided a healthy balance to the academics of the classroom. However, as time went on, the off-campus practical aspects of training gradually lost out to the classroom, and teachers rarely accompanied their students whenever they did go out to minister.⁶²

Bible schools provided many opportunities for Master-Disciple, Tutor/Mentor, and Peer-Team Pattern relationships. Many schools, being small, engendered family-type relationships. Students came to see each other as brothers and sisters; their teachers became parents. In this kind of environment, these three patterns often played an important role in the development of church leadership. In her survey of life outside the classroom, Brereton spends considerable time exploring the important role such relationships played in the development of Christian character and spiritual formation.

In helping students to spiritual maturity, nothing was more important than emulation; the faculty, occasional speakers and lecturers, graduates, and the biographies of admired evangelicals of the past all served the end of inspiring students and of demonstrating what roles they too might play in furthering "the King's business."....Bible school teachers served their students as counselors; in fact, they did more, often acting as spiritual mothers and fathers....Among the full-time faculty, few felt that their duties were discharged when they left the classroom. They usually tried to be present at worship services, prayer meetings, and school social events, and they made themselves available to individual

⁶⁰Brereton, *Training God's Army: The American Bible School Movement, 1880-1940*, 109.

⁶¹Ibid., 108-09.

⁶²Ibid., 110-11.

students who needed academic or spiritual help. This was possible because faculty often lived at the Bible school or nearby (often they were required to). Students responded by bestowing nicknames such as “pappy” and “mother” upon their mentors.⁶³

Life in a dorm offered many opportunities for the development of Peer/Team Pattern relationships as the students interacted with each other. Brereton describes how important these spontaneous times of interaction and times of prayer became for Bible school students:

Biola had daily “corridor prayer meetings,” at which “The students on each corridor gather in a student’s room at whatever hour is most convenient to discuss their perplexing personal problems and to present them to God for solution. It is here, as perhaps at no other gathering, that definiteness in prayer is learned.”...In addition to hymn singing, prayer meetings usually consisted of Bible reading (often students would follow the passage in their own Bibles), and sometimes brief remarks from the prayer leader. One of the most important ingredients of such gatherings for prayer was the giving of testimony by all participants.⁶⁴

The second stage, which Brereton calls “Expansion,” lasted from 1915 to 1930. By this time the older Bible schools experienced some permanence and respectability under a new generation of leadership. Schools built permanent buildings, including dormitories, which provided a place for students to live on campus, and the educational program expanded.

In stage two the tendency was for the course of study to be extended to three or even four years. Finishing the course became more important; now students often earned a diploma or certificate upon completion of prescribed studies. As the normal length of study increased, so did the number of subject offerings, though they remained basically practical and vocational in purpose and orientation. Whereas before all students had followed the same course of study, now they could choose from a number of programs, depending upon what kind of Christian work they anticipated doing. The most common choices were “General Bible,” “Music,” “Missionary,” and “Christian education.”...Stage two usually brought a number of permanent and full-time faculty, though the roster continued to include

⁶³Ibid., 115-16.

⁶⁴Ibid., 120.

numerous part-time instructors as well. And Bible schools in this period were more likely to have leaders who made education their primary role; “career educators” like Nathan Wood who headed Gordon for several decades following 1910 became more common.⁶⁵

During this stage many schools changed their primary focus. Until then, training lay leaders and foreign missionaries provided the primary objective, but now many Bible schools began offering courses geared at preparing men and women for pastoral ministry, equipping those who would have felt out of place in the schools and seminaries of the mainline churches. In the process these schools became the formal theological training institutions for the churches of the revivalist tradition, training their future ministers and church leaders. Along with these changes, those attending Bible colleges also changed. The educational level of the students increased and the average age of the students decreased, with the majority now coming to Bible school soon after graduation from high school. Fewer and fewer mature adults enrolled in Bible school.

The Great Depression of the 1930s stifled any Bible school development. Brereton’s third stage, which runs from 1940 to present, she titles, “Towards Academic Respectability.”⁶⁶ At the beginning of this period most Bible schools expanded their programs and tightened their entrance requirements, with a high school diploma now serving as a common entrance requirement.

Bible schools acquired bigger and bigger libraries, faculty boasted more and more advanced degrees. A larger number of liberal arts subjects entered the curriculum. At many schools tuition came to be charged for the first time, and the older schools achieved a greater degree of financial stability. Ultimately these schools earned accreditation, either through the Bible school association established in the

⁶⁵Ibid., 82-83.

⁶⁶Ibid., 83-85.

late forties, or, in the case of some, through the same regional associations that accredited liberal arts colleges.⁶⁷

Often the Bible schools of this period little resembled the institutions they had once been.

Biola, for instance. Like other Bible schools, it had multiplied its evangelistic outreach efforts during the twenties, then cut back in the thirties because of economic depression. When relative prosperity returned in the late 40s and the 50s, Biola never attempted to restore the full array of evangelistic and outreach activities, for by this time its leaders had resolved to bring the school up to a certain level of academic quality. During the fifties, for instance, the Biola directors decided they should sever the longstanding ties with the branch school in China, and that “Biola should concentrate all its efforts and its resources on its educational program, especially since the School had become fully accredited.”⁶⁸

Thus, many Bible schools by this period resembled the liberal arts colleges and seminaries of the nineteenth century—academic institutions that provided a quality education for those who plan on becoming professional pastors or specialty church workers. To use Clinton’s terminology, Bible schools today primarily aim at training Type C leaders as opposed to the Type A and Type B leaders that Bible schools of the late nineteenth century sought to train.⁶⁹ The heavy emphasis of the early schools on practical training had changed to a heavy emphasis on academics with a Christian service program of some sort⁷⁰ and/or some form of internship. Along the way the important role Master-Disciple and Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships became eclipsed by Teacher-Student Pattern relationships.

⁶⁷Ibid., 85.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Clinton, *Leadership Emergence Theory*, 47.

⁷⁰Witmer, 141-48.

Historical Summary

Protestant churches have generally viewed formal tertiary education as the ideal training for those preparing themselves for church leadership. During the sixteenth century Luther and Calvin strongly promoted preaching as the ultimate function of the Christian church leader. This skill required the study of Greek and Hebrew as well as rhetoric, subjects usually studied by those seeking a liberal arts B.A. degree. During the eighteenth century, while Baptists and Methodists usually depended upon informal means of ministerial training, the ideal for most Protestants continued to involve obtaining the bachelors degree. This meant Teacher-Student Pattern relationships in the classroom and Peer/Team Pattern relationships in the day-to-day activities of college life, with the possibility for some Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships to occur informally outside of the classroom. Having secured a B.A. degree and often a Masters degree, church leaders found themselves among the elite of society.

With the Great Awakening, a growing number of those seeking to become ministers felt the formal education of the day lacked certain personal qualities and sought additional training in the form of “reading theology” under an experienced minister. This created an environment in which Master-Disciple Pattern relationships could balance off the years of formal Teacher-Student Pattern relationships. The seminary, as it developed early in the nineteenth century, supplied the future minister with a much broader, formal theological training, but replaced the Master-Disciple Pattern relationship of reading theology with three more years of Teacher-Student Pattern relationships. Most churches adopted this as the preferred form of ministerial training, and thus Master-Disciple

Pattern relationships almost disappeared from the ministerial training pattern among many denominations by the late 1800s.

The revivals of the nineteenth century brought large numbers of adults into the church. These potential workers desired training for home and foreign missionary service, but the standard seven years of post-secondary education precluded that for many. This need resulted in the establishment of a number of one- and two-year worker training programs and the birth of the Bible school movement. The earliest Bible schools provided a rather balanced approach to leadership training, with formal education and Teacher-Student Pattern relationships providing knowledge concerning the Bible, doctrine, and pastoral theology. Various outlets for practical ministry provided a place for the development of skills—especially witnessing—and frequent chapel and prayer times aided in the spiritual formation of the students. With small student bodies, teachers served as active role models and thus fostered Master-Disciple and Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships, while the students developed Peer/Team Pattern relationships among themselves. But over time the Bible schools became larger, more settled, and more academic. In the process, later students lost much of the opportunity earlier students had of observing their teachers involved in everyday activities outside of the classroom. Thus, the Master-Disciple and Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships diminished in importance, being replaced by a greater reliance on Teacher-Student Pattern relationships. By the end of the twentieth century, many Bible schools saw their goal as the training of full-time professional church workers. These institutions were providing a considerably higher quality of education, which closely resembled that of Christian liberal arts colleges and the seminary.

Shortcomings of Formal Education as Leadership Development

As noted earlier, in Zambia today virtually everyone assumes that the best way to learn anything is in a classroom, preferably at a residential institution. Thus, most church leaders believe a Bible school or similar institution provides the ideal environment for training their church leaders. While few in Zambia question this assumption, a growing number of people in the West, including many professors and theologians performing this form of church leadership training at seminaries, feel the approach needs serious reform.

Hough and Cobb summarize this criticism as follows:

Anyone associated with theological education for ministers in the “main-line” Protestant churches of the United States is surely aware that there is widespread discontent with the schools providing this education. Criticisms range from charges that the curricula of the schools are too academic and have little relevance for the actual practice of the ministry, to charges that the efforts to meet this criticism have led the schools to a trivialization of their curricula. Basically, this latter criticism is an allegation that many seminaries are little more than technical schools specializing in skills training for specific organizational tasks in the institutional church. Thus, would-be reformers propose contradictory directions of change.⁷¹

The development of the seminary at the beginning of the nineteenth century had been influenced by the newly founded German research university. Edward Farley writes:

Faculty members from the first seminaries (Andover, Princeton) went to Germany to study, and when they returned, they programmatically set out to introduce that model to the American Schools. Not only did the seminaries begin to take into account German theological scholarship, the German system itself began to influence the very conception of a program of theological study. Hence, after the middle of the nineteenth century, the standard German fourfold divisions of theological sciences (Bible, dogmatics, church history, practical theology) was widespread.⁷²

⁷¹Hough and Cobb, *Christian Identity and Theological Education*, 1.

⁷²Edward Farley, *Theologia: The Fragmentation and Unity of Theological Education* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 10.

In the process the nature of “learning” changed. “The shift was from one meaning of learning to another, from study which deepens heartfelt knowledge of divine things to scholarly knowledge of relatively discrete theological sciences.”⁷³ With that transformation came a new role for the minister—a professional, like lawyers and doctors—and a new approach to theological education. David Kelsey, labeling this new approach as the Berlin model, describes it as follows:

Theological schooling was shaped by the distinctive roles played by clergy. It still involved four areas: exegesis uncovered the content of scripture; but now dogmatics was not so much a matter of systematic arrangement of that content as it was a matter of deriving a body of theory about the practice of the Christian life; church history was a narrative describing different forms that the church had taken at different times, so as better to understand the present time; practical theology was now the training of clergy in the skills they would need to help others practice the Christian life. Theological schooling involved a movement, not so much from source to application *as from theory to practice* [italics in original].⁷⁴

Ultimately this promoted the idea of theological education as an academic discipline and belittled the importance of both spiritual formation and the practical side of ministry.

The next few pages seek to summarize a few of the concerns being expressed today concerning the use of formal education to prepare someone for church leadership as currently being carried out in the West. Many of these concerns overlap, and drawing lines between them proves difficult at times. These concerns may not be true of any one particular school.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴David Kelsey, *To Understand God Truly: What’s Theological About a Theological School?* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992), 87.

1. Providing Training Before One Enters into Ministry

The usual pattern requires future church leaders to undergo a rigorous period of education before they enter the ministry. J. Robert Clinton and Richard W. Clinton refer to this as pre-service training and have the following evaluation of the approach:

The pre-service training approaches which train toward effective anticipated ministry experience are least effective. This is due to several factors. Loss of input during the time delay before the ministry experience. Lack of motivation to learn since some input may not be perceived as important due to lack of perspective that comes from experience. Lack of dynamic reflection, i.e. with no experience it is often difficult to perceive concepts.⁷⁵

With a bit of sarcasm, James F. Hopewell provides the following criticism:

Our present practice of three years training (which, God forbid, many now wish to stretch even longer) once again seems to place a premium upon the isolation of its contents, as a sort of once-for-all puberty rite for entry into the clerical clan. Is it any wonder that probably most clergymen thereafter feel most at home with their brothers in the cloth, somewhat less comfortable with their congregations and least at ease in the world at large? Rather than permitting the study of theology to be a rite of initiation, I would think that a pioneering, mission-centered ministry would presuppose a system of continuous, developmental education that dogged a man throughout his life and capitalized upon his growing experience.⁷⁶

2. Residential Schools as the Location for the Training

While a growing number of churches in America offer some kind of local leadership training programs, the “ideal” place to receive theological training remains a residential post-secondary or post-graduate school. These residential schools usually answer to a supporting denomination, but have no particular ties to any local churches. The school provides an environment in which students live for many years, disconnected

⁷⁵J. Robert Clinton and Richard W. Clinton, *The Mentor Handbook* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Publishers, 1991), 1-20.

⁷⁶James F. Hopewell, “The Worldwide Problem,” in *Theological Education by Extension*, ed. Ralph D. Winter (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1969), 42.

from the real world and often from active ministry involvement in a local church. This creates numerous problems when the student reintegrates into society-at-large and the local church setting. Roy M. Oswald writes:

When people move from institutional care to private life, they usually can benefit by spending time in a halfway house....To a lesser degree, there is some culture shock when graduates move from a seminary environment/culture to a parish environment/culture. Most do so without expecting a great difference. Aren't both part of the same institution we call the church? There is a basic but erroneous assumption that success in the seminary automatically means success in the parish. The seminary culture stressed scholastic orientation over people/community orientation. Students were encouraged to center their lives around academic pursuits, study, and research. An inquisitive attitude towards issues was rewarded. In their studies a wide use of resources was encouraged. Respect for degrees and academic acumen was necessary for success. In the parish setting these graduates found that academic pursuits were discouraged. They were expected to spend their time with people and groups; they were given no time for research, reading, reflection, or study.⁷⁷

The lack of close ties between the school and a local church often results in strained ties between the two. The typical school finds itself struggling to please both the supporting churches, which may voice criticism of the kind of graduates being produced, and the academic world, which holds responsibility for the school's accreditation. Most school faculty, as members of the academy, interact primarily with other academicians of their field instead of leaders in local churches. In this tug-of-war between local churches and the academic world, the local churches frequently lose out.

3. The Qualifications of Those Who Do the Training

Because of the strong ties schools have with the academic world, schools seek scholarly teachers with good academic credentials—those well known and respected in their fields. After all, a school seeks someone with expertise in church history to teach

⁷⁷Roy M. Oswald, *Crossing the Boundary Between Seminary and Parish* (Washington, DC: Alban Institute, 1979), 10-11.

this subject, not the successful pastor of a local church. This often results in the faculty having little experience in local church leadership. Hopewell has noted that teachers tend to produce teachers, and thus theological schools frequently produce teachers instead of pastors and church leaders:

Teachers are so disastrously prone to reproducing their own kind—the man who revels in the library, the man whose knowledge of the church and world comes mainly through the careful phrases of other like himself....they are prone to desire it mirrored in the activity of their students. Well and good. Teachers eventually die and someone else must occupy their chair. The sobering fact, at least in the younger churches, is that probably less than one percent of their students who pass under the teachers' influence will accomplish a form of the teachers' outlook for any appreciable purpose. Yet the traditional approach to theological education is slanted towards producing this one man in a hundred to the detriment of the ninety and nine who are going to be on the firing line answering the flippant and desperate questions of a troubled world.⁷⁸

Theological schools thus tend to collect a group of experts in various fields who often cannot show the students how all the pieces of the education they receive fit together into a coherent whole, nor how all this relates to the local church.

4. The Choice of Subjects Taught

The school sets the courses a student must take, and the school feels pressure from the body that accredits it to enforce certain standards and keep up with the current trends. Over the years, the number of “must have” courses has continued to increase. Anil

D. Solanky observes:

One obvious weakness of the content approach is the impossibility of mastering even an infinitesimal part of today's knowledge. The great explosion of knowledge in the second half of the twentieth century makes the meaningful

⁷⁸Hopewell, 42.

coverage of content impossible....There is a tendency to set up a system and expect people to fit into it.⁷⁹

And when the graduate gets into a local church situation they find that much of what occupies their ministry time did not appear in any of the courses they took. In a study of recent seminary graduates Roy Oswald found,

The graduates repeatedly expressed difficulty in translating the knowledge they received at seminary into an integrated practice of ministry. Although they gave themselves high ratings in isolated acts of ministry such as conducting worship, preaching, teaching, counseling, calling, and administration, they were surprised to discover that these did not add up to the total practice of an ordained parish minister....The difference now was in the whole area of authority, leadership, supervision, and actual and symbolic roles. Even clergy who had been in managerial roles prior to seminary were shocked at how unprepared they were for parish management tasks.⁸⁰

Solanky further notes that the school's focus on subjects and information ignores the tremendously important area of the affective domain.

How is it that theological institutions neglect this tremendously important area of emotion which is the key to all motivation, which enriches all social relationships and is so vital in religious experience? How is that we recognize only mental achievement and mark 'pass' or 'fail' only on the basis of academic standing?⁸¹

Similarly, Lee C. Wanak notes true education, "involves more than the cognitive domain, it is also affective, involving the shaping of values, attitudes, and emotions."⁸²

⁷⁹Anil D. Solanky, "A Critical Evaluation of Theological Education in Residential Training," in *Missions and Theological Education in World*, ed. Harvie M. Conn and Samuel F. Rowen (Farmington, MI: Associates of Urbanus, 1984), 157-58.

⁸⁰Oswald, 15.

⁸¹Solanky, 159.

⁸²Lee C. Wanak, "Theological Education and the Role of Teachers in the 21st Century: A Look at the Asia Pacific Region," *Journal of Asian Missions* 2, no. 1 (2000): 9.

5. *The Way the Subjects Are Taught*

Criticism has also included the way subjects are taught. Teachers attempt to share a vast amount of theory and facts, but the classroom cannot provide the proper environment for practicing the integration of all these facts and theories. That often requires a local church situation, something the school cannot provide. As Harvey M. Conn notes, the common assumption is that, “In school we learn ‘principles,’ in church we engage in ‘the practice.’”⁸³

Many have criticized the pedagogical approach, which has dominated Western teaching since the Middle Ages. Recent research shows that adults learn very differently from children and this has resulted in the establishment of the new field of andragogy. While many teachers have been exposed to the differences this approach promotes, most continue using the methods to which they have become accustomed. Conn writes that teachers often prefer the old, tried and true approach sometimes called the “banking model.”

Like banking, the teacher instills information into students as one deposits money in a bank. It is then essentially narration, carried on by those who have a store of knowledge to those they consider to know nothing....The learner, under the guise of education, is given a new self-image by which he or she remolds his or her own image.⁸⁴

⁸³Harvie M. Conn, “Teaching Missions in the Third World: The Cultural Problems,” in *Missions and Theological Education in World*, ed. Harvie M. Conn and Samuel F. Rowen (Farmington, MI: Associates of Urbanus, 1984), 260.

⁸⁴Ibid., 253.

6. *Grades as the Primary Motivation*

Teachers focus on teaching information to their students, and the exam has become the primary method of determining how much of the material has been retained.

Solanky comments:

At present education is based on competition. Constant emphasis is put on the belief that students will only work for a prize or from pressure of desire to be first or to receive a certificate, and that without these inducements most students will not work at all....Hence our examination-ridden classrooms are no training ground for honesty, sincerity and free growth towards maturity.⁸⁵

While grades may show how much material the student has mastered, they cannot demonstrate how well a student will perform after graduation. Years of my own personal experience have shown that poor students sometimes make the best pastors.

7. *The Strong Western Cultural Bias of Theological Education*

Western Protestant and Roman Catholic churches spent the last five hundred years erecting a complex system of formal education aimed at training its leadership. Missionaries took this system with them when carrying the gospel to other lands. Unfortunately, this formal education reflects Western culture from top to bottom. Geared at producing a professional elite who knows the answers that Westerners have asked over the last few centuries, the system often fails to produce leaders equipped to lead the church in the Majority World. As Wanak writes, “Western systematic theology...has more to do with classical religious theorizing than developing a contextualized theology for everyday life and action.”⁸⁶ After noting the rapid rise of the Church in the former mission fields of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Allan Anderson writes:

⁸⁵Solanky, 160.

⁸⁶Wanak, 11.

But this drastic transformation in Christian demographics has made little impact on western, rationalistic theological education, which continues to be the leading model in seminaries across the globe....North American Pentecostal missions contributed generously towards the establishment of “Bible schools” and in-service training structures throughout the world, resulting in the more rapid growth of indigenous Pentecostal churches. However, the fundamental flaws in these structures exist particularly because they are western models foisted onto the rest of the world. This is part of the legacy of the colonial past with its cultural imperialism and ethnocentrism. Pentecostal (and other) missionaries from Europe and North America followed this pattern. They thought they knew what sort of training people needed in Africa, Asia and Latin America, in order to become ministers after the model of the West.⁸⁷

As an example of this Western cultural bias, Siew points to the emphasis on individual conversion and leadership training: “Theological training assumes a theory of individual conversion and vocation unrelated to community. Students are selected and trained apart from their supporting community, then placed in communities that do not know them, may not like them, and often do not find them suitable.”⁸⁸

Summary

While formal education currently serves as the primary means of training church leadership in the West, it has many shortcomings. It excels in the cognitive domain, in passing on content from teacher to student, but many believe the present system of theological education does not produce the kind of church leadership needed and should be extensively renewed.

⁸⁷Allan Anderson, “The Forgotten Dimension: Education for Pentecostal-Charismatic Spirituality in Global Perspective,” The University of Birmingham Arts Web, http://artsweb.bham.ac.uk/aanderson/Publications/forgotten_dimension.htm (accessed June 22, 2007).

⁸⁸Yau-Man Siew, “Theological Education in Asia. An Indigenous Agenda for Renewal,” in *With an Eye on the Future. Development and Mission in the 21st Century*, ed. Duane H. Elmer and Lois McKinney (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1996), 61.

Theological Education by Extension: A Twentieth Century Experiment

A number of experiments have been carried out in the past century by those seeking renewal of theological education. Theological Education by Extension (TEE) was the most widespread attempt at reform during the twentieth century. TEE sought to take theological education out of the residential classroom and make it available to those already involved in local church leadership around the world.

TEE developed out of innovations to the academic program at the Presbyterian Seminary in Guatemala.⁸⁹ In 1962, the seminary “discovered that in twenty-five years the seminary had prepared only ten pastors who were actively serving the denomination.”⁹⁰ The three missionaries at the school—Ralph Winter, James Emery, and Ross Kinsler—quickly realized that the situation required radical changes. A decentralized extension program resulted, one that consisted of three key components: “self-instructional home-study materials for daily preparations, decentralized weekly seminars of students and teachers, periodic extended meetings at a central location of students from any or all centres.”⁹¹ The basic concept contained a fair amount of flexibility, which Ralph R. Covell felt should allow TEE to cover the three domains of learning, if correctly

⁸⁹The literature on TEE is extensive. For a sampling see Ralph R. Covell and C. Peter Wagner, *An Extension Seminary Primer* (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1971), F. Ross Kinsler, *The Extension Movement in Theological Education: A Call to the Renewal of the Ministry* (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1981), F. Ross Kinsler and James H. Emery, *Opting for Change. A Handbook on Evaluation and Planning for Theological Education by Extension* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1991), Stewart G. Snook, *Developing Leaders Through Theological Education by Extension: Case Studies from Africa* (Wheaton, IL: The Billy Graham Center, 1992), and Ralph D. Winter, ed., *Theological Education by Extension* (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1969).

⁹⁰C. Peter Wagner, “The Birth of the Extension Seminary,” in *An Extension Seminary Primer*, Ralph R. Covell and C. Peter Wagner (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1971), 71.

⁹¹Kenneth B. Mulholland, “Presbyterian Seminary of Guatemala. A Modest Experiment Becomes a Model for Change,” in *Ministry by the People. Theological Education by Extension*, ed. F. Ross Kinsler (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983), 36.

structured. “This structural flexibility gives it great potential as a medium for these three elements of cognitive input, field experience and interpretative seminars, which Ward calls ‘an idealized model of the professional curriculum.’⁹²”

By the late 1960s other missionaries began seeking to implement this model in their countries around the world, which led to a tremendous expansion of TEE programs during the 1970s. F. Ross Kinsler writes that, “the numerical and geographical expansion of the extension movement—from a handful of experiments in Latin America at the end of the 1960s to 300 or 400 programmes with perhaps 100,000 students around the world at the end of the 1970s—has been extraordinary.”⁹³

By the 1980s the tremendous expansion of TEE in sheer numbers seemed to have peaked. Ted W. Ward notes:

As expected in any locally popular innovation, the rise of TEE was widespread and enthusiastic, but before many years it began to wane. The peak of the *movement* [italics in original] occurred within ten years. Nevertheless, its influence persists thirty years and more later. Programs of theological education by extension are widespread. In India, for example, TEE is virtually the dominant mode of pastoral education.⁹⁴

Ward goes on to outline his thoughts on the problems TEE has experienced and their causes. He notes that TEE depends upon several resources, which may not be present everywhere:

The instructional model called for students to read independently and in small self-led groups from materials carefully designed to provide an informational

⁹²Ralph R. Covell, “Educational Principles Underlying Extension Education,” in *An Extension Seminary Primer*, ed. Ralph R. Covell and C. Peter Wagner (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1971), 108.

⁹³F. Ross Kinsler, “Theological Education by Extension: Equipping God’s People for Ministry,” in *Ministry by the People. Theological Education by Extension*, ed. F. Ross Kinsler (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983), 15.

⁹⁴Ted W. Ward, “Theological Education by Extension,” in *Evangelical Dictionary of Christian Education*, ed. Michael J. Anthony (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 692.

basis and preparation for weekly seminars (sometimes spaced across more time). This reading-plus-guided-discussion was to replace the time-honored lecturing-plus-note-taking of formal higher education.⁹⁵

The instructional materials required considerable time to create, and many times materials from one cultural setting were imported into other setting without appropriate adjustments. Also, most TEE programs lacked skilled discussion leaders, and weekly seminars became merely weekly lectures.

Hardly anyone in the movement counted on the difficulty of breaking the habit of teaching-as-telling. Almost anyone who has spent time in formal education is inclined to line people up and talk down to them for long periods of time, assuming they either haven't read, haven't reasoned, or haven't understood what they experienced in life.⁹⁶

A third problem identified by Ward concerned the relationship between TEE and traditional formal higher education. Many people made pointed comparisons between TEE and formal education, which obscured the basic differences. "TEE was intentionally different—aimed toward qualities that were based in different values, and not intended to be 'as good as,'" ⁹⁷ formal education. Another problem in this same vein concerns the attitude many in the Majority World have towards formal education:

In much of the educationally under-resourced parts of the world, the craving for education was then, and still is, all-consuming, but the *meaning* [italics in original] of education has been shaped by the colonial experience. Thus, "education" of any sort has less to do with life-change as world view enlargement and spiritual transformation than with economic advantages of coin-like degrees from "recognized" institutions and curricula.⁹⁸

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid., 693.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸Ibid.

This last point made by Ward certainly applies to Zambia where for many, mere possession of a certificate, diploma, or degree matters as much as, if not more than, whether that person can lead a local church. Bradley N. Hill notes a similar attitude manifesting itself among the church leadership in the Democratic Republic of Congo when he writes:

For half a century, the missionary had emphasized the structured classroom...he had elevated Western classroom models and Western definitions of success. Pastors who had with great sacrifice climbed the Western academic ladder were understandably not enthralled with TEE's new approach.⁹⁹

The TEE literature frequently alludes to another problem—the financial costs of producing books and transportation for teachers and students.¹⁰⁰ While much cheaper per person than a residential seminary, these costs can hinder the successful implementation of TEE programs.¹⁰¹

TEE seeks to extend residential theological education to those who need such training, but for various reasons cannot avail themselves of it. It resembles distance education in that the self-study texts act as the teacher, thus reducing the opportunities for Teacher-Student Pattern interaction. The weekly seminars provide good opportunities for Peer/Team Pattern relationships to develop, but this may not happen if the discussion leaders act as teachers. When thinking about TEE programs in terms of relational patterns and the nature of the leadership development such programs engender, TEE closely resembles the results of formal education. While the structure allows for small group

⁹⁹Bradley N. Hill, "The Fall and Rise of TEE in One African Church," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, no. Jan (1988): 44.

¹⁰⁰Snook, 171.

¹⁰¹For other evaluations of TEE see Kinsler, "Theological Education by Extension," and Kenneth B. Mulholland, "TEE Come of Age: A Candid Assessment After Two Decades," in *Cyprus: TEE Come of Age*, ed. Robert L. Youngblood (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1986).

dynamics and either Peer/Team Pattern or Master-Disciple relationships to develop, the literature suggests they rarely do. The tendency for Teacher-Student Pattern relationships to dominate turns TEE into merely a decentralized version of formal education. As with traditional formal education, opportunities for intensive Master-Disciple and Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships will probably not occur with any regularity unless the program deliberately seeks to foster such relationships. Peer/Team Pattern relationships will occur, as they are a normal part of the classroom setting, but they may not contribute to leadership development in any meaningful way for most students without some forethought and planning.

The Dominance of Formal Education in Church Leadership Development in Zambia

As noted previously, missionaries introduced formal education with its Teacher-Student Pattern of relationships to Zambia. This pattern, unknown previously among the kin groups of the land, provided the means by which many Zambians rose to national leadership in the new society established by the Europeans. Church leadership followed the same pattern. The missionaries who brought the gospel to Zambia came from Europe, where formal education had been accepted as the preferred method of training church leaders for some time. They inculcated this ideal in those they trained, and today Zambians, both inside the church and out, believe a pastor or church leader without a certificate or some kind of formal education does not truly qualify as a church leader. As Ralph R. Covell comments concerning theological education in the former European colonies:

The separate theological training school has been the most commonly perpetuated form for the training of the ministry in younger churches around the world.

Unfortunately, the impression is often given that this is the only form that God has provided for his church. Where this conviction has taken hold of mission and church leaders, great resistance has developed to different patterns that may be more functional.¹⁰²

The next several pages seek to show how this perception came about and how it shapes Christian attitudes today concerning the training of church leadership.

Mission Schools and Churches before World War II

The missionaries who came to Zambia around the turn of the twentieth century saw education as the primary means of reaching the peoples of Zambia with the gospel. After entering a kin group and learning something of the language, missionaries set up a school to teach those who came something about the three R's as well as the gospel. Church and school developed hand in hand. After establishing a central mission station, most missions sought to expand into neighboring villages by setting up a network of out-stations manned by those students who showed the aptitude and desire to teach others.

When a student demonstrated the ability to read, write, and do simple arithmetic, he was commissioned as a teacher....The teachers also served as catechists and conducted the worship services for the villagers. The schools doubled as churches and in this way the essential objective of the missions was achieved.¹⁰³

Eventually missionaries developed central teacher training institutions where the African teacher-evangelists, as they were often called, received their training. Once set up in an out-station, a missionary might visit an African teacher-evangelist only once a year.

The whole country was thus rapidly covered with a network of posts and sub-posts, which carried European influence into the remotest village....The setting up of this organization of evangelists meant that the European missionary confined

¹⁰²Ralph R. Covell, "Forms of Theological Education Through History," in *An Extension Seminary Primer*, Ralph R. Covell and C. Peter Wagner (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1971), 58.

¹⁰³John P. Ragsdale, *Protestant Mission Education in Zambia, 1880-1954* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1986), 165.

more of his energy to working from the centre, where he supervised and trained his helpers.¹⁰⁴

First the missionaries themselves taught. Then they confined themselves more to the advanced teaching and to the training and supervision of the native teachers who were sent into the “bush schools”. By this means it was possible to expand the educational work rapidly and by 1924, 24,000 pupils were attending mission schools in the Territory.¹⁰⁵

In 1924 the British Colonial Office took over control of Zambia. The government slowly exercised more and more control over the educational system erected by the missions. By the late 1940s, “Mission influence in education was waning and the missions were more the agents of the government than partners in an educational system. The initiative had been seized by the government.”¹⁰⁶ As their control and oversight of Zambia’s educational system waned, missionaries began turning their attention to matters other than secular education.

African Church Leadership before World War II

The teacher-evangelists, trained by the missionaries, provided the earliest form of African church leadership. Often sent to minister in a kin group other than their own and with infrequent missionary supervision, these single young men sometimes came into conflict with the local chiefs or had moral difficulties. Robert I. Rotberg describes the low quality of the teaching they provided as follows:

Their own knowledge had been obtained by rote; they naturally drilled the village pupils in the manner in which they themselves had been taught. Each simply repeated as much as he could remember....Some teachers were simply incapable

¹⁰⁴Lewis H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia Under the British South Africa Company 1894-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), 30.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 33.

¹⁰⁶Ragsdale, 146.

of teaching: after an inspection tour, for example, an Anglican priest reported that he had found “the alphabet being taught upside down.”¹⁰⁷

Positive results from these teacher-evangelists came slowly.

Of the approximately 1,500,000 Africans in Northern Rhodesia in 1924, no more than 18,000 had been baptised....No indigenous ministers had been ordained, and none of the missions had tried seriously to encourage the participation of African congregations in the government of the local churches. There existed, in fact, only the bare bones of an indigenous church, and a widely held, keenly experienced feeling of failure.¹⁰⁸

Some missions sent their best students to study in neighboring countries, such as South Africa and Nyasaland (now Malawi), but most future teachers received their training in a nearby missions boarding school for a period of a year or two. Rotberg describes this environment as follows:

The Africans attracted to school were usually boarded there by the missionaries. In this way a maximum of continuous supervision and a degree of physical coercion could be exerted. Their attendance could thereby be ensured, and they could help the missionaries to keep the stations and the schools in good repair.... Missionaries expected the boarders to participate fully in all of the activities of a given station. They compelled them to attend morning services and Sunday meetings; they enjoined them to pray regularly and to live upright Christian lives.¹⁰⁹

When school was in session, the classroom occupied them for only a few hours each day. During the remaining hours of daylight, the missionaries put the pupils to work on the station grounds and in the houses of Europeans. In exchange for clothes, soap, and rations, the pupils fetched wood, carried water, and kept the station tidy. They waited on the missionaries' table, and when the missionaries went on tour, the schoolboys accompanied them as guides and servants. The students did “a lot of necessary work which would otherwise have [had] to be done by hired labour”; and, in addition, the missionaries felt that only thus were they able to exert an “incalculable influence on African life.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880-1924* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 114.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 139-40.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 111-12.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 113.

The missionaries hoped that by modeling the behavior they expected of the students and by providing a closely monitored environment, they could produce young Christian men able to carry the gospel to other parts of Zambia, and in the process the missionaries passively served as mentors.¹¹¹ This approach produced some notable successes, such as David Kaunda, the father of Zambia's first president, who came from Malawi and established a mission among the Bemba in 1905.¹¹² However, the lack of equal treatment by the missionaries frustrated many of the brightest graduates of these mission schools. The low pay led many missionary-trained teachers to seek employment with the government as clerks.¹¹³

After World War I African church leaders other than the teacher-evangelists began emerging and the quality of African church leaders slowly improved. The development of mining in the Copperbelt area led thousands of people to leave their rural homes for a chance at a new life in the newly established British towns, where Africans of various kin groups mixed and new forms of leadership, not based on one's kinship, arose. Over time, new churches totally run by Africans developed. For instance, a group of African Christians organized an independent church known as the Union Church of the Copperbelt in Ndola in 1925.¹¹⁴ More mission societies entered Zambia, weakening the hold that the original group of missions had over the country.

¹¹¹Clinton and Richard W. Clinton, *The Mentor Handbook*, 9–1.

¹¹²Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995), 141.

¹¹³Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, 32.

¹¹⁴Ragsdale, 129.

Congregations grew larger. The missionaries no longer knew their flocks as intimately as they had done at the beginning and African “elders” became necessary to them. The African catechumen in turn became an ordained priest, the UMCA, being the first body to ordain an African priest in Central Africa. The Scottish churches soon followed this example and began to train African pastors.¹¹⁵

In some cases the missionaries placed Africans on a level of nominal equality at least by ordaining them as priests. The newly appointed priest was however, less well educated and much more poorly paid than his European colleague, and further down the scale the native teachers and evangelists were in a comparable situation.¹¹⁶

In a handful of cases, opposition to British rule developed among Christian religious movements. One of these movements was the Ethiopian Church of Barotseland, which died out quickly due to organizational problems.¹¹⁷ The Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society developed into a vigorous indigenous organization in Zambia. “Many of the members of the movement actively preached against European rule and prophesied an early end to it.”¹¹⁸ The government stepped in and greatly curtailed its activities by the late 1930s. Neighboring Zimbabwe experienced the development of several strong indigenous churches during the 1920s, but Zambia did not.¹¹⁹

The vast majority of the African leaders that emerged in Zambia prior to World War II had received training at the missions schools, and many times they first rose to prominence in a Christian context. As various kinds of African organizations other than church-related ones developed, many times Christian leaders filled their important

¹¹⁵Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society*, 31.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 33.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, 32-33.

¹¹⁸Irving Kaplan, *Area Handbook for Zambia* (Washington, DC: The American University, 1969), 48.

¹¹⁹See, for example, M. L. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches*. Volume II. Gweru 1988.

positions.¹²⁰ Virtually all of the training these leaders received came through formal education with its Teacher-Student Pattern of relationships. Undoubtedly a fair amount of mentoring took place as Africans observed the white missionaries carrying out their duties, but this seems to have been unintentional in most cases. European missionaries generally sought to protect their positions of power and influence in the churches they established and few, if any, made a deliberate attempt to develop African church leadership so that nationals could assume control of church organizations.

The Development of Church Leadership since World War II

The last sixty years have witnessed an explosion of Christianity in Zambia, both in variety of churches and in sheer numbers, as a result of a complex multitude of factors. First, the nation's population increased greatly, from about three million at the close of World War II to a little over eleven million today.¹²¹ Second, the percentage of the country's population that would call themselves Christian has grown from perhaps 20 percent about 1945¹²² to around 70 percent today. Third, the number of different denominations has increased dramatically. A number of North American denominations, such as the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, sent missionaries to Zambia during the first half of this period and established new national churches. In addition, Zambian

¹²⁰Kaplan, *Area Handbook for Zambia*, 48.

¹²¹Population in Zambia has always been difficult to gauge. The UN estimates Zambia's population for 2007 as 11.7 million. (See "Zambia Humanitarian Country Profile," IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Networks), <http://www.irinnews.org/country.aspx?CountryCode=ZM&RegionCode=SAF> (accessed August 4, 2007).

¹²²This is an educated guess, based upon the figures from the early 1920s and the commonly held assumption that 25-33% were nominally Christian in the mid-1960s. For this figure, see Kaplan, 1969, 189. Seventy percent Christian today represents a conservative estimate. Professor of Religion Austin Cheyeka of the University of Zambia used a figure of 87 percent at a lecture given in September 2007.

Christians have started a host of new, independent “ministries” and churches, especially in the past two decades.

At the beginning of this period, many of the mission bodies awoke to the need for church leadership training institutions. The primary educational system for Africans, which had been the dominant concern of all missions for over fifty years, now rested in the control of the colonial government. Missionaries soon busied themselves with the development of theological colleges across the nation.

The missions began to develop theological schools, distinct from their teacher training centers, to prepare Africans for full-time church work. The era of the teacher-evangelist and the school-church passed gradually from the scene, and some missionaries withdrew from purely educational work.¹²³

Writing in 1969, Kaplan summarized the African church leadership situation as follows:

Another problem facing Christian churches in Zambia, as elsewhere in Africa, is recruiting an adequate ministry. Given its financial problems, the church cannot compete with the Government and private enterprise in attracting educated young people to the ministry. Competition for men with a secondary education is extremely keen, and the salaries and other amenities offered by the churches are low compared to those offered elsewhere. In addition, the ministry carries little prestige. Before Independence African ministers were generally regarded as subservient to the white church hierarchy. In fact, they generally held positions of only minor importance and responsibility and were subject to strict control and supervision.¹²⁴

Independence and the nationalization of virtually the entire economy of Zambia under former President Kaunda, worked to change perceptions concerning African church leadership. Today black Zambians govern the nation’s churches almost exclusively.

The training received by church leaders in Zambia today divides roughly into the three categories of formal, nonformal, and informal training. Formal training remains the preferred method of leadership development. Over twenty-five Bible colleges and

¹²³Ragsdale, 157.

¹²⁴Kaplan, 194.

theological schools operate in Zambia today.¹²⁵ Most denominations consider the establishment of their own Bible school as an important milestone in their development. These post-secondary programs range from one-year or two-year certificates to three-year diplomas, with a growing number now offering a four-year degree. These programs usually operate out of a residential campus, though several TEE programs do exist. As Masters Degree programs begin to take hold on the African continent, a handful of Zambian church leaders today seek post-graduate studies outside the country.

Although formal programs are considered the norm, most pastors and church leaders do not have this kind of training.¹²⁶ Nonformal training involves programs such as seminars and workshops, of which a number are sponsored each year in Lusaka by various church groups, often from outside Zambia. Informal training, though the only form most pastors receive, remains largely ignored by everyone. Most pastors fear that developing the leadership potential of others around them may eventually result in the loss of church members or even their church. In conversations with church leaders, very few can point to another church leader who deliberately attempted to mentor them. To use J. Robert Clinton's terminology, the form of mentoring that most often occurs in Zambian churches today consists of imitation modeling¹²⁷ or passive mentoring.¹²⁸

¹²⁵This is a personal conjecture based on my knowledge of the country. To the best of my knowledge no one maintains accurate statistics on this matter.

¹²⁶ Rev. David Chibale, Missions Director for the PAOG estimated that in 2002 only one fourth of the pastors of their 1000 churches had attended their residential program at Trans-Africa Theological College.

¹²⁷Clinton, *Leadership Training Models*, 201.

¹²⁸Clinton and Richard W. Clinton, *The Mentor Handbook*, 9–1.

Church Leadership Development: The Role of Informal and Non-formal Education

Of the five relational patterns used in this study, the Early Church seemed to focus upon three for its leadership development, all of which could be described as informal or non-formal education. Master-Disciple and/or Tutor/Mentor Patterns found use in discipleship and initial leadership training. Advanced leadership development seems to have primarily taken place through Peer/Team Pattern relationships. Familial Pattern relationships played a key role in the development of future leaders, but because of their nature the Early Church could not use such patterns to develop its leaders. Formal education with its Teacher-Student Pattern relationships also played an important foundational role, as through this pattern the future leaders learned how to read, write, and received other such basic knowledge. This education prepared the young man or woman for leadership in society-at-large and also in the church. However, the Early Church apparently founded no schools, nor did they use formal education and Teacher-Student Pattern relationships in leadership development.

Today in Zambia most people believe that formal education and Teacher-Student Pattern relationships provide the ideal approach to leadership development in the church, in large part due to its widespread use in theological education in the West since 1800 and the example set by missionaries. Formal education has proved highly successful in fulfilling educational goals in the cognitive domain, but often fails to effectively fulfill goals in the affective and psychomotor domains. As noted earlier in this chapter, this often leads Bible school and seminary teachers to focus on what they can do best—pass on information—and leave issues such as spiritual formation and ministerial skills to others. Zambia's church leadership training institutions have copied this trend and by and

large tend to focus on cognitive goals as well. Although most of the church leaders in Zambia today have only received informal or non-formal training, the importance of these forms of training in leadership development remain largely ignored. As a result, the positive impact these approaches can play on leadership development has not been maximized. The rest of this chapter seeks to explore the West's recent renewed interest in the three informal and non-formal educational patterns used by the Early Church. These three patterns, which do a much better job of addressing the development of spiritual formation and ministerial skills, can provide an excellent complementary approach to the current emphasis on formal education in Zambia today

Leadership Development and the Research of J. Robert Clinton

J. Robert Clinton has done considerable research in the area of leadership development, and more specifically, the processes and relationships God uses to develop His servants. He defines a leader as, “a person with a God-given capacity and with a God-given responsibility to influence a specific group of God's people towards God's purposes for the group.”¹²⁹ Over the years he has studied the lives of many leaders in attempt to understand the processes God uses to develop leadership. He and others associated with him have constructed time-lines for over 600 leaders—biblical, present, and historical—in an attempt to understand these processes. Clinton describes a time-line as, “an important tool for analyzing the life of a leader, for it reveals the overall pattern of God's work in a life.”¹³⁰ Clinton divides time-lines into development phases. From these

¹²⁹Clinton, *Leadership Training Models*, 18.

¹³⁰J. Robert Clinton, *The Making of a Leader* (Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress, 1988), 43.

hundreds of time-lines Clinton has created a generalized time-line with six development phases. These six are 1) sovereign foundations, 2) inner-life growth, 3) ministry maturing, 4) life maturing, 5) convergence, and 6) afterglow.¹³¹

From this research Clinton has also developed a theory of leadership emergence, which he describes as follows:

Leadership emergence is a process in which God intervenes throughout a lifetime in crucial ways, to shape that leader towards his purposes for the leader....His processing is intended to develop the leader's capacity. It moves the leader to operate at realized potential in terms of giftedness—natural abilities, acquired skills and spiritual gifts. However, His shaping also allows for a given leader's response. Leadership emergence can be thwarted or enhanced due to the emerging leader's response to God's shaping.¹³²

Clinton has found that, while a period of formal education often proves highly beneficial to the development of individual leaders, many other factors enter in to the leadership development process, including human relationships. Clinton and Paul D. Stanley highlight the importance of relationships in leadership development: “In our survey of leaders, we found that almost all of them identified three to ten people who made significant contributions to their development.”¹³³ They reach the conclusion that, “one of the major influences most often used by God to develop a leader is a person or persons who have something to share that the leader needs.”¹³⁴

¹³¹Ibid., 44-55.

¹³²Clinton, *Leadership Emergence Theory*, 7-8.

¹³³Paul D. Stanley and J. Robert Clinton, *Connecting: The Mentoring Relationships You Need to Succeed in Life* (Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress, 1992), 38.

¹³⁴Ibid.

Clinton and Stanley use the word mentoring to describe a wide variety of these relationships that contribute to the development of church leadership. In *Connecting: The Mentoring Relationships You Need to Succeed in Life*, they define mentoring as follows:

Mentoring is a relational process in which a mentor, who knows or has experienced something, transfers that something (resources, wisdom, insight, relationships, status, etc.) to a mentoree, at an appropriate time and manner, so that it facilitates development or empowerment.¹³⁵

Clinton's understanding of mentoring will be discussed in greater length later in this chapter.

Clinton and Stanley divide mentoring into nine types of relationships that can be arranged along a continuum from intensive to occasional to passive. They also identify three dynamics that are vital to the success of a mentoring relationship. Two of the three, attraction of the mentoree to the mentor and responsiveness of the mentoree to the mentor, occur in all mentoring relationships. The third, accountability, occurs primarily in intense mentoring relationships.¹³⁶ During the nineteenth century in the West formal education largely replaced mentoring, but "society today is rediscovering that the process of learning and maturing needs time and many kinds of relationships."¹³⁷ Clinton's work on leadership development has provided important insights that will guide the discussion of relationships in the rest of this chapter.

Paul D. Stanley's Constellation Model

While working on methods of leadership training for Navigators in Europe, Stanley developed a model of the relationships a leader needs if he or she is to grow and

¹³⁵ Ibid., 40.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 43-44.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 18.

finish successfully. He calls this approach the Constellation Model.¹³⁸ Concerning the importance of relationships to leadership development, Stanley and Clinton write:

A growing leader needs a relational network that embraces mentors, peers, and emerging leaders in order to ensure development and a healthy perspective on his or her life and ministry. A network of vertical (mentors) and horizontal (peers or co-mentors) relationships is not an option for a believer who desires to grow, minister effectively and continuously, and finish well. It is imperative! In our studies of leaders, we can clearly conclude with few exceptions that those who experienced anointed ministry and finished well had a significant network of meaningful relationships that inspired, challenged, listened, pursued, developed, and held one another accountable.¹³⁹

In Stanley's Constellation Model, mentoring should occur simultaneously in three directions: (1) Upward Mentoring. This involves finding a leader with more wisdom and experience from whom you can learn and grow. "Everyone needs upward mentoring from someone who has gone before and can give direction and perspective."¹⁴⁰ (2) Downward Mentoring. "All of us need to be concerned with those who are coming up behind us... Downward mentoring is a primary means of helping develop the capacity, commitment, and values that will enable the next generation to serve God faithfully."¹⁴¹ (3) Peer Co-Mentoring. "Peer relationships are the vital lateral dimension of the Constellation Model...We see peers as mentors of one another, so we call them co-mentors."¹⁴²

The next three sections explore the importance of Master-Disciple, Tutor/Mentor, and Peer/Team Pattern relationships in church leadership development. Clinton and Stanley's writings figure prominently in what follows, but a basic difference in

¹³⁸Ibid., 12.

¹³⁹Ibid., 159.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 163.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 164.

¹⁴²Ibid., 166.

perspective between these authors and the present study bears noting here. Clinton and Stanley describe relational patterns from the perspective of an individual leader. Thus, that leader views other leaders as either more developed (above), less developed (below), or roughly at the same level (co-leaders) as himself or herself. This study, however, seeks to address the nature of the relationships that impact leadership development and classify them into patterns. Are the two individuals on roughly the same leadership level? If not, then the relationship falls into either a Master-Disciple or a Tutor/Mentor Pattern, depending upon whether or not the senior partner in the relationship can serve as a significant model for the junior partner to imitate. Peer/Team Pattern relationships include all relationships in which two or more leaders of roughly the same level of development interact with each other.

Master-Disciple Pattern Relationships: Apprenticeships and Imitation Modeling

Relationships between people prove highly difficult to categorize, as each relationship has certain unique characteristics and may also change over time. This section seeks to examine the set of relationships in which a person aspiring to leadership attempts to copy what they see or admire in the leadership of someone else. The senior partner, or master, may or may not know of this process. In some cases the junior partner in this relationship may not even be aware that they are copying the master. In the churches of Zambia today, the majority of leadership development probably falls somewhere in this category. This category is broad and describes a variety of relationships, which Clinton describes as a continuum running from formal

apprenticeships to informal apprenticeships to imitation modeling.¹⁴³ After a brief historical look at the important role apprenticeships have played among certain Protestant churches, this section will examine three types of Master-Disciple Patterns relationships. Awareness of these three may prove useful to those involved in church leadership development.

Early Protestant Ministerial Apprenticeships

Master-Disciple Pattern relationships played a significant role in the training of most ministers in Europe and America before the rise of seminaries, a role which has never disappeared, though the emphasis on formal education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has eclipsed it. The Reformation may have established a learned clergy with a B.A. degree in liberal arts as the ideal, but few ministers before the nineteenth century actually achieved this goal. Ralph R. Covell estimates that in seventeenth century England, “perhaps no more than one out of six had sufficient training to be ordained or licensed as preachers. ‘Many knew little or no Latin and less Scripture—some could barely read the English services of the new Prayer Book.’”¹⁴⁴

The various Baptist sects that sprang up in England during the seventeenth century found themselves denied the opportunity for the formal training available to Anglican priests. Timothy George writes:

Excluded by law from the English universities, Baptists were forced to develop informal structures for pastoral training. These included...what we might call a

¹⁴³This terminology and its definitions have been adapted from Clinton, *Leadership Training Models*.

¹⁴⁴Covell, 55.

system of “pastoral home schooling,” whereby a promising young minister would live and study as an apprentice with a seasoned pastor of repute.¹⁴⁵

Russell E. Richey describes the early training of Methodist ministers as a fraternal form of apprenticeship in which a mature minister invited a young prospective minister to accompany him on his travels. “Methodism did its theological education and preparation for ministry on the road. The individual was ‘on trial,’ learning while doing, but also under supervision and frequently traveling with an experienced itinerant, a mentor, a sage, capable of giving instruction.”¹⁴⁶ Some Methodists saw this pattern of training as closely following that practiced by the Early Church.¹⁴⁷ This pattern of leadership development flowed naturally out of the Methodist concept of teaching. “The teaching medium was Christian experience, the experienced leading the neophyte with experience being shared and experiences being related. The relational character of such learning they conveyed with familial language; they called one another brother, sister, mother, or father.”¹⁴⁸ Apprenticeships among Methodist ministers declined during the early 1800s as many in Methodism urged the establishment of liberal arts colleges for the education of all Methodists, including future ministers. Over time the average educational level of Methodist ministers increased, fewer and fewer Methodist ministers rode a circuit, and the apprentice system declined in importance.

Other examples could be mentioned, but these two show how several Protestant churches have historically used apprenticeships in the training ministers and church

¹⁴⁵Timothy George, “The Baptist Tradition,” in *Theological Education in the Evangelical Tradition*, ed. D. G. Hart and Jr. R. Albert Mohler (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996), 29.

¹⁴⁶Russell E. Richey, “The Early Methodist Episcopal Experience,” in *Theological Education in the Evangelical Tradition*, ed. D. G. Hart and Jr. R. Albert Mohler (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996), 47.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*

leaders. Even today in America many of those in full-time ministry have never attended a Bible school or a seminary. For ministers in this category, their training probably has differed little from that of many pastors of Zambia today—a combination of self-study, observation of those already in ministry, and the occasional help of more mature church leaders.

Formal Apprenticeships

The concept of the master and his apprentice has an ancient history in Western culture. Many of the building trades continue to be taught in this pattern. Clinton gives the following definition of apprenticeship:

An apprenticeship training model refers to an in-service training model in which the teacher, called the master, imparts attitudes, knowledge and skills to a learner, called the apprentice, in the context of actual ministry by,

- *modeling desired attitudes, knowledge, and skills,
- *instructing and explaining these things,
- *requiring practice by the apprentice,
- *evaluating and correcting the apprentice, until the apprentice can emulate the master in the desired ways.¹⁴⁹

Clinton notes that apprenticeships usually fall in the category of informal education and can be divided into two types—formal and informal. Clinton describes formal apprenticeships as a situation in which, “after a period of learning-by-doing under the watchful eye of the expert, the apprentice becomes one who can also perform the needed skills and teach someone else the same skills.”¹⁵⁰ Often the master works with only one apprentice at a time so that the master can give the apprentice the attention necessary for a successful transfer of the skills. In the usual situation, the apprentice must

¹⁴⁹Clinton, *Leadership Training Models*, 188.

¹⁵⁰Clinton and Richard W. Clinton, *The Mentor Handbook*, 1–10.

go to the master and learn the skills in the master's location. After a period of observation, the master gives the apprentice certain basic tasks to perform on his or her own. As the apprentice masters these basic skills, the master assigns more and more difficult tasks to the apprentice until the apprentice proves capable of successfully duplicate all the skills the master knows.

A number of conditions must exist for a successful formal apprenticeship to occur. Clinton notes that the master must have a skill of value that others desire to gain. The master must also have a plan by which he or she takes the apprentice step-by-step from the entry-level tasks to the more complex ones. Many times an experienced leader has a certain expertise but cannot effectively serve as a master because he or she has no understanding of how to pass that skill onto someone else. The apprentice must also meet certain conditions in order for the transference of skills to take place. The apprentice must set other things aside and devote the time necessary with the master in observation and interaction. He or she must willingly to submit to the master and do exactly what they are told to do. If certain talents or gifts are necessary for the performance of the skills, the apprentice must possess these.¹⁵¹

Clinton describes an adaptation of this model he calls a decentralized apprenticeship which may have relevance to certain situations in Zambia. This type of apprenticeship, which could either fall in the category of non-formal or informal education, involves training a number of apprentices at the same time like Jesus did with the Twelve. In a decentralized apprenticeship the master may travel between several apprentices, spending periods of time with each one in their ministry locations. Or he may bring the apprentices together for a period of observation and training followed by

¹⁵¹Clinton, *Leadership Training Models*, 189.

the master traveling to where the apprentices live and teaching them in their own ministry locations. This has the advantage of eliminating or reducing the time the apprentice must be away from where he or she lives, but it reduces the amount of time the master can spend with each individual apprentice.¹⁵²

Informal Apprenticeships

An informal apprenticeship, according to Clinton, “refers to a partial apprenticeship relationship in which one party, the informal apprentice, learns by observing and imitating another (the default master) in the context of the master’s normal ministry.”¹⁵³ Unlike a formal apprenticeship, in which the master seeks to totally replicate himself or herself in the apprentice, in this case the skills transfer is only partial. Clinton further divides informal apprenticeships into deliberate and non-deliberate, depending upon whether the master knowingly assists the apprentice or not.

Participant observation reveals that a lot of non-deliberate informal apprenticing takes place in Zambia. Young people aspire to leadership but feel shy about expressing this desire to his or her leaders. The traditional culture of Zambian society inhibits younger and less experienced persons from approaching their superiors. As a result, a young person aspiring to church leadership may admire their pastor and carefully observe the way he or she approaches ministry, seeking to memorize every element of it. Eventually this person attempts to act out the practices they have previously observed in the leader(s) they admire. Several times I have heard Zambian pastors refer to a certain young person and how he or she has even copied the mannerisms of a certain preacher.

¹⁵²Ibid., 191.

¹⁵³Ibid., 188.

Because this model of apprenticeship is only partial, it tends to focus primarily on the public aspects of ministry and ignores those skills that go on away from the public gaze. This often results in a young man whose ability to preach may have developed, but his knowledge of the Bible is shallow, and he lacks the spiritual disciplines needed to hear from God concerning what to preach.

The Lingenfelters share some interesting insights on this form of apprenticeship. Based on the work of Stephen Harris concerning the importance of observation in many traditional cultures they write:

A person may watch a skill for weeks before attempting it. The observation process usually takes place without questions being asked. In some cases, this is because people place substantial taboos on the use of questions.... Visual learning is a culturally appropriate way to learn. People simply observe. When one is dependent on memory, one often uses rehearsal strategies, going through the steps over and over.¹⁵⁴

When observation provides the primary cultural means of learning, repeated observation becomes necessary. The Lingenfelters met a Filipina literacy specialist who explained that, “when teaching literacy courses, she always assumed that her students will have to take the course at least four times before they are ready to teach.”¹⁵⁵ The first time through acquaints the student with the material and the teacher’s approach. The second time the students observe the teacher in action and absorb some of the content. After two exposures to the course the student moves on the master the material and only then will he or she be ready to teach it to someone else.

Imitation Modeling

Clinton describes imitation modeling as,

¹⁵⁴Lingenfelter and Lingenfelter, 36-37.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., 46.

...self-training, usually at local level, in which the person being trained gets self-directed on-the-job training by utilizing the role models in the church as the source of learning. Usually the learning is highly informal and does not involve a recognized apprenticeship or internship. Often the role model is not aware that the imitation modelling is going on.¹⁵⁶

Imitation modeling, which closely resembles non-deliberate informal apprenticeships, occurs frequently at the lowest levels of leadership development. A new leader, unsure of himself or herself, looks around and copies the practices of those a little farther down the road of leadership. One reason this pattern of leadership development frequently occurs at the lowest levels is that, according to Clinton, “many people who minister well at lower levels of leadership do not know the essentials of what they are doing well enough so that it could be explained to others.”¹⁵⁷

As an example, Clinton refers to certain Chilean Pentecostal groups where those aspiring to leadership undergo, “self-initiated training where skills and knowledge are gained by the learner by simply observing those who are further up the stages leading to the pastorate.”¹⁵⁸ For this approach to work, the future leader must be free to participate in ministry and actually try to do what they are observing others doing. Concerning the strength of this approach Clinton writes:

Imitation modelling is one of the most powerful ways of influencing a learner in experiential and affective learning, since motivation for the ministry experience comes from within.... Things can be learned that could not normally be taught in a non-formal or formal setting.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶Clinton, *Leadership Training Models*, 201.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., 202.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 201.

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

He then goes on to describe two weaknesses of this approach: “Many role models are not aware of the extent to which they are being emulated in both good and bad attitudes, habits and methodologies. Imitation models are predominantly weak in cognitive learning.”¹⁶⁰ In spite of these weaknesses, Clinton urges those already in leadership to take full advantage of this method:

This is a biblical model that will affect the experiential and affective domains of learners. It must be exploited consciously as a God-given approach to deepen spiritual formation of people being trained by it. The model can be used in conjunction with formal models, non-formal models and informal models....We should carefully note Hebrews 13:7, 8 which gives a strong admonition to the whole concept of imitation modelling, both to learners and leaders. Note especially the source of power that backs this model—the living Christ.¹⁶¹

Summary

Master-Disciple Pattern relationships have served the Church as a significant means of leadership development from its earliest days. However, the relatively recent emphasis on formal education as the preferred method of leadership development in the West has tended to obscure this. The only training that most of the lower level Zambian church leaders have received falls in this broad category, usually somewhere on the unintentional end. By ignoring this pattern, those already in leadership pass up a wonderful opportunity. They could be training a number of leaders through formal apprenticeships and thereby duplicate themselves, but instead many future leaders only experience a non-deliberate informal apprenticeship. Thus, the transfer of skills is only partial and tends to focus on the easily observable, public aspects of ministry. This results in a large number of pastors and church leaders who have expertise in the public aspects

¹⁶⁰Ibid., 202.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

of ministry but fall short in the areas of spiritual formation and cognitive input. They can preach well and command the attention of a crowd, but the preaching lacks depth and they often find themselves unable to form those they have won to Christ into a dynamic, growing church.

Tutor/Mentor Pattern Relationships

American interest in mentoring has risen sharply in the past few decades. Bob Biehl quotes Stephen E. Olsen as writing:

Prior to the 1970's, literature on mentoring was virtually nonexistent....Between 1980 and 1984, over 100 dissertations on mentoring are cited in the field of education alone....This literature production has continued unabated. In the 4 years between 1988 and 1992, the Dissertation Abstracts computer database lists 372 dissertations that use *mentor* (italics in original) as a key word; and between January 1993 and June 1994 alone, there are an additional 153 dissertations on mentoring.¹⁶²

This flood of research has generated a large number of books written on the subject and contributed to the widespread acceptance of mentoring in many fields, including education and business. At the same time the business world has also shown a growing interest in personal coaching, a closely related phenomenon. All of this has led to some confusion over exactly what mentoring consists of and how it differs from coaching, discipleship, counseling, or having a spiritual guide.

Defining Mentoring

Mentoring has proved a very difficult concept to define. Tammy D. Allen and Lillian T. Eby write: "One common denominator across mentoring areas is the struggle to define the term....the literature has been more concerned with understanding the

¹⁶²Bob Biehl, *Mentoring: Confidence in Finding a Mentor and Becoming One* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1996), 11.

relationship between mentoring and other constructs, rather than defining the nature of mentoring itself.”¹⁶³ The term “mentor” goes back to ancient Greek mythology:

The actual word *mentor* [italics in original] can be traced back to the *Odyssey* and derives from Odysseus’ implicit trust in Mentor, to whom he delegated complete responsibility for raising his son Telemachus. The ancient story portrays the essence of the classic mentoring relationship as the power of an older, wiser, experienced person to dramatically influence a younger protégé’s intellectual and emotional growth during the important transition into adulthood.¹⁶⁴

J. Robert Clinton and Richard W. Clinton define mentoring as,

a relational process in which someone who knows something, the mentor, transfers that something (the power resources) to someone else, the mentoree, at a sensitive time so that it impacts development....Power resources include such things as wisdom, advice, information, emotional support, protection, linking to resources, career guidance, status, ministry philosophy, ministry structure insights, various leadership skills, crucial attitudes, basic ministry habits, ministry opportunity, release into ministry with God’s blessing, experiential knowledge of God, etc.¹⁶⁵

Thus, for Clinton and Clinton, mentoring becomes a broad, over-arching term that encompasses a wide variety of relationships. They divide mentoring into nine types and place them along a continuum from active mentoring to occasional mentoring to passive mentoring. The nine types in order from active through passive include Discippler, Spiritual Guide, Coach, Counselor, Teacher, Sponsor, Contemporary Model, Historical Model, and Divine Contact.¹⁶⁶ Bryn Hughes depicts coaching and mentoring as two arms on opposite sides of discipling. Coaching focuses on skills issues, technical shortfalls,

¹⁶³Tammy D. Allen and Lillian T. Eby, “Overview and Introduction,” in *The Blackwell Handbook of Mentoring: A Multiple Perspectives Approach*, ed. Tammy D. Allen and Lillian T. Eby (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 4.

¹⁶⁴Norman H. Cohen, *Mentoring Adult Learners: A Guide for Educators and Trainers* (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1995), 1.

¹⁶⁵Clinton and Richard W. Clinton, *The Mentor Handbook*, 2-5.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 2-23.

and development while mentoring focuses on attitudes, values, and vision.¹⁶⁷ Bob Biehl defines mentoring as, “a lifelong relationship, in which a mentor helps a protégé reach her or his God-given potential.”¹⁶⁸ He goes on to differentiate mentoring from discipleship, coaches, teachers, and spiritual guides.¹⁶⁹ More authors could be quoted, but these show the lack of agreement concerning terminology and definitions.

As defined in this study, mentoring includes all relationships with a senior and a junior partner in which the focus of the relationship rests on the junior partner. In a Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationship the senior partner seeks to help the junior partner learn a behavior or improve his or her leadership abilities. The senior partner may serve as a role model but not a master. Obviously a clear-cut distinction between Master-Disciple Pattern and Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships cannot always be drawn. A given relationship may ride the line between these two patterns or may swing from one side to the other over time, but the distinction may serve a valid function in many relationships. In order for a mentoring relationship to exist someone must willingly assume the role of the junior partner. Without someone willing to learn, no mentoring can take place. This junior partner may be called a mentee¹⁷⁰ or a protégé.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷Bryn Hughes, *Discipling, Coaching, Mentoring: Discovering the Hallmarks of Jesus' Discipling* (Eastbourne, England: Kingsway Publications, 2003), 56.

¹⁶⁸Biehl, 19.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 34-35.

¹⁷⁰Clinton and Richard W. Clinton, *The Mentor Handbook*, 2-3.

¹⁷¹Michael J. Anthony and James Riley Estep, *Management Essentials for Christian Ministries* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2005), 320.

Categorizing Mentoring Relationships

As mentioned above, Clinton and Clinton have divided their broad category of mentoring relationships into nine types, which they group into three categories: active, occasional, and passive. Some of these, such as Discippler and Historical Model, do not fit the definition of Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships used in this study.

Many of those who study mentoring relationships divide them into two types: formal and informal. Carol A. Mullen describes the difference between the two as follows:

Researchers examining student-faculty mentoring describe naturally occurring mentoring relationships as *informal* [italics in original], that is spontaneous and gradual. These relationships are not managed, structured, or officially recognized; further they are often not sanctioned by the institution, can last longer than most other organizational relationships, and have a closer interpersonal bond. In contrast, *formal mentorship* [italics in original] is a one-on-one mentor-protégé arrangement based on assignment to the relationship. Formal mentoring also occurs within institutionalized groups and cohorts led by qualified, official mentors.¹⁷²

Michael J. Anthony & James Riley Estep suggest viewing mentoring relationships on a grid with two axes: short-term versus long-term and formal versus informal. They write:

The basic distinction between formal and informal mentoring typically revolves around the formation of the mentor-protégé relationship. Formal mentorships are structured and managed by the organization. Informal mentorships are typically spontaneous relationships that occur naturally and apart from any organizational sanction....Formal programs for mentoring are becoming commonplace in business, government, and education. Although church and parachurch ministries have utilized the principles of mentoring for years, they have typically used other terminology to describe it.¹⁷³

¹⁷²Carol A. Mullen, "Naturally Occurring Student-Faculty Mentoring Relationships: A Literature Review," in *The Blackwell Handbook of Mentoring: A Multiple Perspectives Approach*, ed. Tammy D. Allen and Lillian T. Eby (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 119-20.

¹⁷³Anthony and James Riley Estep, 320.

With this classification as a guide, Anthony and Estep outline four categories of mentoring relationships. Highly structured, short-term mentoring describes relationships that are often arranged by the sponsoring organization for a specific purpose or objective. Highly structured long-term mentoring resembles an apprenticeship. “Often used for succession planning, this relationship involves grooming someone to take over a departing person's job or function.”¹⁷⁴ Informal, short-term mentoring describes situations in which there is “one shot or spontaneous help to occasional or as-needed counseling. There may be no ongoing relationship.”¹⁷⁵ The fourth—informal, long-term mentoring—describes a situation in which the mentor makes himself available as needed “to discuss problems, to listen, or to share special knowledge.”¹⁷⁶

Encouraging Mentoring Relationships

Two factors often hinder leaders from actively seeking out mentoring relationships. First, many pastors and church leaders have not experienced a beneficial mentoring relationship. Bob Biehl writes that he often asks leaders, “Who mentored you? Who trained you as a leader? Where did you go to be trained as a leader? They nearly always answer, ‘No one mentored me, no one trained me, I have had no formal education in leadership development.’”¹⁷⁷ Second, many leaders feel unqualified to serve as a mentor.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., 319.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

¹⁷⁶Ibid.

¹⁷⁷Biehl, 147.

Clinton and Clinton encourage those convinced of the importance of mentoring but unsure how to start to “think small” about mentoring. By this they mean that while a person may not be able to serve as a mentor to everyone and in reference to anything, they may be able to serve as a mentor in some areas. After noting that they have broken up mentoring into nine types, Clinton and Clinton write:

If you shy away from mentoring because you do not think you can be an ideal mentor you are *thinking big*. [italics in original] On the other hand, if God has taught you something and it has helped you (empowered you in some way), then you have a potential resource to share with someone else....To *think small means to be ready to share what you do know, have learned, and have seen in your own development with others* [italics in original]. These small attempts to do specific mentor functions of a given type are springboards to other things....Out of this experience over time you may find that you have become a specialist in one or more of the mentor types.¹⁷⁸

Clinton and Clinton also provide a number of guidelines concerning establishing a mentoring relationship.¹⁷⁹

Summary

Interest in mentoring in Western society has risen sharply over the past few decades. The church today needs to capitalize on this renewed interest and reclaim an approach widely used in the Early Church to develop its leaders. Though not a part of traditional Zambian culture, Tutor/Mentor Pattern relationships provide benefits to the mentor, the mentoree, and the organizations to which both belong.¹⁸⁰ Relationships of this sort provide help in ministerial skill and spiritual formation as well as accountability.

¹⁷⁸Clinton and Richard W. Clinton, *The Mentor Handbook*, 15-2.

¹⁷⁹See Clinton and Richard W. Clinton. *The Mentor Handbook*, chapters 15 and 16.

¹⁸⁰See Angie L. Lockwood, Sarah Carr Evans, and Lillian T. Eby, “Reflections on the Benefits of Mentoring,” in *The Blackwell Handbook of Mentoring: A Multiple Perspectives Approach*, ed. Tammy D. Allen and Lillian T. Eby (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 233-236.

Peer/Team Pattern Relationships

In this study, any situation in which two or more leaders interact with each other as equals and, as a consequence, further develop their leadership abilities falls in the category of Peer/Team Pattern relationships. Paul and his associates apparently used this pattern with those already recognized as leaders. This category naturally falls into two parts: peer co-mentoring and team relationships. In peer co-mentoring two individuals or a small group work together with the primary goal of helping each other in their leadership development. In a team relationship, as defined by this study, a group of church leaders work together to carry out a common objective, related to Christ's mission for the church, and in the process they contribute to each other's development as leaders. The leadership development in this case comes as a side benefit of fulfilling the church's mission.

Peer Co-Mentoring

In peer co-mentoring, two or more Christian leaders get together periodically to carry out mutually beneficial activities, such as sharing their expertise, encouraging each other, and holding each other accountable for their walk with the Lord. Stanley and Clinton describe peers as, "the most available source of relational empowerment, but the least developed."¹⁸¹ Co-mentoring rarely happens with those newly identified as leaders. Young leaders lack the expertise and confidence to become involved in mentoring someone else. "When a leader first begins to emerge, he/she basically needs upward mentoring and cannot mentor very well either laterally or downward."¹⁸² Stanley and

¹⁸¹Stanley and Clinton, *Connecting*, 169.

¹⁸²Clinton and Richard W. Clinton, *The Mentor Handbook*, 12-20.

Clinton note that if mature leaders work together, co-mentoring can provide assistance in areas of mutual interest. In any given group, “someone always knows or has experienced something that would contribute to another’s development. But unless someone takes the initiative, this relational experience is never made.”¹⁸³ Leaders usually have friends and often lots of them, but they may not think of developing those friendships into a means of mutual benefit. These authors go on to note, “The higher a leader rises, often the harder it is to find co-mentoring. Yet the higher a leader rises, the greater the pitfalls and the more important it becomes to develop accountable relationships with peers.”¹⁸⁴ In Stanley’s Constellation Model of mentoring relationships, co-mentoring provides the two horizontal axes:

Peers are at the same stage of life—in development, age, and situational pressures—and face many of the same decisions and challenges. These shared realities allow for a natural flow of conversation and a sense of being understood and accepted. This fosters an openness and honesty that can lead to mutual encouragement, stimulation, protection, accountability, and empowerment. But this will not “just happen.” It takes time, priority, and commitment.¹⁸⁵

Most church leaders belong to some form of organization. Stanley and Clinton divide peer co-mentors into two groups—those within your organization and those outside it. Those inside they refer to as internal peers and those belonging to other organizations they call external peers. Concerning the differences between the two and the need for a leader to have both kinds they write:

Internal peers know the same things and provide a safe place for confidential sharing that only members of the same group can have. On the other hand, external peers provide an objective perspective that will check tendencies toward narrowness often held by a group. This need for internal and external peers

¹⁸³Stanley and Clinton, *Connecting*, 189.

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 195.

¹⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 170.

applies to churches, fellowship groups, ministries, parachurch groups, and the workplace.¹⁸⁶

Stanley and Clinton cite three key ingredients necessary for successful co-mentoring to take place. First the individuals involved must have a good fit. “An attraction to each other should be apparent to both....each will feel a sense that *here is a person I like and want to get to know* [italics in original]....Without it, neither accountability nor empowerment can occur.”¹⁸⁷ Second, the relationship should be fun. Co-mentors should enjoy being together, a necessary ingredient for the establishment of a strong relationship. The third necessary ingredient, empowerment, results from the openness and transparency of co-mentoring relationships. There are various levels of openness but “*the depth of transparency or openness is one major indicator of the effectiveness of a co-mentoring relationship*” [italics in original].¹⁸⁸ Openness requires confidentiality, and confidentiality allows the others in the relationship to spot problems or potential problems and intervene.

John Wesley’s select bands provide a historical example of this kind of co-mentoring. These groups, to which all came as equals, provided a place where leaders, and even John Wesley himself, could open themselves up to others.

This desire for personal accountability was spelled out most clearly in Wesley’s concept of the select band. Here he sought an intimacy of fellowship for his own spiritual needs. Here was a place where he could “unbosom” himself on all occasions “without reserve.” Wesley was clear that in such a select band there

¹⁸⁶Ibid., 190.

¹⁸⁷Ibid.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., 191.

would be “an equal liberty of speaking, there being none greater or less than another.”¹⁸⁹

Team Relationships

The business world has recently rediscovered the importance of teams.¹⁹⁰ Peter Senge’s definition of a team as “any group of people who need each other to accomplish a result”¹⁹¹ fits well with the way this study uses the word. This rediscovery of teams has inspired an interest in building teamwork in local church leadership, especially in America. The New Testament depicts the Early Church as always having a body of elders to give direction to each local congregation. Although in the second century a single bishop presided over the church in a given city, Paul never refers to a single elder over any church he established. Even Paul himself usually worked with a group he described as “co-workers.” As noted in chapter 3, Paul saw the role of leadership as one of continuing the mission of Christ. Local church leaders guided the church in fulfilling the Great Commission and equipped and trained other leaders to that end.

A group of lineage elders played a significant role in the leadership of many kin groups in Zambia prior to the coming of the Europeans, though that role primarily consisted in preserving the traditions of the past rather than fulfilling some common task or mission. Unfortunately the missionaries who brought the gospel to Zambia ignored the parallels between leadership in the Early Church and Zambian traditional society.

Leadership in the churches of Zambia today almost always consists of a single leader

¹⁸⁹Stanley Morris Key, “John Wesley and Leadership Training,” (master’s thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1985), 180.

¹⁹⁰For examples, see Jon R. Katzenbach, *The Wisdom of Teams: Creating the High Performance Organization* (New York: HarperBusiness, 1994), Glenn M. Parker, *Team Players and Teamwork* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990), and Peter M. Senge, *The Fifth Discipline Fieldbook: Strategies and Tools for Building a Learning Organization* (New York: Doubleday Currency, 1994).

¹⁹¹Senge, 354.

who more closely exemplifies a “big man” or a chief of some kin groups than the elders of the Early Church or lineage elders.

A key to recapturing the Early Church’s emphasis on teamwork and a plurality of leadership in the local church may rest in recognition of the paramount importance of the mission of the church, thereby relegating church leadership to its proper secondary status. If the church’s mission can reassume its rightful role, and local church leadership becomes conceived of in terms of a team, then leadership development can assume the role of a means to accomplishing the church’s mission instead of creating positions to which certain individuals aspire for status reasons.

Stephen Hoke believes the image of pilgrims depicts the way leaders should view themselves and their role in fulfilling the mission of the church. Pilgrims are on a journey. They know where they are eventually headed, but along the way they encounter many adventures and unanticipated challenges. He writes, “Learning is not primarily an individual endeavor. It is a small group experience. Living and learning together provides a setting where sustained, personal interaction can take place.”¹⁹² The setting of the local church as a community of individuals authorized by the Lord Jesus Christ and empowered by the Holy Spirit provides the natural setting in which leadership can develop. As the leadership of the church faces new challenges, they help each other and together they strive to accomplish the church’s mission.

This closely resembles an approach to learning described by Reg Revans as Action Learning. He describes this concept as a special form of learning by doing. In

¹⁹²Stephen Hoke, “Designing Learning Experiences,” in *Establishing Ministry Training: A Manual for Programme Developers*, ed. Robert W. Ferris (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1995), 88.

Action Learning a diverse, small group of individuals with varying talents and abilities come together to seek solutions to problems that have evaded answers. He writes:

...it is a social process whereby those who try it learn with and from each other...Action Learning has a multiplying effect throughout the group or community of learners.... it is more than mutual growth or instruction, whereby each partner supplies the manifest deficiencies of the others with the knowledge or skill necessary to complete some collective mission....For in true Action Learning, it is not what man already knows and tells that sharpens the countenance of his friend, but what he does not know and what his friend does not know either. It is recognized ignorance, not programmed knowledge, that is the key to Action Learning: men start to learn with and from each other only when they discover that no one knows the answer but all are obliged to find it.

This probably describes what happened with Paul and his band of co-workers, who together set out to accomplish what most of us today would consider impossible—the establishment of a network of churches across the eastern half of the Roman Empire in the space of but a few years. How we need such teams today to tackle intractable problems, such as planting viable churches in the Muslim countries of the Middle East! All of the other patterns of relationships involve someone sharing with someone else what they have already learned, but this pattern is different. When the leadership of a local church together seeks to discover how they can fulfill the church's mission in their community and in the world, team relationships create the possibility for innovation in the church, something desperately needed in every church. Teams provide the best environment in which the church can creatively seek for and explore new possibilities for growth and development under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Conclusion and Suggested Way Forward for the Churches of Zambia

The answer to an over reliance on formal education may very well lie in the understanding that relationships provide the natural vehicle through which spiritual

formation and ministerial skills can be transferred. The Early Church apparently understood this and used various relationships to promote the development of its leadership. Those responsible for the development of church leadership in Zambia today should seek ways in which they can emulate the Early Church rather than merely copying the formal educational approaches brought in from the West.

To meet the current leadership development needs of Zambia today requires a number of approaches, not just one. Three suggestions follow:

1. Current church leaders need to turn passive and unintentional mentoring situations into intentional ones. Although largely unrecognized, the majority of all leadership training going on in Zambia today is informal and either unintentional or passive. Those already in leadership need to be sensitized to the fact that they are serving as role models and masters in the eyes of many of their people who feel called into ministry as leaders. Present leaders should seek for ways to turn such relationships into intentional ones. Those presently in leadership must act first as those observing them usually feel uncomfortable with asking their leaders for help.

2. Formal leadership training programs should seek to ensure that spiritual formation and ministry skills receive recognition commensurate with their importance in leadership development. The present almost total focus on the cognitive domain needs to change. This means schools need to find ways of encouraging the development of relationships between teachers and students outside of the classroom. The “wall” of respect and deference that usually exists between teachers and students in Zambia needs to be torn down. It also means finding ways in which students can learn from each other and hold each other accountable for spiritual growth in their Christian lives. As noted

earlier in this chapter, this union of the three educational objective domains describes the beginnings of the Bible school movement. Institutions involved in training church leadership would do well to consider their historical roots.

3. Devise new approaches to train needed leadership at all levels. Examination of what theological education should consist of has become a major preoccupation of many in Christian higher education. The church in Zambia needs to have a clear understanding of its mission as given to it by Jesus Christ. Based upon this mission and the kinds of leaders the church needs to accomplish its mission, the church of Zambia needs to seek creative new strategies for equipping those God has spoken to about leading His people. The approaches currently being used need to be re-examined in light of several questions: 1) Who do we seek to train? 2) Who will do the training? 3) What do we seek to train them for? 4) What methods will be used to carry out the training? This approach will require considerable thought and probably a lot of experimentation, but Zambia needs its own leadership development methods, ones that fit the African context, and not only an approach it has borrowed from Europe and North America.

The Boards of newly forming LTCs need to carefully examine the kinds of leaders they need, where those leaders are in their leadership development today, and what options they have to take them from where they are to where they need to be. Based upon their options, the Board can then seek to implement a program that fits its unique situation and helps the church of Zambia fulfill its mandate of making disciples of all nations.

CHAPTER 6

DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSED PROJECT

This chapter gives an overview of the project, including the problem to be addressed and the design of the proposed intervention. The context, scope, phases, and anticipated contribution to my ministry in Zambia also receive treatment.

The Problem

As noted in Chapter 1, my wife and I came to Zambia in 1998 to set up a non-residential Bible school program that could help train those church leaders already involved in ministry but who, for a variety of reasons, felt a residential Bible school program was not a viable option. This led to the establishment of Christian Leaders Training Institute and a network of Local Training Centers. The real training in CLTI takes place in these Local Training Centers, where a program operated usually by a district, (though some larger churches have operated one), seeks to train those God is calling as leaders in His church. Several of these LTCs have not performed well and have, after several years, failed to complete the basic curriculum—a set of eighteen Christian Service courses produced by Global University. The reasons national church leaders usually have given for the cessation of LTCs concern administrative and operational issues, including (but not limited to) financial problems, declining student interest when classes stretch out over a long period of time, problems finding committed teachers, and scheduling of classes. This situation has led me to conclude that LTCs have

often been set up without responsible parties carefully thinking through a number of matters that may later affect the viability of the LTC. In most cases, those establishing a LTC have graduated from one of the residential Bible schools. They sat behind a student desk for several years, so they have spent considerable time observing teachers and can imitate the role of the teacher pretty well. But they lacked the administrative know-how to operate a training program such as an LTC. When unforeseen problems arose, as they always do, those operating the center became disheartened, and the center ceased to function. Most centers also do not have a clear picture of what they are seeking to produce beyond “trained leaders.” They have not taken the time to define what a trained leader looks like in their context. They often seem to believe that if they teach a set of classes and cover the material, the result will be “trained leaders.” This attitude toward formal education has been explored in Chapters 4 and 5. For historical reasons, the churches of Zambia believe that formal education provides the only acceptable form of training for church leadership, and that the leader-to-be needs nothing beyond what several years in a classroom with competent teachers can provide. Most national churches view the establishment of their own residential Bible school as evidence that they have “arrived” and can now meet all their training needs. And for most Zambians, the Bible school diploma serves as a symbol of a church leader’s competence and leadership ability.

In summary, the problem this project seeks to address concerns the decisions being made by those responsible for setting up the LTCs. In many cases this board may not have thought through exactly what they are seeking to accomplish. They also may not have adequately considered all the training options at their disposal and therefore may not

have been making informed choices. The tendency has been to operate the LTC almost exclusively as a formal educational program in the belief that this will address all the issues relating to leadership development, when in reality non-cognitive aspects of leadership such as spiritual formation and the development of a leader's ministry skills may be left without sufficient attention.

Purpose

This project has a two-fold purpose. The first involves increasing the likelihood that the newly forming LTCs, whose boards participate in this project, become viable centers and do not fail as some others have in the past. A second purpose involves encouraging the boards of these new LTCs to broaden their scope and look at all aspects of leadership development, including spiritual formation and ministerial skills along with cognitive development. This should make these LTCs more effective—producing well-rounded leaders who not only know sound doctrine and what the Bible teaches, but men and women who can model this for others and can lead the church in fulfilling the Great Commission.

Project Design

This project creates a series of four sessions through which the members of a new LTC board can discover and address issues related to the establishment of their LTC. These sessions seek to raise appropriate issues relating to the operation of the LTC, including areas such as finances, student affairs, teaching and curriculum, and administration matters—issues that have caused the failure of LTCs in the past. The sessions seek to guide the board in the making of informed choices concerning these same issues in their local context. They also seek to change the attitude of the board

members concerning the nature of leadership development. Whereas most LTCs currently focus almost exclusively on the cognitive domain, the sessions seek to show the importance of spiritual formation and ministerial skills to the development of well-rounded leaders. Because many students already pastor a church, they have often already acquired a significant amount of ministerial skills, and therefore the need for this domain may be less. But spiritual formation on a personal level usually receives little or no attention in most LTCs at the present time.

The sessions take the form of a workshop, a type of seminar in which the emphasis is on specialized skills; in this case the skills to be examined concern the running of an LTC program. Each session seeks to raise basic questions to which a Local Training Center must have answers. Some background information necessary to make informed choices is made available in the form of selected readings and/or material shared by myself in the session. The participants will then work together to obtain answers to the questions that fit their particular set of circumstances.

My role in the process is that of a facilitator and a consultant. I am there to raise issues or questions, provide resources, and offer the perspective of an outsider when asked for. The participants in the workshop know their situation much better than I, an outsider, can. They are also the ones who must implement whatever decisions are reached during the workshop. My role is not to tell them what to do, although I may have my own personal opinions concerning what should be done in their situation. But I also serve as chairman of the Board of Administrators, and in this capacity I advise them concerning the guidelines to which they must conform in order to be a recognized LTC of the Christian Leaders Training Institute.

When the participants leave the workshop they should have a firm grasp of the issues involved in running an LTC and have a viable plan as to how their LTC will function. They should “own” this plan, as they are the ones who have developed it and should be ready to implement it in their local church context.

After attending the sessions, those participating will be asked to evaluate how helpful the sessions were. I am especially interested in seeing if the sessions bring about a change in attitude towards the importance of spiritual formation and ministerial skills development, and a willingness on the part of the board to shoulder responsibility for those areas in the leaders they train.

Scope

I intend to limit this project to assistance in the establishment of two new Local Training Centers in Zambia. This necessitated some waiting until two appropriate situations arose, with local leaders willing to take the time to meet with me for the four sessions. I hope that two attempts at helping LTCs may give a more balanced perspective on the usefulness of the approach. In addition, experience gained in the first attempt may help improve the second presentation.

In preparation for this, I intend to examine the relational patterns in which leadership development took place in the Early Church and in Zambia today.¹ Africans highly value relationships, so this was felt to be a valid, useful area to examine.

Context

Zambia today exhibits a great deal of complexity. The nation consists of over seventy kin groups of various sizes with numerous languages. The major urban centers—

¹See the results of this research in Chapters 2 through 5.

Lusaka and the Copperbelt—have become places where these kin groups are currently merging and becoming a new national culture, heavily influenced by Western technology and ideas. But life for a considerable portion of the population in the poorer sections of the cities and in the rural areas continues on amazingly like life has for the past few centuries. Like elsewhere in Africa, the population of Zambia is very young, but the traditions of the past still hold tremendous sway over most people. The rapid turn to Christianity over the past generation has resulted in a country that has declared itself a Christian nation, but most Zambians remain unsure exactly what that means. Leading people to Christ in Zambia today proves easy, and many Christians, who have only recently become Christian themselves, have heeded the call to reach others with the gospel by going out, leading a number of their friends and relatives to Christ, and establishing a new church. As a result the cities are filled with small, newly established churches, which in most cases are independent and do not belong to any denomination.

In this situation, the training of these newly emerging church leaders becomes a matter of paramount importance. Traditional ideas of leadership surface in these churches, sometimes in “Christian” guises, and the new believers seem comfortable with this, as they then know how to act toward their church leaders. The danger faced by the church in Zambia today resembles the one faced by Paul, in that society’s ideas of leadership seem to be flooding the church, and may do serious harm to the people’s understanding of the gospel in the process. Many in Zambia, both inside the church and out, see pastoring a church as a means of making a good living in today’s difficult economic situation.²

²See Isaac Phiri and Joe Maxwell, “Gospel Riches: Africa’s Rapid Embrace of Prosperity Pentecostalism Provokes Concern—and Hope,” *Christianity Today*,

The “church” environment of Zambia today can roughly be divided into two categories: rural and urban. Rural churches tend to be small and led by self-supporting pastors who in most cases have no training. The vast majority of churches in towns and cities has less than one hundred in attendance and are led by pastors with little or no formal training. A handful of urban churches have over five hundred members and are pastored by persons with considerable formal education.

All three national churches with which the Assemblies of God, U.S.A. works have a residential Bible school, but these three schools cannot produce enough graduates to pastor existing churches, much less keep up with those newly planted each year. An additional problem with depending upon residential Bible schools to train all pastors concerns the kind of churches graduates of Bible schools seek to pastor. They gravitate towards the urban areas, where better economic conditions and the possibility of pastoring a larger church means the potential for higher status and greater salaries. Very few Bible school graduates seek assignment in rural areas. Thus the churches in rural areas, which make up the majority of new churches being planted, are usually pastored by the same people who start them—men and women who support themselves and who come from existing churches where they previously served as lay members.

My wife and I came to Zambia with the expressed purpose of creating a means by which rural pastors and those pastoring smaller urban churches could receive training without giving up their churches or leaving their families to attend a residential Bible school. This led to the development of a non-residential educational program, using Global University curriculum, known as Christian Leaders Training Institute. The

<http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2007/july/12.22.html> (accessed October 3, 2007). This article mentions Zambia, among other countries in Africa, as having embraced a “prosperity” understanding of the gospel.

program operates through a number of Local Training Centers, each of which is operated by a district or a strong local church belonging to one of the three national churches in Zambia with partnership agreements with the Assemblies of God, U.S.A.

Project Phases

Research

In preparation for the project, the biblical-theological review sought to examine the relational contexts in which leaders were trained, both in the Old and the New Testaments. Based upon this, a set of typical relational patterns has been identified, which then provides the framework for the rest of the project. This research seeks to understand the role relationships played in the development of church leadership in the churches established by Paul. Paul often spent a brief period of time witnessing in a place, establishing a church, and then moving on. Who led these churches? Where and how did they receive their training?

The second area of research involves understanding what role these same relational patterns have played in Zambian society from the time before European colonization to the present, both in society at large and in the church. This section of research concludes with recommendations concerning the way relationships might be used to augment leadership development in the churches of Zambia today.

Planning

The project creates a seminar consisting of a series of four sessions that seeks to lead the group establishing a new LTC through a process of designing their own training center, one that fits the local context in which they operate and conforms to the guidelines established by CLTI. The plan calls for four sessions as follows:

The first session introduces CLTI and how an LTC is expected to operate within the guidelines established by the national Board of Administrators. It also seeks to help those present understand themselves and each other better. Relationships between the members of the LTC board, who in many cases do not know each other well, will in the long run prove crucial to the success of the LTC. If differences concerning goals and directions surface later, misunderstandings may undermine the effectiveness of the program.

The second session seeks to help those present understand the nature of the Church and its mission, as given to it by Jesus and recorded in the Bible. On the basis of Christ's command, what does the LTC expect to accomplish? It also seeks to help the board to explore how they came to be seated together. All LTC boards represent some constituency, which has certain expectations of the LTC. What does the sponsoring body have to say about the purpose of the LTC?

The third session covers the "product" of the LTC. Who does the LTC seek to train? What should trained leaders look like—what should these leaders know, what they should be able to do, and what kind of persons should they be?

The last session discusses issues related to how those leaders will be produced, such as matters of administration, teachers, scheduling, finances, etc. The CLTI format does not prescribe details in these areas and allows for a lot of creativity. During this session, the board will be encouraged to think creatively and come up with ways that will work for them and those they seek to train. Unless the board has already met and made decisions concerning the operation of the LTC, this session is likely to take considerably longer than the previous sessions.

Action

The action phase of the project calls for meeting with two different groups involved in forming a new LTC. Over the course of several days I will go through the four sessions with the board of the newly forming LTC. As issues are raised in each session, I will seek to guide the board in making informed choices concerning how they as an LTC will grapple with the issues involved in training leaders in their context. After going through this process with the first group I will take the experience I have gained into account as I plan on working with the second board.

Evaluation

Following the sessions, those participating will be asked to evaluate the workshop and describe whether or not they found the workshop helpful. The evaluation calls for each participant to answer four questions:

1. What topics or sessions did you find most helpful?
2. What topics or sessions did you find least helpful? Should some of these be removed from this seminar?
3. What topics should have been covered that were not?
4. Can you describe some ways this seminar has changed your understanding of the training of church leadership?

Based upon the responses, I shall make an evaluation of this project and the workshop. The evaluation will seek to answer three questions:

1. Were the problems originally identified adequately addressed?
2. To what extent did the workshop achieve its goals?
3. If this workshop is held again, what changes should be made

Contribution to Ministry

The development of church leadership has become a pressing issue, especially in the Majority World, where the Church has grown tremendously over the past few

decades. The health of local churches depends upon well-trained leadership. Most of those who have recently attempted to assess the state of church leadership development believe the church is failing to train an adequate number of leaders and that the training in many cases falls short of what is needed.³ New, innovative ways need to be developed to meet current leadership needs.

Christian Leaders Training Institute seeks to help local churches and districts in Zambia to address their leadership needs by assisting in them in establishing their own local leadership training programs. CLTI provides Global University's curriculum at a reasonable cost. The educational agreement CLTI has with Global University means courses taken through CLTI can be transferred toward Global's B.A. degree program with no loss of credit, thereby adding academic credibility to what a local LTC offers. But all the focus on the academic side tends to obscure the importance of spiritual formation and ministry skills.

This project seeks to accomplish two goals. First it will help those establishing new LTCs understand the issues involved in running a successful program and help them establish one that is viable. Second, it also seeks to ensure that the importance of ministry skills and spiritual formation receives adequate recognition and that each LTC commits itself to developing well-rounded leaders. This should affect the churches represented by those leaders involved in the LTCs, thereby strengthening the three groups with which the Assemblies of God, U.S.A. has a working relationship. This should impact the other LTCs as well, as they are exposed to the innovations of the newer LTCs.

This project further seeks to provide insights for others involved in church leadership development in the other countries of Africa. The Assemblies of God has

³For details, see Chapter 5.

expanded dramatically across the continent in the past two decades, and the training of leaders for the thousands of newly established churches has proved to be a tremendous problem. The church needs new innovative ways of addressing its leadership training needs.

CHAPTER 7

DESCRIPTION OF FIELD PROJECT

This chapter describes the actual procedures followed in the carrying out the project and is divided into three phases: (1) preparation of the project, (2) execution of the project, and (3) results of the project.

Preparation of the Project

Creating an Overall Plan

Two major efforts went into the creation of this project. One was setting up an overall plan for the workshop. A plan calling for five sessions was decided on—four before the beginning of the new LTC and an optional one following its first set of classes. The first session included introductions of all of the participants, a review of CLTI’s Guidelines for Local Training Centers, and an agreed upon schedule for the rest of the sessions. The second session sought to look at two foundational issues concerning church leadership training: the nature of the Church and its mission. The board had to be in general agreement on these if there was to be unity concerning training issues to be discussed later on. The third session considered issues related to the kind of leaders the LTC seeks to train and what a “trained leader” looks like. The fourth session dealt with how to train the leaders. What kind of training would produce the desired leaders, and how would that training be administered? The last session aimed to evaluate whether or not the original plans were achieving results in keeping with the goals outlined in session

three, and if some adjustments were needed to the processes of the LTC.¹ Though five in number, the sessions were designed to be flexible enough to allow adjustment to various situations.

Research and Writing

The second effort involved the research and writing of the biblical-theological review and general literature review chapters. This took considerably longer than anticipated. This research led to consideration of the role that relationships play in leadership development. This seemed especially relevant to Africa since relationships have traditionally played a significant role in African society. The focus on relationships led to the idea of identifying relational patterns and seeing the role they might play in developing leaders. A search of available literature failed to find any significant study of relational patterns and leadership development within the Christian context. After considerable thought I identified five relational patterns. Two of these—Master-Disciple Pattern and Tutor/Mentor Pattern—cannot be easily distinguished from each other, but because of the significance of the relationship between Jesus and His disciples it seemed wise to keep the distinction. The concept of relational patterns and their role in leadership development became the core around which the research was organized.

After considering the role that relationships played in developing leaders among the Jews before the time of Christ, the research examined the same issues in Greco-Roman society. Judaism and Greco-Roman society form the backdrop against which the Early Church engaged in church planting and developing its leadership. I paid special attention to the churches established by Paul since more is known about them. The research led to the conclusion that Master-Disciple, Tutor/Mentor, and Peer/Team Pattern

¹For a description of the five sessions see Appendix A.

relationships provided the means by which the Early Church carried out the training of its leaders. By its very nature Familial Pattern relationships did not yield themselves easily to use by the Early Church, though such relationships did play a significant foundational role in the development of church leaders. In keeping with the society of that day, Teacher-Student Pattern relationships played no significant role in the training of adults as such relationships were felt adequate only for the training of children and youths.

Formal education and Teacher-Student Pattern relationships play a significant role in the training of leaders today in Zambian society, both outside and inside the church. An attempt to discover how this came about led to research on the nature of society among the kin groups of Zambia before colonization and what impact the coming of Europeans has had on the development of national leaders. A look at several of the kin groups in Zambia revealed that traditional society relied on Familial and Peer/Team Pattern relationships for the training of future leaders. The missionaries who brought Christianity to Zambia came from the West, where formal education had been the preferred means of training church leaders for several centuries. These missionaries first introduced formal education in an attempt to reach the younger generation with the gospel as the older generation proved very resistant. Training for the first African church leaders largely consisted of formal education. As the government took more and more control over the school system erected by the various missions, the missionaries shifted their attention to training Africans as leaders of the churches of Zambia. In keeping with the current methods used in Europe and North America at the time, missionaries began developing a number of Bible schools and similar institutions in the period following World War II. Most Zambians today believe Teacher-Student Pattern relationships

provide the best approach to church leadership development and are largely ignorant of the fact that the Early Church depended upon other relationships for the development of its leadership.

Setting up Meetings with Newly Forming LTC Boards

The initial project called for guiding two new boards through the process of setting up their own LTCs. As originally envisioned, this should have been carried out during 2006. A group of South African A/G missionaries came to Zambia and began planting new Pentecostal Assemblies of God churches in Western Province. The establishment of these new churches created a need for leadership training and the possibility of helping in the establishment of a new LTC in Mongu. But scheduling conflicts prevented a visit to Mongu in late 2005. Thus 2006 began with no immediate prospects of any new LTCs that might provide the opportunity for the carrying out of the planned project. A regularly scheduled time of teaching in August 2006 at the LTC in Choma provided a chance for the testing of some of the ideas in the sessions. At a meeting with the three principle teachers at the center, a number of the questions and issues from the first four sessions were raised. While the experience provided interesting insights into the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the center for the writer, the teachers showed little enthusiasm for pursuing the subject further. This indicated to the writer that many of the issues involved were better addressed before an LTC started operation or at least was in its early stages. Once an LTC has become well established change comes more slowly.

A new South African missionary came to Western Province in the middle of 2006 which led to renewed discussions concerning the establishment of an LTC in 2007 to

meet the need of training some sixty PAOG church leaders, most of whom were located in rural areas. Board members were chosen in late 2006 and plans were laid for the LTC to start operation in the second half of 2007. In preparation for this, two Friday-Saturday meetings with the new board were set up—one in late January and the second in early June. In preparation for these meetings the initial outline of sessions was fleshed out, with several presentations being prepared for the new board members.

For a while it seemed a second chance to work with another new LTC board might not happen in 2007, but discussions with the leadership of Grace Ministries Mission led to a second opportunity. The person responsible for the two LTCs operated by Grace Ministries (GMM) left Zambia for further theological studies at the end of 2006 and, as a result of this, those two centers ceased operation. Rev. Ernest Mumbi was named to represent GMM on the CLTI board and assume responsibility for the LTCs of GMM. After some consultation with the leaders of GMM, it was decided that a seminar would be held to which all pastors interested in forming an LTC would be invited. Those attending that meeting would then form a number of new LTCs. This seminar took place on October 30 through November 2 in 2007. In preparation for this meeting, the presentations used in the Mongu sessions were extensively revised and expanded.

Execution of the Project

As originally conceived the project called for working with two boards as they made plans for the establishment of two new LTCs. Meetings with the first of these boards took place in the first half of 2007 and involved the establishment of a new LTC in Mongu to meet the needs for training PAOG church leaders in Western Province. The

second group consisted of GMM pastors interested in establishing a number of new LTCs for the training of their church leaders. This meeting began at the end of October 2007.

New PAOG Center in Mongu

The first meeting with the new Western Province PAOG board took place on January 19-20 and covered the first two sessions. Seven of the nine board members were present, with two absent due to personal issues that had arisen at short notice. Everyone seemed interested in the materials being presented and entered into the discussions. There was special interest in the material that described how Christianity and Pentecost came to Zambia. Both Frederick Stanley Arnot and Francois Coillard, the first two missionaries to settle in Zambia, had worked among the Lozis not very far from Mongu. The meeting ended with agreement to meet again at a date to be set later and finish the remaining two sessions at that time.

The second meeting took place on June 1-2 with six board members in attendance. The issues connected with sessions 3 and 4 proved too lengthy to cover in the same detail as the first two sessions. While all the questions suggested by the session outlines were raised, time did not permit the board to come up with answers to all those questions. One of the presentations in the fourth session precipitated a lengthy discussion concerning the finances and how the LTC would pay for the training. Plans already laid by the board called for two groups of up to twenty church leaders each coming to Mongu for three weeks, twenty in August and twenty in September. Taking care of forty people for three weeks was projected to cost about \$100 per person, in addition to transport to and from Mongu. Those attending would be expected to pay towards the costs, but because most of those invited to attend lived in rural areas where they made little, if any,

cash, it was necessary that considerable financial assistance be offered to them. The South African Assemblies of God missionaries agreed to underwrite largely the costs of the first set of sessions with the financing of later training to be looked at once a better idea of the actual costs was established. The meeting ended with a number of other unresolved issues, but the board members met later on their own and came to agreement on the way forward.

In conclusion, this first attempt at presenting the materials worked about as well as I had expected. A number of important issues were raised that the board would otherwise not have considered until the LTC had already begun operation, and this led to the development of a more adequate set of plans for the running of the LTC. Everyone left the meeting with a positive attitude and a feeling of accomplishment. From my perspective, this first experience at presenting the sessions allowed for further refinements, which were then incorporated into the second presentation to the group of pastors from Grace Ministries.

I was invited to come and teach the first course for both the August and September groups of leaders. This enabled further help and advice to be offered during the first period of actual operation of the LTC. Several difficulties involving the educational level and languages of the leaders arose. While everyone was literate to one degree or another, many of those leaders who attended the teachings knew little or no English. All materials except the Global University textbooks had been translated into Lozi ahead of time, and Lozi summaries of each chapter were provided to the participants. I was able to work through several options with those running the LTC, and it was decided that in order for everyone to read the books, those fluent in both English

and Lozi would translate the books on the spot. As a result, most of the afternoons and evenings during the weeks of teaching were taken up with having the students read to each other from the textbooks. This did have the added benefit of solidifying the relationships between the participants. In conversations with those overseeing the LTC following the two periods of teaching, there was a general feeling of satisfaction with the positive results achieved so far.

While in Mongu for the second time of teaching I passed out evaluation forms for the four sessions to those who were present. Unfortunately not all board members were there, so evaluations of the sessions were filled out only by the three who live in Mongu. James Lucas, the South African missionary who is overseeing many aspects of the LTC program, promised to get evaluation forms to the others, but so far no other evaluation forms have been returned to me.

Seminar for Grace Ministries

This workshop proved to be a very different kind of situation from that in Mongu. The experience gained in the sessions in Mongu suggested several changes, which benefited the presentation to the GMM pastors. For instance, session four required considerably more time than the first three. In the meetings with GMM, all four sessions were covered in the first three days, allowing the fourth day for further discussions and any additional items that might surface. This adjustment seemed to provide adequate time to finish all four sessions for all participants. Also, the need for further treatment of the topic of leadership expressed by two of the participant in Mongu led to an expansion of that aspect during the third session with GMM. The Grace participants seemed to welcome this additional attention on leadership.

The sessions began well. All attendees received a manual consisting of an outline of the four sessions and my presentations in written form for them to read and discuss. The first activity involved inviting everyone to answer one of the introduction questions. Following this, those present were divided by Mumbi into groups by where they lived and how many LTCs would eventually be formed out of those present. Mumbi envisioned eight LTCs, four in Lusaka and four in the rest of the country. Two of the Lusaka LTCs had sufficient pastors present to form their own group, but only one pastor showed up from one area of Lusaka, so he was added to another future Lusaka LTC near his church. Initially all pastors from outside Lusaka were formed into one group, but by the second day enough pastors from Eastern Province had arrived so that they formed their own group. Thus by the second day there were five groups, three of which consisted only of those from one planned LTC. The number of participants and the presence of some eight future LTCs suggested that the time allotted for the workshop should be divided into two parts. Some periods of time were spent together during which I made presentations of the material in the manual. This was followed by periods during which the participants, divided into the five groups previously mentioned, met for a discussion time. Sometimes when we got back together a leader from each group was asked to share what they had discussed on items such as the nature of the Church and its mission.

Session three, which sought to define who was to receive training and what a trained leader looked like, produced very different results from the LTC in Mongu. The board in Mongu saw senior leaders of small rural congregations as their primary target while the Grace pastors enumerated all kinds of leaders who potentially might be trained. During an exercise at the opening of the third session, all the Grace Ministries groups

chose to focus on Type A rather than Type B leaders.² Most identified elders and deacons as their primary target group, with cell group leaders and departmental leaders also being named.

The fact that several LTCs were participating in the same meeting prevented me from giving each group my undivided personal attention, though no one seemed to be bothered by that. While the first two sessions covered issues that should largely be the same for all the LTCs, they began to diverge in the third and fourth session. As facilitator, I tried to float from group to group, checking on how things were going, but the sheer number of groups prevented me from focusing on any group for very long. In addition, the participants needed to pick up the materials they would use in their LTC. This meant setting aside an hour of time to take individuals over to the place where the books were stored on Thursday and again on Friday afternoon. This prevented me from personally interacting with each of the groups towards the end of the scheduled time together. Evaluation forms were passed out to all workshop participants on Thursday and everyone was reminded to fill them out and turn them in on Friday, but only twelve were received back.

In conclusion, the sessions with the Grace Ministries pastors were productive, though they probably could have been more so if time and circumstances had permitted individual attention to be given to each LTC. Twenty-one pastors from Grace Ministries were exposed to the CLTI program, twenty of whom had no real prior knowledge of how to operate a Local Training Center. The time together exposed them to a number of concepts related to leadership development of which most of them had no previous

²J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Emergence Theory* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Resources, 1989), 46-53.

knowledge. They all left full of enthusiasm and carried with them plans and materials to begin their new LTCs once they returned to their respective churches. Initial projections were for the opening of eight new LTCs within the next two months, which would seek to train about 120 church leaders.

Results of the Project

The original plans laid out for this project included working with two different boards that were forming new LTCs. As it turned out, I was able to meet with two groups of people ready to begin new LTCs, but the number of new LTCs involved totaled nine. This came about because all the GMM Local Training Centers had ceased operation, and the national church leadership desired them to be restarted as quickly as possible and on a broader scale than before. This meant that the GMM workshop had a wider impact than originally envisioned, but the difficulty experienced in dealing with several different groups forming LTCs at the same time suggests that holding such sessions with only one board at a time should remain the desired setup.

Twenty-eight people attended at least one session of the two workshops held during 2007. Participants were asked to fill out a simple evaluation form anonymously at the end of the sessions. A total of fifteen evaluations had been received by the writing up of this project in November 2007; three came from the Western Province board and twelve from the GMM pastors. For the questions and a summary of those evaluations see Appendix C. The respondents were very favorable to the workshop. For example, respondent #1 wrote, "All of the sessions were wonderful and educative," and respondent #3 wrote, "I found all the knowledge useful." Question #2 asked what topics were least helpful and could be dropped from a similar workshop in the future. Only three of the

fifteen suggested any topic as “least helpful,” and in all three cases they did not feel the material in question should be dropped.

In looking at what was mentioned as being most helpful and as making the greatest impact on the participants’ understanding of the issues involved, sessions 1 and 2 got the most mention, with session 3 receiving the least mention. This may have been the result of spending less time on these topics with the GMM pastors in an attempt to get to session 4, which had been where the group in Mongu had needed the most time. Surprisingly there did not seem to be a certain topic or session that stood out in the minds of the respondents. Different presentations made a more profound impact on different people.

In my opinion, the sessions achieved probably as much as could be hoped for within the time frame and parameters the two workshops allowed. The workshop with the Western Province board came closer to achieving what had originally been envisioned in designing the project. Those sessions took place with one board over a period of six months, allowing the participants to digest what was being shared between the two times of meeting together. I was able to follow this up with an involvement in the new LTC’s first time of teaching, which allowed further assistance in dealing with issues that arose when the plans were actually being implemented. The workshop with the GMM pastors, on the other hand, allowed me to influence a larger number of pastors who will in turn be involved in influencing a much larger number of leaders. But the greater number of LTCs involved meant that the influence in the case of any one center was considerably less than with the LTC in Mongu.

The adopted format, involving presentations on a variety of topics related to leadership development, seemed to work well. By the time of the GMM workshop the number and variety of presentations available allowed me to pick and choose what to present after the initial meeting with the participants. This allowed the remaining sessions to be somewhat tailored to the group and where they were in their understanding of leadership and the processes involved in training others. The positive responses indicate that this matching of the presentations to my perception of what would be most useful was well received.

According to Chapter 6 the project had two stated goals. These were: 1) to increase the likelihood that newly forming LTCs would be viable due to their being exposed to a number of issues which they might otherwise not considered until they surfaced in the form of problems; and 2) to improve the quality of leaders produced by the LTCs by encouraging the LTC to think of leadership development as a process involving not only increased knowledge but also spiritual formation and ministerial skills development. In the workshop, leadership development was depicted as a life-long process involving many factors. Formal education was noted as well suited to address the areas of knowledge that a leader needs. But leadership development also involves spiritual formation and ministerial skills, matters not so easily addressed in a classroom. The second goal entailed getting the new LTC to recognize its responsibility to develop well-rounded leaders. This means that the leadership training that the LTCs provide should involve some form of mentoring and/or learner supervision.

Judging by the responses of the participants, it seems that the first goal was achieved. Every respondent mentioned the sessions as either deepening their understanding of leadership or their understanding of the processes involved in leadership development. As an example, respondent #1 stated, "Frankly it scared me and now I approach the assignment with all the seriousness it deserves." And concerning the issues involved in financing an LTC respondent #3 stated, "It was like a 'lightbulb going on' when I heard about the challenge other centres have found with regards to financial provision and government." The LTC board for the PAOG in Western Province has now finished their first training session, which was held in August and September 2007. During this first period of training, verbal feedback from the leaders involved in the workshop held earlier in the year was very positive. They feel they are on track and are producing the kind of leaders they desire. These board members feel the sessions held earlier this year made a positive contribution towards this situation. An indication of this attitude showed up in respondent #2's answer to question #4. He wrote, "It really helped our governing body to grow closer together and laid a great foundation. Without [the] training we may have struggled to have the focus we now have." Those participating in the second workshop with GMM pastors expressed similar opinions. Respondent #6 wrote, "I have been provoked to have a program with all leaders," while respondent #10 wrote, "I have learnt the following: a) Importance of leadership, b) The need for church leaders to be trained, c) The basic training tool for a church leader, d) The need for teamwork and clear goals, and e) Why conflicts are born when leadership lacks clear cut goals." Thus, the workshop shows evidence of having improved the preparedness of the participants to engage in the establishment of new LTCs.

By its nature, fulfillment of the second goal will require a much longer time frame to judge than the first goal. As originally conceived, the training sessions for new LTC board members should have been held in 2006, thus allowing some time to evaluate the effect the sessions had on the shape these new LTCs took and whether these LTCs sought to address matters related to spiritual formation and ministerial skills through mentoring and other forms of relationships. Unfortunately, however, the workshops could not be held in 2006. This leaves the evaluation responses as the primary means of judging the effectiveness of the workshop in meeting this second goal.

About half of the respondents mention being affected by some aspect of the sessions that touched on issues related to this second goal, such as the need for mentoring or a change in their understanding of leadership development.³ This shows a heightened awareness of the need for such relationships, but awareness and actual implementation are two different things. Several of the GMM participants indicated interest in issues related to the second goal. Respondent #4 mentioned mentorship as the most helpful topic and expressed a desire for more teaching on it. Thus, preliminary indications are that the second goal may have also been achieved in some cases with some participants, but more time will be needed to ascertain that for sure as the workshop with Grace Ministries has only recently ended and implementation the new LTCs will not begin for a while. Only time will tell if the workshops had the desired effect in this area of leadership development.

A further result has been the effect the whole process has had on the writer. The process of research and writing has greatly increased my understanding of the factors

³See respondents 1, 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Others may have also been impacted but they merely indicated “all” or made reference to a session that included several different topics and not just matters related to the second goal.

involved in leadership development, which has in turn affected my ability to help others in their understanding of the same.

CHAPTER 8
PROJECT SUMMARY

Introduction

The church in Zambia has experienced tremendous growth during the past forty years. During this period of time the percentage of the nation which calls itself Christian has risen from about one third to over two thirds while the population has more than doubled.¹ The three national church organizations the American Assemblies of God works with in Zambia have been a part of this trend as the number of churches between the three groups has more than quadrupled since 1990. This explosive growth has led to a great need for the training of church leaders and has led the church in Zambia to become involved at least marginally in a debate that has been going on among the Protestant churches in North America and Western Europe for over two hundred years concerning the proper way to train church leaders.

As discussed in Chapter 5, for centuries Protestant churches have been split into two traditions concerning the matter of what role a minister should play and, based upon this, what form of training he or she should receive. As traced by Dunn² one tradition has viewed the minister as a learned professional, like the professions of medicine, law, etc. Those belonging to this tradition have argued that lengthy post-secondary formal

¹See the discussion on page 225.

²See page 184.

education is the proper method and a seminary or similar institution is the proper place for training church leaders.

The other tradition is revivalist and, in keeping with these roots, has exalted preaching as the highest calling of a minister and considers evidence of a successful ministry of greater worth than graduation from a theological training institution or any form of credential. In earlier years apprenticeships provided the preferred method of training in this tradition, though over the past century Bible schools have become the common method. However, during the past few decades discontent with the nature of the theological training being provided by mainline Protestant denominational seminaries has grown, leading to calls from many quarters for a major re-evaluation of theological education.³

The churches of Zambia have been affected by their own historical roots which have colored their understanding of both church leadership and the proper way such leaders should be trained. Part of that history involves the missionaries who arrived towards the close of the nineteenth century and used formal education as their primary evangelistic tool. Reading and writing went hand-in-hand with sharing the gospel. As a result the churches in Zambia today highly respect formal education and consider it to be the only “real” way to train church leaders. A minister without a certificate or a diploma is considered “untrained” by most people both inside and outside the church. But at the same time that they hold academic credentials in high respect, the Pentecostal churches of Zambia like most Pentecostals elsewhere, identify themselves with the revivalist tradition. A minister’s ability to speak publicly and command the attention of a large crowd receives wide acclaim.

³For this discussion see pages 187-92.

Few Zambian church leaders have any understanding of the historical background or the issues involved in the current theological educational debate going on in the West. Most ministers do not see any disconnect between formal education and ministerial skills and are crying for more training. CLTI represents one such an attempt to meet this need. It seeks to bring the knowledge provided by formal theological education within reach of those already involved in ministry. CLTI makes it possible for districts and larger local churches to set up their own leadership training programs—called Local Training Centers—by providing materials and standards ensuring that the training has a level of academic credibility. LTCs are the real heart of CLTI's program, but a number of these have failed to thrive for various reasons.

Evaluation of the Project

This project has attempted to achieve two things. First, it has sought to provide sound guidance for a board seeking to set up a new LTC by helping the group think through a series of questions. In the process the project has sought to encourage the board to consider exactly what is it that Christ is calling their church(es) to do, what kind of leaders are needed to help the church(es) carry out this work, and what those leaders should know, be like, and be able to do. This then becomes the framework in which the LTC can devise its own training program—one that is tailored to fit the local situation and local needs. This approach seems the best way to handle the split between the two traditions concerning the nature of church leadership and the way to train leaders. The workshop assumes that the proper place to start the discussion is not with the nature of the ministry but with the nature of the Church and its mission, as given to it by Christ Jesus. Once this has been decided then church leadership falls into place. Leadership

training becomes a matter of deciding what kind of leaders are needed and what is the best way to train those leaders if they are to accomplish the goals Christ set for the local church.

The second objective involved familiarizing those responsible for training church leaders with the historical background of leadership development as well as several important related concepts. The leadership of the church in Zambia generally assumes that formal education will provide all that is necessary for the training of church leaders. The research of Chapters 2 through 5 seeks to show that although Teacher-Student Patterns of relationships and formal education can provide the knowledge a church leader needs, it does not excel at spiritual formation or the development of ministry skills. The Early Church used other forms of relationships to develop its local church leaders. The dependence of the churches in the West on formal education for leadership development is a relatively recent trend which many are now challenging as incomplete. This information has been shared in the hope that those responsible for training church leaders in Zambia will use a multi-faceted approach to leadership development, one that incorporates mentoring and peer groups as supplements to formal education and the usual classroom situation, and that such an approach will produce better leaders and stronger churches.

In keeping with this, the project had two goals. The first was to raise questions and issues which an LTC must face if it is to be viable and produce trained leaders. The project seems to have enjoyed good success in this area in the eyes of those who evaluated their participation in the workshops. Those who filled out evaluations indicated that the workshop had a positive effect on their understanding of leadership development

and the processes an LTC must undertake if it is to train leaders. The new LTCs will be starting on a better footing than they would have otherwise.

The second goal involved helping the board realize that training leaders takes more than holding classes, teaching material from a book, and having students take an exam on that material. Leadership involves character and certain ministerial skills, things which are not easily taught in a classroom. This aspect of the project proved much more difficult than the first. Most participants realize that everyone going through formal education does not make a good pastor, but most seemed unaware that other viable options for leadership development existed. Anytime something new is shared it takes a while for the implications of the new information to make its way into practice. This may be what has happened in the case of many of the concepts shared in the workshop.

It will probably take repeated exposure and considerable thought to work through the ultimate implications of the idea that formal education and Teacher-Student Pattern relationships cannot provide all the training church leaders need. As noted in chapter 7, the evaluations provided evidence that many participants accepted the idea that leadership development involves more than formal education, but they were so focused on leadership itself and how to improve their own leadership that most of them were not ready to think critically about how to train others as leaders. This will probably only come with repeated exposure to many of the concepts shared in the workshop and after they find themselves involved in the process of training others. In my own case I did not become interested in such issues until I realized that only about one in five of those I was involved in training at a Bible school in Zimbabwe would go on to become pastors in one of our churches after graduation.

The workshop seemed to have several positive effects on the participants. First it exposed them to a number of concepts new to the majority of the participants, such as levels of leadership and the differences between informal, formal, and non-formal education. Second, it helped the boards of these new LTCs think through several issues which should make the establishment of the new LTCs much easier, such as whom they were seeking to train and what a “trained” leader looked like. And third, the participants left with plans and materials with which they could seek to begin operation of their own LTC very soon. Though the second goal was not achieved to any great extent, some initial steps were taken in that direction. Further effort will be needed if that second goal is to be met.

The aim of the workshop was to improve the impact of the LTC on those who would be trained. This has already begun in the case of the LTC in Mongu, but gauging the ultimate impact of the workshop must wait for several years until the training process is completed. The ultimate purpose of the workshop involved equipping the local churches led by these leaders and helping those churches fulfill their God-ordained tasks in reaching their communities with the gospel and fulfilling the Great Commission. Only God knows the ultimate impact this effort will have on His church in Zambia.

Implications of the Project

The positive response to the workshop indicates that those seeking to form new LTCs will benefit from assistance in working through the issues involved in setting up their program. In essence, running an LTC is not much different from running a Bible school program. Both require administration, record keeping, ability to handle finances, a pool of those who need to receive training, and existing leaders who are willing and

capable of carrying out that training. Virtually none of those who attended the workshops had any previous experience in such an endeavor. Although almost all of them had experience as students of formal education on a tertiary level, most in the classrooms of Bible schools, they are unaware of the issues involved in running such a program. Thus, some form of assistance in facing the questions that must be answered and in working through the issues involved should prove very helpful to every new LTC.

In addition this project confirmed that formal education remains the dominant paradigm for leadership development among the churches of Zambia. The workshop sought to help participants understand how this approach became the dominant method of leadership development in the West and how missionaries from these churches then brought this approach to Zambia. It also sought to help them see that the Early Church understood leadership development from a totally different paradigm, one that used discipleship, mentoring, and peer relationships. In addition, apprenticeships have been widely used for leadership development throughout church history and are presently used by Pentecostal churches in other parts of the world today. But only about half of the evaluations directly mentioned issues pertaining to mentoring, spiritual formation, or similar topics as having been helpful or having affected their understanding of church leadership training. This and the lack of any serious questioning of formal education as an effective tool for leadership development by the participants during the workshop sessions leads me to conclude that most of those who took the workshop are not yet ready to do any serious experimentation with new approaches to leadership development.

This had been my perception of the general attitude among our church leaders before getting into this project, and the experience with two workshops and twenty-eight

participants has merely served to confirm this perception. The best I can hope for in the near term is to encourage the inclusion of some form of learner oversight through mentoring and peer accountability as a part of the leadership process taking place at an LTC.

Recommendations for Christian Leaders Training Institute

The results of this project are leading me to offer two recommendations to the Board of Administration of Christian Leaders Training Institute. First, the board of each new LTC should be offered the chance to go through a workshop of this nature. This could be carried out by the National Directors. The perception of all who turned in an evaluation was positive concerning its helpfulness. The materials prepared for the presentations will be made available to the National Directors of CLTI for use by them with any new centers that may start up in the future. Rev. Ernest Mumbi has already indicated that he plans to use the materials when he travels to Luapula Province early next year to meet with a group of pastors in that area concerning the establishment of an LTC there.

The larger gathering that took place during the second workshop with Grace Ministries pastors has stimulated my thinking concerning the usefulness of such a meeting on an annual basis. As a second recommendation I would suggest that CLTI's Board of Administrators set up similar meetings on an annual basis for teachers and local board members of every LTC. Because of its nature, CLTI exists as a loose network of LTCs scattered across the country. A meaningful number of CLTI local board members and teachers have never met together. We attempted a teacher's seminar back in December of 2004, but the turnout was meager. The twenty or so participants were

almost all from Lusaka and many of those were not actually teachers but people interested in finding out more about the program. CLTI is much larger now. From the reports given at the Board of Administrators meeting just held in November 2007 there are now eighteen centers and over sixty certified teachers who are servicing almost six hundred learners. This does not include the anticipated eight new centers with over a hundred learners connected to Grace Ministries that are in the process of organizing following the recent GMM workshop.

Perhaps the time is ripe to consider holding annual CLTI workshops. The major problem such a meeting would face is cost. Zambia is a large country with poor infrastructure. Costs for travel can easily become prohibitive for most people, so a means would need to be found whereby the costs could be kept affordable. Seminars or workshops could perhaps take one of two forms. One possibility would be to have joint seminars or workshops for all three national churches at several central locations such as provincial centers. Another possibility would be to keep the workshops of the three groups separate and hold them instead in conjunction with national pastors' meetings. This would cut down on travel costs as those attending, who are almost all pastors, would be gathering for such meetings anyway. There are two specific groups in CLTI that would benefit from such meetings—the board members who operate the centers and the teachers who actually carry out the training. In many cases these two groups overlap, such as in the case of the Grace Ministries pastors who gathered for the second workshop. But in other cases, such as the new LTC in Mongu, some of the board members are active lay leaders in local churches and will not actually be doing any of the teaching. Thus

these two overlapping groups should be kept in mind when making plans for any such workshops.

Potential topics could include matters such as administrative issues (record keeping, finances, etc.), teacher training, and discussions on other topics of common concern. Such a forum would provide a good opportunity to further pursue the concepts of mentoring learners and using peer groups to aid in leadership development.

Recommendations for Future Study

Further research could be carried out in two different directions. The first and most significant in terms of this project would be to examine ways of implementing mentoring and peer/team relationships within the structure of the LTC. There will not be simply one way in which this could be achieved as the LTCs vary too widely. Some are located in cities and basically seek to train lay leaders in the local church, such as cell group leaders, department heads, elders, and deacons. Creating mentoring relationships in such situations—where the pastor seeks to mentor the lay leaders of his local church—should be relatively easy to establish once the positive benefits of such relationships could be shown. Currently few pastors seek to do so because they have personally not experienced the benefits of such a relationship and because all local church leaders are viewed as potential competitors. Other centers, however, seek to train rural pastors who in many cases travel a day or more to reach the central location where the training takes place two or three times a year. Creating mentoring relationships in such a situation would be much more of a challenge.

I intend to continue urging that mentoring and peer relationships in the programs be carried out in conjunction with LTC programs. My present feeling is that as I continue

to talk about the need and possible ways this could be implemented, some individuals and/or groups of individuals will surface who feel strongly that such relationships will contribute to the improved development of the leaders for whom they are responsible. I will then work with those individuals and help them find ways of implementing this approach that will work in their given situation. Once a few successful examples are in existence, I believe the concept will catch on with other centers. But the whole process may take several years to come to fruition.

A second possible area of study concerns the interplay going on today between traditional African culture and the churches of Zambia over the nature of church leadership. As an outsider, it is quite obvious to me that traditional perceptions of leadership are affecting the way leaders see themselves and the way they are viewed within our churches. As one example, African church leaders are very concerned with their titles. Elaborate ceremonies are usually carried on at the time a title such as “bishop” is conferred. And people act as if once a title has been bestowed it cannot be revoked. This view of titles parallels the way positional leaders are traditionally viewed in many kin groups. Once a person has gone through the proper ceremonies—which are thought to involve certain changes in that person’s powers—they remain in that position for life and can only be removed by death.

Several questions suggest themselves: How do traditional views of leadership affect the way members of our churches view their leaders? Is there a difference between the way the better educated and less educated Zambian church-goers view church leaders? Traditional leaders in African societies generally fall into three categories—collective leaders (village elders), positional leaders (chiefs), and “big men” (those who

owe their leadership to personal charisma, wealth, etc.—things that are not transferable to others). Which of these three categories has most influenced the perception of church leadership? Which is closer to the biblical idea of local church leaders? These and similar questions concerning the interplay of traditional leadership concepts and leadership in the church could prove profitable subjects for future study.

APPENDIX A

OUTLINE OF SESSIONS

A Brief Overview

This material was shared at the opening of the first session. It provides an overview of the four sessions and helps participants see what the workshop seeks to achieve.

Session 1: Orientation Meeting.

The first session seeks to help the Board Members get to know each other and to know themselves better. It will also introduce the Board to the CLTI “Guidelines for Local Training Centres.”

Session 2: The Local Training Centre in Relation to the Church and God’s Mission.

This session looks at the foundation of the Local training Centre (LTC). Foundations are usually buried and unseen, but they are very crucial to a building’s survival. If the foundation is not well constructed, the building may look fine at first, but in time cracks will appear. If there is not unity among the Board members concerning the issues to be discussed in this session, in time there will be disputes and differences of opinion concerning what the LTC is supposed to be accomplishing. This will bring division, discouragement, and perhaps the failure of the LTC. The goal of this meeting is to help the board understand what they should be trying to accomplish. Issues to be discussed will be the mission and nature of the Church and how the local church(es) they represent fit into God’s plan, both globally and locally. It seeks to help the Board answer three questions: Who are we? What are we as the church called to do? What are the church’s actions supposed to achieve?

Session 3: What Are We as an LTC Seeking to Produce?

Continuing with the illustration of a building, this and the next session will consider the design and construction of the building. The focus of this session will be on those that the LTC will seek to train. The session seeks to answer four questions: Who are we seeking to train? What should a graduate KNOW? What should a graduate be ABLE TO DO? What should a graduate BE LIKE?

Session 4: How Will We Do It?

This session will focus on how the LTC will operate and produce the kind of graduates that were described in the previous session. The CLTI format allows for a lot of individuality and creativity. The LTC Board needs to consider how it will implement the CLTI program and produce the desired results. At this point the Local Training Centre should begin operations.

Optional Session 5: Follow-Up

The building has been “occupied,” and there has been a chance to see how the layout and design is working. Now is a good time for analysis: What is working? What isn’t working and needs to be changed?

**Outline of Session 1
Introductions and Orientation**

Part 1. Introduction and Overview of Sessions

This consists of general greetings to the participants by the host and introductions of those who will be leading the sessions, including the facilitator. The overview of all the sessions should be presented at this time in order to familiarize everyone with what the workshop will cover.

Part 2. Getting to Know Each Other

For people to work together well, it is important that they know each other. Each person is asked to choose one of the questions below and share the answer with the other board members. If time permits, everyone will be asked to share the answer to a second question.

1. How were you saved?
2. What kinds of ministry experiences have you had in the past?
3. How did God call you or lead you into the ministries you presently have?
4. What do you see as the primary ministry God has given to you? What experience have you had in doing this?
5. Why are you taking part in this LTC board?

Part 3. Getting to Know Yourself Better

Everyone has numerous assumptions upon which they base the decisions they make. Everyone holds certain values, things that are important to them. All leaders have one or more styles of leadership. Church leaders have a concept of the Church—what the Church is and what it is supposed to be doing—and how their ministry fits into this. While everyone has these inside, many people have not examined them. This part of the session is designed to help the board members look at the assumptions and ideas they have inside themselves. The purpose in doing this is to see where everyone is “at.” This will become crucial in the next session when the board seeks to come up with a clearly defined purpose for its existence and exactly what it is trying to achieve.

3A. Personal Values. Everyone will be given a sheet listing possible values, things that are important to them. Participants should choose the ten items that they consider of greatest importance. Each person will then be asked to share those with the rest of the board.

3B. The Church and Ministry. A person’s understanding of the Church and what Jesus commanded the Church to be doing is crucial to every area of ministry. It is important that the members of the board are in basic agreement on the nature, mission, and purposes of the Church. Everyone will be asked to fill out a

worksheet dealing with their views on these issues. If time permits, small groups of board members will be working together to come up with some common answers. This will give a sense of where there is unity and where there is the potential for trouble later on.

3C. Leadership Style. Assuming time allows, the board members will be asked to fill in a questionnaire on leadership styles. The purpose of this is to help each person discover what their default style of leadership is. While this is not as important as the first two exercises, it will give everyone insights into the other members of the board.

Part 4. Scheduling and Assignments.

Before the session concludes, the Board Members will need to set up the schedule for future meetings if that has not already been set. The outline for future sessions should be discussed and a tentative schedule agreed to by all present. The program calls for four sessions, with an optional fifth session following the opening of the LTC in order to see how everything is working. But the remaining three sessions can be combined into perhaps two additional sessions, if that is all that can be worked out in the time allotted.

Outline of Session 2 The LTC in Relation to the Church and God's Mission

The primary aim of this session is to help the board discover the answer to questions such as: Who are we? What are we called to do? and What is the ultimate end or goal of what we are called to do? To accomplish this, the session will seek to help the board understand the nature, mission, and functions of the church, both universally and locally. It will also involve discussing who the LTC answers to and how the LTC fits into the overall picture of the sponsoring church body's operations. While all these things do not have anything to do directly with the LTC and its operation, they have everything to do with the success of the LTC. The last part will focus on the future and touch on what the board's vision is, including factors that could hinder its fulfillment. This session will be organized into three parts.

Part 1. Looking Up: What Direction Has God Given Us Concerning the Church?

In the first part of this session the LTC board members should focus on what God has revealed in his Word concerning the Church and its mission, and what He is speaking into their hearts. Assuming there was broad agreement in the first session on the nature, purpose, and mission of the church, the board members should seek to come up with commonly agreed upon statements concerning these matters, which will be the basis of what follows. These statements, which should be supported by the Bible, will serve as the point from which all the training of leaders will proceed. If there is not general agreement, time will need to be spent discussing these issues until there is some kind of general agreement.

Questions to guide the discussion:

1. Why did God establish the church?
2. In a brief statement, what is the mission, or end product, of the church? What is the “business” of the church?
3. In a few sentences, what did Jesus establish the church to do? In other words, what activities should the church be engaged in doing in order to accomplish that mission?
4. How do the answers we are coming up with match the perspective of our sponsoring body?

Next, everyone will be asked to take out the worksheets on personal values that were worked on in the last session. The facilitator will conduct a brief review of the teaching concerning the nature of the church in 1 Corinthians 12 and Romans 12, after which everyone will be asked to consider how they see themselves in relation to the church. The goal is to help each individual understand how they fit into God’s overall plan for the Church.

All board members will be encouraged to share what he or she sees as his or her role in the church. This will be followed by a discussion about each person’s core values (from the values exercise) and how these values relate to their role in the church. Based upon these personal values, the board should seek to discover the commonly accepted values, those that could be considered the core values of the board.

Questions to think about:

1. What is my part in the mission of the Church? What has God called me to do? How do I know this?
2. What has God called us to do as the LTC board? What is our ministry focus?
3. Based on all this, what should be important to us? Can we identify any shared core values which can become the guiding point for this LTC?
4. Are we in full support of the statement, values, and vision of CLTI? If not, where do we differ? Is there any emphasis that is unique to us?
5. What has God shaped us (as a board) to be and do?

Part 2. Looking Back.

The aim of the second part of this session is to help the board members understand how they came to be sitting together. The facilitator will give a brief overview of church history, with an emphasis on how Pentecost came to Zambia. If possible, this should lead up to the group that is sponsoring this LTC. In most cases the LTC is attached to a district, though some are attached to strong local churches.

Each LTC owes its existence to the fact that it has been created to serve a sponsoring denomination or church to which it must be accountable. The LTC will be accountable to some kind of sponsoring body. The board will be asked to consider the reasons for the creation of the LTC. The facilitator should also give an overview of the history of theological education, including a discussion of CLTI and how it relates to other methods of pastoral and leadership training. All members will be encouraged to share what forms of training they have received in the past, and to think critically about their training and how this compares with the methods used by CLTI.

Questions to guide the discussion:

1. How did our denomination and/or our sponsoring body come into existence?
2. Does our denomination/district/church seem to be operating and serving God in keeping with the Bible's teachings about the church?
3. Why has our sponsoring body decided to start this LTC? What needs is the LTC expected to address? How is the LTC expected to fit in with the strategy of the denomination/district/church? How is the LTC expected to answer to the sponsoring body? How often?
4. What kinds of theological training have we as board members received? What were the advantages and disadvantages of these methods?
5. How are pastors and leaders being chosen in our district/churches today? What is our present model of leadership training?
6. If someone came to us today and shared that he or she felt God was calling them to full-time service, what would we tell him or her to do? Is that the best way? If you had complete freedom and unlimited money, what kind of leadership training program would we create?
7. What is God doing today in regards to leadership development in our midst? In other churches that we know in Zambia?

Part 3. Looking Ahead:

Catching God's Vision for the LTC.

In the third part, the LTC Board will be asked to consider what they believe God wants their denomination/district/church to look like five years from now. If some planning or projections have been made, these can be the basis of this discussion. If not, people can just share what they see as God's desire. What part can the LTC play in seeing this come to pass? It would be good if the board can agree on a picture of what the future should look like.

Having a clear picture will also prove very helpful in the next two sessions as this will, to a great degree, determine many issues related to who is to be trained and how this will be done.

Potential questions:

1. What do we believe God wants our denomination/district/church to look like in five years?
2. What should the LTC look like in five years?
3. If this picture comes to pass, how will this impact our district or church?
4. What are the major obstacles to seeing this accomplished?
5. Right now, what is missing? What is needed to make this picture happen?

Part 4. Commitment.

The concluding part of this session is aimed at encouraging all the board members to commit themselves to seeing this picture come to pass. Lack of commitment has been a major cause for failure of LTCs in the past. Without the commitment of a majority of the board members, the LTC is not likely to fulfill its part in God's mission for His church. If some members feel lack of time or other ministry obligations may prevent them from making the necessary commitment, it may be best for them to bow out now, rather than hinder the success of the LTC later on.

Potential questions:

1. Do I sincerely believe that the vision we have discussed is from God and that He wants me to have a part in making it happen?
2. Am I committed to seeing this vision happen?
3. What am I willing to sacrifice to see this vision become a reality?
4. What is preoccupying my time that may need to be given up in order that I will have the time to devote and make the vision happen?

Outline of Session Three

What Are We Seeking to Do or Produce?

The focus of this session will be on the students or learners that the LTC will seek to train. If the goal of the LTC is to train or equip pastors and church leaders, a number of issues must be addressed. These include: who will be trained, how will they be trained, and what should a trained leader look like? This session will be divided into five sections.

Part 1 Who Are We Seeking to Train?

This is a very crucial question. If this question is not answered correctly, the centre will set the wrong goal and may waste valuable resources training the wrong people. CLTI sets a very few basic standards and gives the Local Training Centre a lot of flexibility in choosing who it will train and designing the program that is to be implemented.

Will there be any entrance requirements, such as educational level, ministry experience, evidence of a call by God to leadership, or language aptitude? Will the LTC be open to whoever can attend or will it select those to be taught? Will the LTC accept those from outside its church(es) and on what basis?

Part 2 What Should a graduate KNOW?

Through the eighteen Christian Service courses and their exams, CLTI sets a certain minimum that a person must know in order to graduate and receive a certificate. While it is an excellent series of books, it was not written specifically for Zambia, nor was it written for your churches. Because students have access to the books and are expected to read them before attending class, it is possible to spend much of the class time on material that is not covered in the books. The board may also want to consider helping the learners discover how the material in the books can be implemented in their churches.

Probably the best place to start is by making a list of everything that someone who graduates from your LTC should know. This list may be divided in two parts—what every graduate **MUST KNOW** and beyond that, what it would be good for every graduate to know? Which of these items are already covered in the eighteen books? Which are not? What items on the **MUST KNOW** list should be emphasized in which course? Please note: in keeping with the American approach to education, many concepts are covered in more than one Christian Service book. It will be covered in depth in one book, but will be briefly touched upon elsewhere. Based upon this, you should be able to create a list of subjects each graduate is expected to know for each course, both areas covered by the book and areas the teacher should cover in class that are not found in the book.

Part 3 What Should a Graduate Be Able to DO?

Skills are largely gained by experience in the world, not in a classroom. While certain skills are necessary for all Christian leaders, many are specific to certain ministries.

Potential questions you as the Board need to consider:

1. What should EVERY graduate of our LTC be able to do?
2. How can we help graduates gain that experience?
3. What specialized ministry skills might a graduate wish to know in addition to the basic skills?
4. How can we help graduates who wish these skills gain them?
5. Should we develop some form of mentoring program?

Part 4 What Should a Graduate BE LIKE?

Character is the primary qualification for elder and deacon in 1 Timothy chapter 3 and Titus chapter 1.

Potential questions:

1. What do we expect our students and graduates to act like?
2. If a student manifests unacceptable behavior, what are we going to do about it?
3. Should we have a student code of conduct? If so, what should it contain?
4. How can we encourage our students to act like Jesus would?
5. Again, many of these matters are best addressed in mentoring or personal relationships—either one-on-one or in small groups—rather than in a classroom. Is there a way that some form of mentoring relationships can be established for each of the learners?

Part 5: Where Along the Leadership Development Process Are Those We Will Be Training?

It does no good to teach people what they already know.

1. What do they know?
2. What skills do they already have?
3. What parts of their spiritual and character makeup are properly formed already?

Outline of Session Four How Will We Do It?

This session will focus on how the LTC will operate and produce the kind of graduates that were described in the previous session. The CLTI format allows for a lot of individuality and creativity. During this session, the LTC Board will be encouraged to consider ways to make the program as effective as possible.

Part 1. Administrative Board Issues.

In the Guidelines set by CLTI, it is stated that each LTC is expected to be run by a Board of five to nine people. The Guidelines further state that the Board should have

three officers: a Director, a Treasurer, and a Secretary. Some basic duties for each officer are described. The LTC is free to decide how these officers are chosen and what other duties they may be expected to perform. The Secretary's job of keeping of records is a tremendously important aspect of the running of an LTC. And the Treasurer, who will handle the LTC's finances, also plays a crucial role. If the people chosen to fill these positions need assistance in carrying out their duties, they should seek someone with the necessary skills who can show them what to do.

Potential questions:

1. Do you feel the need for any other officers?
2. Who is going to serve as officers? For how long?
3. Do you feel the need to spell out any other duties for the officers?
4. Are there any other administrative issues that need to be discussed?

Part 2. Academic Issues.

The CLTI Guidelines specify that classes should be taught by people who have been certified and that each course should meet for at least ten hours, plus time for testing. The LTC is free to organize its schedule in any way that seems best for the learners and the teachers.

Potential questions:

1. Have you consulted with the potential learners? What kind of schedule is going to be best for them?
2. Do you think the ten hours plus time for testing is sufficient, or do you plan to schedule longer classes?
3. What is the proposed schedule to finish all eighteen courses?
4. Will new learners be able to join the program once the classes start? If so, when?
5. Will learners be expected to fill out applications? Will you interview the learners? Will you meet to formally admit learners?
6. Have teachers been found to teach the courses for at least the first year?

Part 3. Learner Oversight.

The CLTI Guidelines do not call for any direct oversight of learners, but in many situations, such as an LTC sponsored by a district aimed at training those who have pioneered new churches, some form of oversight perhaps should be considered, especially if this is not being done by the district. Perhaps the learners could be organized into groups who would share together, pray together, and work to see Christ's character formed in each other. Such peer groups have often proved very helpful in addressing the spiritual, moral, and character issues that are a primary aspect of a leader's development. Something along this line could be an effective way of encouraging accountability and spiritual growth.

Potential questions:

1. In keeping with the decisions made in the last session regarding learners, should there be some form of oversight of learners? If so, what is the best way to do this?
2. Will learners be expected to report on their ministry in some way to the LTC Board?

3. Will there be any learner-led activities during or in conjunction with the classes?

Part 4. Finances.

Failure to adequately fund the program has caused several LTCs to close in the past. Each LTC is expected to cover its own costs. CLTI suggests that an LTC charge about K10,000 tuition per course, a third of which is to be split between the National Director and the CLTI Registrar. The LTC is left with about K7,000 to cover its own costs and pay teachers. A learner does not have to buy his own book, but he is expected to have access to one. The books cost K7,500 each. The LTC works best if the sponsoring body is convinced of the value of the program and is willing to financially support the program in some way. Where learners are traveling long distances to classes, bus fare and food also need to be figured into the finances. In one center, learners pay for their own transport and their exams while the district pays for meals for learners and teachers.

Proposed questions:

1. Has the LTC set a budget for the first year?
2. Will teachers be paid? If so, how much?
3. What are the learners expected to pay for?
4. Will meals need to be provided? How will they be paid for and who will prepare them?
5. Is there any kind of scholarship fund for those who are totally unable to pay but need the classes?

Outline of Optional Session 5 Follow-Up

Ideally this session should happen shortly after the LTC has held its first set of classes. The purpose of this session is for the Board to review what progress has been made in achieving the agreed upon goals. Since the desired product is a certain kind of graduate, as discussed in the third session, and since it usually takes two to three years for the first students to graduate, it will be too early to tell how successful the LTC has truly been. However, many of the decisions made in session four will have been tested. This will be a good time to check and see if the LTC is on course to achieving its goals or if some mid-course corrections need to be made.

Potential questions:

1. What is working? What can we celebrate?
2. What is not working? How can we change it?
3. If we could go back and change anything, what would it be?
4. Do our objectives need to be adjusted in light of what we now know?

APPENDIX B

PRESENTATIONS FOR THE SESSIONS

I prepared a series of presentations for each session and shared them with the workshop participants where time allowed and where they seemed to be relevant to the discussions. A number of these were not ready for use during the sessions in Mongu. Not all of these were actually used in the sessions for the Grace Ministries pastors, but were provided to those who attended the session. Some presentations are excerpts from this project, some are summaries of my research from various sources, and a few are articles by other authors.

Session One

1. “Assumptions and Values.” Presentation prepared from Robert W. Ferris, “Building Consensus on Training Commitments,” in *Establishing Ministry Training. A Manual for Programme Developers* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1995), 1-22.
2. “Personal Core Values.” Presentation prepared from Peter M. Senge, *The Fifth Discipline Fieldbook: Strategies and Tools for Building a Learning Organization* (New York: Doubleday Currency, 1994), 302-309 and Aubrey Malphurs, *Values-Driven Leadership. Discovering and Developing Your Core Values for Ministry* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1996), 19-55.
3. “Worksheet on the Church and Its Mission.” A list of Bible verses which participants could use in describing their understanding of the nature of the Church and its mission.
4. “Ministry Style Assessment.” A worksheet adapted from material in Bryn Hughes, *Leadership Tool Kit* (London: Monarch Books, 1998), 121-32.
5. “Christian Leaders Training Institute.” Portions of CLTI’s constitution which deal with that organization’s views on aspects of leadership and its core values.

Session Two

1. “Church Leadership Development: A Framework.” Presentation by John M. Elliott on how culture and tradition can affect the church’s understanding of itself and its mission.

2. “A Brief Historical Overview of the Church’s Understanding of Itself, Its Mission, and Church Leadership.” Presentation covering these issues based on what is found in Chapter 5.
3. “A Brief History of How Christianity Came to Zambia.” Presentation based on John P. Ragsdale, *Protestant Mission Education in Zambia, 1880-1954* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1986), Max Ward Randall, *Profile for Victory. New Proposals for Missions in Zambia* (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1970), and Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1880-1924* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965).
4. “A Brief History of How Pentecostalism Came to Zambia.” Presentation based on Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition. Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Company, 1997) and Peter Watt, *From Africa’s Soil. The Story of the Assemblies of God in Southern Africa* (Cape Town: Struik Christian Books, 1992).

Session Three

1. “An Overview of Church Leadership and Its Development.” Presentation based on J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Emergence Theory* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Resources, 1989), J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Training Models* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Publishers, 1984), and J. Robert Clinton. *The Making of a Leader* (Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress, 1988).
2. “Five Levels of Church Leaders.” A presentation based J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Emergence Theory* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Resources, 1989) and J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Training Models* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Publishers, 1984), 64.
3. “Three Basic Methods of Teaching and Learning.” An explanation of informal, nonformal, and formal education based on David Martz, *Practical Learning Theory and Strategies. A Handbook for Christian Educators* (Springfield, MO: Life Publishers International, 2004), 81-82.
4. “Paul D. Stanley’s Constellation Model of Leadership Relations.” A Presentation based on Paul D. Stanley and J. Robert Clinton, *Connecting. The Mentoring Relationships You Need to Succeed in Life* (Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress, 1992), 157-68.
5. “Leadership Training and Timing.” Presentation of Clinton’s concepts of a-service, pre-service, in-service, and interrupted service methodologies based on J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Training Models* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Publishers, 1984), 58-60.
6. “Holland’s Two-Track Model of Leadership Training.” Presentation based on J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Training Models* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Publishers, 1984), 40-41.

7. "The Three Domains of Educational Goals and Leadership." Presentation based on J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Training Models* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Publishers, 1984), 110-13.
8. "Servants, Leaders, and Tyrants." A presentation based on Ted Ward's article of this title in *With an Eye on the Future. Development and Mission in the 21st Century. Essays in Honor of Ted Ward*, ed. Duane Elmer and Lois McKinney (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1996), 27-42.
9. C. Peter Wagner, "How God Makes Ministers." In *An Extension Seminary Primer*. Ralph R. Covell and C. Peter Wagner, (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1971), 70-76.
10. "Developing a 'Picture' of the Ideal Leader." Presentation based on Jonathan Lewis and Robert Ferris, "Developing an Outcomes Profile" in *Establishing Ministry Training. A Manual for Programme Developers* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library. 1995), 23-42.

Session Four

1. "Leadership Development and Theological Education: Four Planning Grids." A presentation based on Mark Young, "Planning Theological Education in Mission Settings," in *With an Eye on the Future. Development and Mission in the 21st Century. Essays in Honor of Ted Ward*, ed. Duane Elmer and Lois McKinney (Monrovia, CA: MARC, 1996), 69-86.
2. "A Systems Model for Leadership Development." Presentation based on J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Training Models* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Publishers, 1984), 52-56.
3. "Five Patterns of Relationships in Which Leadership Development Take Place." Adapted from Chapter 1.
4. "Curriculum Components and Concepts." Presentation based on J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Training Models* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Publishers, 1984), 80-98.
5. "Andragogy and Pedagogy." Presentation based on J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Training Models* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Publishers, 1984), 85-88 and Malcolm Knowles, *The Adult Learner: A Neglected Species* (Houston: Gulf Publishing Company, 1978).
6. "Leadership in the Churches Planted by Paul." From Chapter 3.
7. "A Short History of the Bible School Movement." From material in Chapter 5.

8. "The Dominance of Formal Education in Church Leadership Development in Zambia." From Chapter 5.
9. "Shortcomings of Formal Education as Leadership Development." From Chapter 5.
10. "Theological Education by Extension: A Twentieth Century Experiment." From Chapter 5.
11. "Master-Disciple Pattern Relationships: Apprenticeships and Imitation Modeling." From Chapter 5.
12. "Mentoring Relationships." From Chapter 5.
13. "Peer/Team Pattern Relationships." From Chapter 5.
14. "The Contribution of Relationships to Leadership Development." From Chapter 5.
15. C. Peter Wagner, "Training in the Streets' in Chile," in Covell, Ralph R. "Educational Principles Underlying Extension Education." In *An Extension Seminary Primer* ed. Ralph R. Covell and C. Peter Wagner (South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1971), 62-69.

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY OF EVALUATIONS

A total of twenty-eight persons attended at least one of the sessions of the two workshops presented to the PAOG of Western province and pastors from Grace Ministries Mission, Intl. All were asked to anonymously fill out a simple evaluation form with four questions. A total of fifteen evaluations were returned by early November 2007, three from Mongu and twelve from GMM.

A number was assigned to each evaluation from one to fifteen. In the sections below the first three responses are from the PAOG workshop in Mongu, and the rest are from the GMM workshop. The responses have been transcribed and organized according to the four questions. Misspellings have been transcribed as they were written. It should be noted that while all participants can understand and speak English well, English was usually their second or third language, so their proficiency in English was usually not that of a native speaker. I added notes in brackets to aid in understanding the responses.

Question 1

What topics or sessions did you find most helpful?

1. All the sessions were wonderful and educative. They gave me a better understanding of myself, the ministry of the church and most of all guidance on making the training centre achieve our goals. If I were to rank them, I would put session sessions in this order: 3, 4, 2, and 1. Session 3 gets the highest mark because of the pool of students we are looking at. Different levels of spiritual and academic understanding.
2. Session 4; finances and government and the tension between them. Session 2; the history of the church in Zambia.
3. I found the following topics most helpful
Getting to know yourself better... [Session 1]
Looking back; looking ahead... {Session 2}
Who are we seeking to train? What should a graduate be able to do? What should a graduate be like? [Session 3]
4. that of mentorship
5. To me all the topics in this manual were found to be very helpful

6. All

7. LTC in relation to the church and God's mission has been found to be helpful to me. It has helped me to know very well the heart beat of God concerning His creation and plan for His people to fulfil [sic] here on earth according to His plan.

8. church leadership development; a brief history of how Christianity came to Zambia; five levels of leadership; leadership training and timing

9. The sessions I found more helpful are the church and God's mission. session 3 and session 4, and also introduction

10. All

11. five levels of leadership; the domains of education goals and leadership (i.e. head, hands and heart); How authority from God is better than authority delivered from any other angle

12. Getting to know each other; getting to know yourself better-your values; leadership style, understanding of the church and its ministry

13. The topic that I have found helpful is section 1.

14. church leadership development; five levels of leadership; three ways of training leaders; leadership training and timing; servant leadership.

- 15.
1. church leadership development
 2. five levels of leadership
 3. three ways to train leaders
 4. In short what are we seeking to do or produce. Many topics helped me to understand things needed to know

Question 2

What topics or sessions did you find least helpful? Should some of these be removed from this seminar?

1. As earlier pointed out, all the sessions are useful and should be kept. The only thing may be to vary the focus depending on the situation at hand.

2. [no comment]

3. The following are the topics I found least helpful however, they shouldn't be removed from the seminar:

Where along the leadership process are those we will train? [Session3];
Learner oversight [Session 4].

4. all was helpful in my view
5. Non [sic]. All of them should remain.
6. None
7. In topic No. 4 if individuality and creativity is left to continue the purpose of God's will on earth. may not be fulfilled for people or leaders will focus so much on themselves and their abilities and intellectuality may hinder the spiritual revelation of the work of the Lord Jesus Christ.
8. No need to remove any of these topics. They are all good and powerful and God has to bless you for this.
9. There is no session that I found not helpful to me.
10. a. -Chruch [sic] History
 - Leadership
 - church and its mission - ministry
 - gifts of the Holy Spirit
 - Pentecostal movement
 b. All topics were very helpful, enlighting [sic] and informative
11. Nothing was of less importance and non should be removed.
12. nothing
13. All the topic and section were helpful and all of these topic must not be removed because they are educative in such a way that I personally I have relly [sic] benefited for these topic.
14. All the topics which were covered during the seminar are very helpful in the sense that it is one way of reviving the ministries which were being neglected and these will help in guiding the church and its leadership to perform with excellence. There is not any course which should be removed from the seminar.
15. Non [sic] of these topic were least helpful and they [sic] is no need to remove any of them.

Question 3

What topics should have been covered that weren't?

1. A topic on nurturing or supporting graduates as they build their ministries may be useful. Here I am looking at a local training centre that will see itself attached to its graduates as a parent is to his/her child.
2. [no comment]
3. Misconceptions about leadership should have been covered as it will help the graduate to understand what a leader should NOT BE.
4. extended teaching on mentorship and material to cover the local area like Zambian church
5. According to the way the course has been prepared, its ok.
6. Integrity
7. Maybe theology versus culture beliefs.
8. All topics were helpful. God bless you.
9. The topics that should have been covered are some from session 4. [time did not allow full treatment of all the presentations]
10. We need more time on ministry and leadership
11. It is not easy to suggest in that I do not know the things which are to be taught in the future.
12. more on church government
13. The dominance of formal education in church leadership development in Zambia. [a presentation not covered]
14. Four planning grids [a presentation not covered]
15. Because of time a number of topic have not been covered I wish we had a lot of time to do so.

Question 4

Can you describe some ways this seminar has changed your understanding of the training of church leadership?

1. Frankly it scared me and now I approach the assignment with all the seriousness it deserves.

2. It was empowering [sic] to hear about the biblical view of the church and the history of the church (especially within Zambia) because it helped us to have a reference point to compare with. We can thus make sure that we are aiming and building together towards healthy churches.

It was like a “lightbulb going on” when I heard about the challenges other centres have found with regards to financial provision and government. As a result I am intent on making those who lead the school, financially responsible as well. And I am weary of those who make demands without contributions financially. I am not closed to their lament as their comment may be valuable but i now see its limitations. Those who lead should also lead in provision.

It really helped our governing body to grow closer together and laid a great foundation. Without [the] training we may have struggled to have the focus we now have.

3. I found all the knowledge useful.

4. This as [sic] changed my way of thinking in training leaders in that now I understand

1. what a LTC is
2. what is my target group
3. what I expect from the leaders I need.

5. (i) The course is focused therefore at the end of time one would be able to come up with the wright [sic] crop of leaders who would deliver.

(ii) The principles used are relevant to the current leadership development.

(iii) They are easy to catch.

(iv) Theres time frame to every course and this gives room for easy evaluation

(v) Having a knowledgeable leadership will result into providing the desired results.

6. a. I have been provoked to have a programme with all leaders.

b. To provide training to Christians in various aspects

c. Ensuring that those trained are able to do something. To look like it.

7. My concept of leadership has changed and broadened. To know the importance of training people who will effectively do the work of the Lord effectively without looking up the work of the Lord as a burden for them. Or mostly leaving everything to be done by the set man.

8. This serminar [sic] it has helped me mostly in leadership. It has changed my all life. It has helped me to know who a leader his. It has also taught me how I should relate with my leaders. Lastly but not the least, am blessed by the all entire serminar [sic].

9. This seminar has helped me to know that the leadership must be trained and know that there shouldn't be the gap between them and the flock. It makes them to understand better the church and God's mission.

10. I have learnt the following:

- a) Importance of leadership
- b) The need for church leaders be trained
- c) The basic training tool for a church leader
- d) The need for teamwork and clear goals
- e) Why conflicts are born when leadership lacks clear cut goals

11. The seminar has helped me to perceive that leadership is not developed overnight but is a long process of dedication, patience, study, discipline and involvement. Christ leadership must be of highly dependent on the leadership of the Holy Spirit for there to be more fruitful [sic].

12. Leadership is about servanthood, with authority from God and not centering on titles. Academics of any leader should be well balanced with practical ministry.

13. This seminar has changed my understanding when training church leadership in such a way, that when you need to teach these leaders, you have to have knowledge because a leader is not born but he is made. And also I must be committed with what I am doing, and also to have a good relationship with the students that I am teaching.

14. The seminar has changed me in the following areas:

- 1) Helped me focus on imparting the goals to would be trainees.
- 2) Helped me identify my areas of responsibility
- 3) Changed me the concepts of leadership and how to apply them in my ministry as pastor.

15. This seminar has helped me to understand a lot things that will help me train my leader at the centre and also it has open my mind in a way that I should do so with about my studies to continue my education in theological studies. I believe that this will help me to be a better person in my area of ministry.

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